KASHĪR

BEING A HISTORY OF KASHMĪR

From the Earliest Times to Our Own

BY

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Note.—A.C. in "Kashir" represents After Christ, and stands for Anno Domino or A.D.

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To the Memory of

SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL



WHO SAID—

تنم گلے ز خیابانِ جنّتِ کشمیر

دل از حریم حجاز و نوا ز شیراز است

[In Kashmīr's garden, in the heaven
Of Kashmīr, was my body formed;
Hijāz the Holy gave my heart
Its life-beats, and Shīrāz its songs.]

PREFACE

It is strange that the Valley of Kashmīr has had so many to describe its hills, its dales and its lakes, its snows and streams and shades, but hardly any to narrate its history or tell the story of what the Valley has given to the world. Kalhana's *Rājatarangini*, literally, "River of Kings," certainly scans its history in Sanskrit verse from the earliest times up to 1149 A.C. But, at best, this "River of Kings" remained, as it were, the *Shāh-nāma* of Kashmīr in the sense of a loose, versified narrative. It is to the industry and assiduity of the late Sir Aurel Stein that we owe the monumental annotated English translation which has clarified the contents of Kalhana's "Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmīr" for the serious student of the early history of Kashmīr.

Kalhana's chronicle was continued in Sanskrit verse till 1459 A.C. by Pandit Jonarāja in his *Rājāvalī*; by his pupil Pandit Shrīvara in his *Jaina-Rājatarangini* till 1486 A.C.; by Prājyabhatta in his *Rājāvalipatākā* till 1512 A.C.; and by Shuka in his *Rājatarangini* up to the conquest of Kashmīr by Akbar in 1586 A.C., and even a little further till 1596 A.C. These versified Sanskrit chronicles are available to the English reader in the *Kings of Kashmīra* by the late Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt. But this series too is far from satisfactory. My own view finds corroboration from the remarks of Sir Aurel Stein, when he says: "Jonarāja was a scholar of considerable attainments but apparently without any originality. Shrīvara was a slavish imitator of Kalhana. The work of Prājyabhatta and Shuka is inferior in composition even to Shrīvara's chronicle." (*The Ancient Geography of Kashmīr*, page 42).

Besides, the Sanskrit text of Jonarāja used by Mr. Dutt, *viz.*, the Calcutta edition of 1835, contained 980 shlokas, while Dr. Peterson's Sanskrit text of Jonarāja, *viz.*, the Bombay edition of 1896, contains 1334 shlokas. Moreover, the actual work of Prājyabhatta entitled *Rājāvalipatākā*, has not yet been taken notice of And

Shuka's *Rājatarangini* has been mistaken for the joint work of Prājyabhatta and Shuka by Mr. Dutt, Dr. Peterson and Sir Aurel Stein, obviously on account of the confusion caused by the accession of Sultān Fath Shāh thrice to the throne of Kashmīr. When Shrīvara closed his chronicle, Fath Shāh was ruling for the first time. When Shuka began his chronicle, Fath Shāh was again Sultān. As the same ruler was reigning for the second time, the link to these three scholars appeared to be continuous. But the fact is that the *Rājāvalipatākā* of Pandit Prājyabhatta deals with the intervening period of 25 years, from 1487 to 1512 A.C., when Sultān Fath Shāh and Sultān Muhammad Shāh deposed and succeeded each other twice.

There are several histories in Persian relating to pre-Mughul, Mughul and post-Mughul periods, a few in Urdu too, but there is no reliable, up-to-date record of the history of Kashmīr available as a trustworthy guide for students interested in the subject.

Consequently I have made an attempt in this direction. In view, however, of Sir Aurel Stein's English translation of Kalhana's chronicle, a standard work on the ancient history of Kashmīr, and in view of the great learning we find in the *River of Kings* by the late Ranjīt Sītārām Pandit who brings out noteworthy contributions made during the Vedic, Buddhist and Brahmanical periods of the history of Kashmīr, I have confined my task to a somewhat fuller treatment of the mediæval period, chronicling events, however, up to our own times. Rather than give a bare sketch of the doings of the kings of Kashmīr during the particular period under review, it appeared to me to be more important to treat the subject from the cultural point of view. Therefore, though I am presenting a more or less continuous record of the political history of Kashmīr from the earliest times till our own, some prominence has been given to the exposition of Muslim Polity in the Valley of Kashmīr as this interesting and important aspect of the history of Kashmīr has seldom had any special notice taken of it.

Kashīr, the title of this book, is the name given to the Valley of Kashmīr by the Kashmīrī, who calls himself and his language—"Koshur," or "Kāshur." The use of the word Kashmīr, as Sir George Grierson points out in his

Dictionary of the Kashmīrī Language, page 481, is more Hindustānī and Irānian than properly Kashmīrī.

The late Sir Aurel Stein worked at the *Rājataranginī* while he was Registrar of the University of the Panjāb. It is a coincidence that it fell to my lot to undertake the writing of *Kashīr*, styling it *Islamic Culture in Kashmīr*, while I was Registrar of the University of Delhi. And now this book is for the first time being published, in its present form and under its revised title, by the University of the Panjāb, the old University of Sir Aurel Stein, in two volumes like Sir Aurel's. At this time also, the revised edition by Sir Aurel of his English translation of Kalhana's *Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmīr* is reported to be under publication by the State of Jammu and Kashmīr. But unfortunately Sir Aurel died in 1943 at Kābul in Afghānistān.

In Chapter I of *Kashīr* the reader will find a general description of Kashmīr and observations on the character and condition of the Kashmīrīs.

In Chapter II an attempt is made to epitomize the history of Kashmīr from the earliest times to the advent of Islam in the land. The propagation of Islam on account of its outstanding mark on the Valley is discussed in Chapter III.

Chapters IV and V deal with the early Muslim rulers of the land. These two chapters cover a period of over 260 years from 1320 to 1586 A.C., roughly parallel in Indian history to the period from the accession of Muhammad Tughluq to about the middle of Akbar's reign, or in English history from the reign of Edward II to nearly the middle of that of Elizabeth. Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, who ruled from 1354 to 1373 A.C., was the first Muslim ruler of Kashmīr to extend his conquest to Kābul and Kāshghar, and to defeat the Jām of Sind. The greatness of Kashmīr reached its zenith under Zain-ul-'Abidīn, popularly known as Bad Shāh or the 'Great Sovereign,' who conquered Tibet and the Punjāb, and established his kingdom from Purshāwar, the modern Peshāwar, to Sind and Sarhind. His rule extending over 50 years, from 1420 to 1470 A.C., constituted the Golden Age of Kashmīr in its mediæval days. Zain-ul-'Abidīn's reign was almost contemporaneous with

the times of the Sayyid ruler, Khizr Khān's son, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Mubārak, his two successors—Muhammad and 'Alā-ud-Dīn 'Alam Shāh—and Buhlūl Lodī. The enlightened rule of the Sultān of Kashmīr presented a striking contrast to the chaos and confusion then prevailing in and around Delhi, the centre and symbol of the glory of Hindustān.

An effort has been made to straighten the puzzle, presented by Kashmīr chronology during the period of the later Sultāns of Kashmīr, by means of coins, inscriptions, chronograms and a careful comparison of the records left by contemporary Hindu and Muslim chroniclers.

The conquest of Kashmīr by the Mughuls and their rule, extending over a period of 164 years, is the subject of Chapter VI. Chapter VII treats of Kashmīr under the Afghāns, who held it for 67 years till 1819 A.C., when Muslim rule in Kashmīr came to a close after lasting for a period of about 500 years.

A chart of important contemporary events in politics and culture in the world, during the period of Muslim rule in Kashmīr from 1320 A.C. to 1819 A.C., has been added. A glance at this chart will emphasize the importance of a viewpoint which, it is hoped, will be at once interesting and instructive. Here Volume I of *Kashīr* ends.

A broad general survey of Islamic culture in Kashmīr is given in Chapters VIII, IX and X under the heads: (*i*) Letters and Litterateurs in Kashmīr under Muslim Rule, (*ii*) Arts and Crafts in Kashmīr under Muslim Rule, and (*iii*) Civil and Military Organization under Muslim Rule in Kashmīr. In these Chapters, with which Volume II of *Kashīr* opens, the reader will find a summary of the important influences exercised by the impact of Muslim State and Society on the people of Kashmīr.

Chapter XI, Kashmīr under the Sikhs for 27 years from 1810 to 1846, is followed by Chapter XII, the last one, Kashmīr under Dogrā rule, which carries the narrative down to the death of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh on 23rd Steptember, 1925.

The system of transliteration adopted is mostly that used in the *Cambridge History of India* as far as the resources of the press have permitted, while variants in

English spelling are those which are preferred by the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*.

I must tell the reader beforehand that *Kashīr* is intended as a source-book for workers in the subject, and therefore I have not hesitated to quote copiously from specialists and eye-witnesses who had an appeal on the point concerned. I have abstained from rehashing their observations or reproducing their accounts in my own words.

At times verses, couplets and short passages from Persian or Urdu have not been translated into English. They appear in original in *Kashīr* for their exquisite expression in Persian or Urdu. In translation "the personal idiom, the music of the verse, and the ramification of the imagery involved" must necessarily be blurred. A prosaic and pedestrian translation is but "an opaque screen," and consequently has not been attempted, for which the indulgence of the purely English-knowing reader is craved.

Several scholars, friends, acquaintances and others have read *Kashīr* here and there, some complete, some in parts in which they were interested or were specialists. Some read the book to eliminate error in phrasing and punctuation. All these are too numerous to be mentioned individually. I am very grateful to them all.

GHULĀM MUHYI'D DĪN SŪFĪ.

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*Now (1948) His Excellency the Hon'ble Dr. Dīn Muhammad, M.A., LL.D., Governor, Sind (Pākistān).

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NOTE ON MAPS, PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS IN "KASHĪR"

The Frontispiece is the work of Lady Chenevix Trench who presented it to the late Khān Sāhib Munshī Sirāj-ud-Dīn Ahmad, Mīr Munshī to the British Residency, Srīnagar, and was obtained for the author by Nawwāb Maulā Bakhsh, C.I.E., *ex*-Home Minister, Jammu and Kashmīr State.

For the maps of (*i*) Ancient Kashmīr (*ii*) Ancient Srīnagar and (*iii*) Parihāsapura and the Confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu reproduced from the English Translation of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* I am grateful to the late Sir Aurel Stein.

The maps of (1) the Valley of Kashmīr,(2) Bārāmūla,(3) Srīnagar, (4) Tsrār or Chrār Sharīf, (5) the Wulur, (6) Gulmarg, (7) Islāmābād and (8) Jammu and Kashmīr State are reproduced with the permission of the Surveyor-General of the Union of India. The author is indebted to the Surveyor-General of the Union of India also for waiving all "royalty" charges for the publication of these eight maps.

The maps of (1) Trans-Pākistān Lands and Localities, (2) India at the time of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, and (3) The World at the time of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, were prepared under the author's direction by Pandit Rām Narāin Lāl, Drawing Master, New English High School, Hoshangābād, C.P., who also prepared for the press six Survey of India maps, 2 to 7, given above.

The Map of the extent of Kashmīr under Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn has been prepared from a modern production.

Muhammad Husain Kashmīrī's specimen of calligraphy was obtained from Mr. Ashfāq 'Alī, *ex*-Curator, the Museum, Fort, Delhi.

The portrait of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī was supplied to the author by the late Pandit Ānand Kaul Bāmzai, *ex*-President, Srīnagar Municipality, and also a second copy by Pandit Bala Kāk Dar, Retired Wazīr-i-Wazārat, Srīnagar, who sent his copy through the late Khān Sāhib Munshī Sirāj-ud-Dīn Ahmad, Mīr Munshī, and Khān Sāhib Khurshīd Ahmad, lately Political Assistant, Ladākh.

Copper Salvers are from the *Journal of Indian Art*, Volume IV, Nos. 33-37, January, 1892.

The photos of (1) the tomb of Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī, (2) the grave of Sultān 'Alī Shāh, (3) the tomb of Abdāl Raina, (4) the grave of Haidar Malik Chādura, (5) the Mazār-ush-Shu'arā, (6) the grave of Mullā Muhsin *Fānī*, (7) the tomb of Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī*, (8) the grave of Khwāja Muhammad A'zam Didamarī, and(9) the tomb of Bībī Bār'a, called Didah Mōjī, the daughter-in-law of Shāh Hamadān,

were specially taken for the author by Pīrzāda Muhammad Amīn ibn Pīrzāda Ghulām Ahmad *Mahjūr*, Tenkīpōr, Srīnagar.

The photo of the grave of Ya'qūb Shāh Chak at Kishtwār was similarly specially taken for the author by Pandit Jagmohan Kaul, formerly of "Kashmīr Blossoms," Srīnagar, in November, 1942.

The portrait of Sayyid Farīd-ud-Dīn Qādirī with his son Shāh Ahkyār-ud-Dīn was reproduced by Mr. Subu Tāgore from the original in a Pīr family of Kishtwār in November, 1942.

The photo of the poet 'Abdul Wahhāb Pare was secured by Khwāja Ghulām Muhyi'd-Dīn, M.A., LL.B. (Alig.), Lecturer in Arabic, Gāndhī Memorial College, Jammu.

The portrait of the Kashmīrī poet, Parmānand, was borrowed from Pandit Prēm Nāth Bazāz, B.A., Editor, *The Hamdard*, Srīnagar.

Mr. Mohan Bhavanānī, Film producer of Bombay, gave me (*i*) two views of Shāh Hamadān (*ii*) two views of the Fountains of Shālāmār (*iii*) the Curve of the Jhelum (*iv*) the Ḍal with its clouds (*v*) the Çeshanāg (*vi*) Entrance to the Nashāt (*vii*) the Chashma-i-Shāhī and (*viii*) coarse type of Silver Jewellery worn with a cap by small girls in Kashmīr.

Lālā Mulkrāj Sarāf, B.A., Editor, the *Ranbīr*, Jammu, lent me his block of the Dogrā rulers of Kashmīr.

Pandit Baldeo Prashād, B.A., Journalist, Jammu, gave me his photo of the Mughul coins found at Rehāṛī Jammu.

The Director-General of Archaeology in the Union of India has permitted through Dr. Muhammad Nāzim, M.A., PH.D. (Cambridge), Superintendent, Archaeology, Lāhore, the reproduction of the portraits of Mahārājās Ranjīt Singh, Sher Singh, Dalīp Singh and Gulāb Singh from the Museum, Fort, Lāhore.

The coins struck in the name of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī in Kashmīr by 'Atā Muhammad Khān, governor of the Valley under the Afghāns, are inserted with the permission of the *ex*-Curator, the Central Museum, Lāhore, Mr. Muhammad Ismā'īl Chaudhrī, M.A.

(1) The Musicians' Band and the Dance and (2) A Beauty Spot in Gulmarg are the work of Pandit Somnāth of Srīnagar, Artist, formerly in the "C. & M. Gazette" Ltd., Lāhore.

The late Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq* kindly allowed me the use of three blocks of his *Ta'rīkh-i-Baḍ Shāhī*, viz. (1) the grave of Makhdūma Khātūn, Baḍ Shāh's Queen (2) the Mosque of Mudyan Sāhib, and (3) the grave of Mudyan Sāhib.

The four photographs of the (*i*) Camping on the Snows before entering Deosai on the way to Skārdu (*ii*) Waterfall, (*iii*) the Apricot Garden and (*iv*) the *Zakh*, used as a Raft, on the Shīghar river in Chapter V were taken by Mirzā 'Abdul Hamīd Beg, M.SC., Professor of Physics, Islamia College, Lāhore.

The two photos of the Gunbad-i-'Alaviyān, Hamadān, Īrān, were obtained for the author by the Consul for Īrān in Bombay, from the Ministry of Education, Īrān, for which thanks are due to him.

Monsieur A. Semenov of the Academy of Sciences in Tājikistān in Stālīnābād, kindly took, in August 1947, the photo of the Mausoleum of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī (Shāh Hamadān) in Khatlān, now called Kolāb, in the Tājik Soviet Socialist Republic, at the instance of Professor E. N. Pavlovsky, Membre de l' Academie des Sciences d' U. R. S. S., whom I saw at Bombay when he visited India for the Science Congress held at New Delhi in December, 1946.

The water colour of the saffron field is by Mr. J. Mukerji, F. R. S. A. (London), F. I. B. D., (Eng.), then Superintendent, Sir Amar Singh Technical Institute, Srīnagar.

The Afghān Governor Sardār 'Azīm Khān's sketch was lent to me by Mīrzā Kamāl-ud-Dīn *Shaidā*, formerly Secretary, Municipality, Srīnagar.

Miyān Muhammad Sa'dullāh, M.A., Keeper of the West Punjāb Government Records, secured permission for me of the Punjāb Government for the reproduction of (*i*) the receipt of Rs. 75,00,000 (Nānak-shāhī) for the transfer of Kashmīr to Mahārājā Gulāb Singh by the representatives of the East India Company, and (*ii*) the painting of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh making obeisance to King Zamān Shāh of Kābul on receiving the rulership of Lāhore.

The Proprietor of the Lion Press, Lāhore, Shaikh 'Abdul Latīf, was good enough to allow me the use of his block of the photograph of Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdullāh, who initiated the "Quit Kashmīr" movement in 1946.

The reproduction of the Floating Gardens and the Achabal is from the album of Mr. M. A. Rashīd, Under Secretary, Government of the West Punjāb, Department of Public Works, Lāhore, by the courtesy of Messrs. Muhammad Nāzir, B.A. (London), Vice-Principal, Central Training College, and Mr. M. A. Bārī, M.A., Head Master, Central Model School, Lāhore.

I borrowed from Shaikh Muhammad Habībullāh, Divisional Audit Officer, N. W. Ry., his copy showing a part of the *bāradarī* of the Shālāmār, Srīnagar.

The house-boat (two photographs) are from Miyān Bashīr Ahmad, B.A. (Oxon); Barrister-at-Law, Editor, *The Humāyūn*, Al-Manzar, Lawrence Road, Lāhore. The thrid one is from the collection of Sayyid Hamīd 'Alī, of the Dār-ul-Ishā'at, Punjāb, Railway Road, Lāhore.

(1) An old Kashmīr Carpet in an Īrānian design (2) Wood-work —a walnut screen, and (3) How hand-made Paper is produced in a suburb of Srīnagar are from *Jammu and Kashmir Information* for January 1947.

The choice of Sir Muhammad Iqbāl's photograph in the Dedication, I am glad to say, is by that great man's son, Shaikh Jāvīd Iqbāl, M.A., and was brought to me by Mr. Muhammad Shafī', M.A., who was Sir Muhammad Iqbāl's Secretary, and is now on the reporting staff of the *Pākistān Times*, Lāhore, and *Dawn*, Karāchī. The photograph was taken by the scholarly Sardār Umrāo Singh Shergil when Sir Muhammad Iqbāl was at Paris in 1933.

The remaining photos and portraits were purchased from the Superintendent, Archaeology, Museum and Research, Srīnagar, and are reproduced with the permission of Khān Bahādur Mīrzā Ja'far 'Alī Khān *Asar*, M.B.E. then Home Member, His Highness' Government, Jammu and Kashmīr.

Caution.—*It is very difficult to claim complete accuracy or perfect genuineness for the portraits of saints given in* Kashīr. *They may, at best, be looked upon as the artists' nearest approach to real likenesses.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This Bibliography is divided into four Sections. Section I notes most of the known original sources, period by period. Section II gives a list of Manuscripts mostly Persian. Section III is a list of printed books on the subject in Urdu, Persian and English. Section IV is a list of periodicals relating to Kashmīr published in and out of the Valley.

Section I

SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT ORIGINAL SOURCES

The Pre-Islamic Period

(*From the Earliest Times to 1149-50 A.C.*)

1. Sir Mark Aurel Stein's English Translation of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vols. I and II. (From the earliest times to the year 1150 A.C.). 18th May, 1900.

[French Translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* by M. A. Troyer. Vols. I—III, Paris, 1840-52.]

2. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*—The Saga of the Kings of Kashmīr. Translated from the original Saṃskṛt of Kalhaṇa by Ranjīt Sītā Rām Pandit. 18th July, 1934.

Note.—There are brief references in Al-Bīrūnī's *India*, and in Mas'ūdī's *Murūj-uz-Zahab* (Meadows of Gold), translated from the Arabic by Aloys Sprenger, M. D. (John Murray, London, 1841). Volume I only is available.

Also the French Translation with the Arabic text of the *Murūj-uz-Zahab* by Meynard and Courteille. Vols. 1-9. Paris, 1861.

The Early Muslim or the Pre-Mughul Period

(1150 to 1586 A.C.)

The Shah Miris

(1150 to 1555 A.C.)

3. Pandit Jonarāja's *Rājāvalī* in continuation of Kalhaṇa *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (From 1150 to 1459 A.C.)

4. Pandit Çrīvara's *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī* (From 1459 to 1486 A.C.)

5. Pandit Prājyabhaṭṭa's *Rājāvalīpatākā* (From 1486 to 1512 A.C.)

6. *Ta'rīkh-i-Nādirī* by Mullā Nādirī. MS. Written during Baḍ Shāh's reign. Referred to by Haidar Malik Chāḍura, Khwāja Muhammad A'zam, and Pīr Hasan Shāh. Also *Ta'rīkh-i-Waqā'i-Kashmīr* by Mullā Ahmad Kashmīrī, written at this time, is not traceable.

7. *Ta'rīkh-i-Qalamraw-i-Kashmīr* by Qāzī Ibrāhīm son of Qāzī Hamīd, Mutawallī, Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā, Srīnagar. MS. Believed to have been written in Fath Shāh's second reign, *viz.*, 1505-1514 A.C.

8. *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*—*Asl* (1544-5), and *Mukhtasar* (1541-2)—of Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt.

9. *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Sayyid 'Alī bin Muhammad, Mutawallī, Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā, Srīnagar. MS. Believed to have been written in Muhammad Shāh's fifth reign, *viz.*, 1530-1537 A.C.

The Chaks

(1555 to 1586 A.C.)

10. *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Mullā Husain Qārī. MS. Believed to have been written, during Chak rule, up to 1580 A.C.

The Mughul Period

(1586 A.C. to 1752 A.C.)

11. Pandit Çuka's Sanskrit Chronicle entitled the *Rājatraṅgiṇī*. (From 1512 to 1596 A.C.).

12-13. *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* and *Akbar-nāma* of Abu'l Fazl 'Allāmī.

14. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* by Hasan Beg, MS., written in Akbar's time.

15. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad.

16. *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīmī* or the *Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta* of Muhammad Qāsim Firishta.

17. *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī* of Mullā 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī.

18. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*.

19. *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* written during 1027-30 A.H. 1617-20 A.C., by Ra'īs-ul-Mulk Haidar Malik Chāḍura. MS.

20. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī*, author anonymous, but supposed to be Sayyid Muhammad Mahdī, a Shī'a writer, on account of the special exposition of Shī'a tenets and the exploits of Shī'a heroes. MS. 1022 A.H.=1613 A.C.

21. Dr. Francis Bernier's *Travels*, 1656—68. Edited by V. A. Smith.

22. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* by Narā'yan Kaul *'Ājiz*. MS. 1122 A.H.=1710 A.C.

23. *Navādir-ul-Akhbār* by Rafī'-ud-Dīn Ahmad *Ghāfil*, MS. 1136 A.H.=1723 A.C.

24. *Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr* or *Ta'rīkh-i-A'zamī* by Khwāja Muhammad A'zam Kaul (?) *Mustaghnī* Didamarī, 1747 A.C.

25. *Gauhar-i-'Ālam* by Abu'l Qāsim Muhammad Aslam *Mun'imī*, son of Khwāja A'zam Didamarī. MS.

The Afghan Period

(1752 to 1819 A.C.)

26. *Shāh-nāma-i-Kashmīr* by Mullā La'l Muhammad *Taufīq*, Muhammad Jān *Shāmī*, Mullā Hasan, Muhammad 'Alī Khān *Matīn*, and Rahmatullāh *Navīd* and others. Prepared under the auspices of Rājā Sukh Jīwan Mal, Governor of Kāshmīr under Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. MS. 1175 A.H.=1761 A.C. Professor C. A. Storey calls it the *Mathnawī* of *Ahwāl-i-Kashmīr*, see his *Bio-bibliographical Survey*, Section II, Fasciculus 3, page 682.

27. *Bāgh-i-Sulaimān* by Mīr Sa'dullāh Shāhābādī, MS. 1194 A.H.=1780 A.C.

28. *Ta'rīkh-i-Maulavī Hidāyatullāh Mattu* or *Takmila-i-Ta'rīkh-i-A'zamī* by Shaikh-ul-Islām Mullā Hidāyatullāh Mattu. MS. 1206 A.H.=1791 A.C. *Cf.* No. 2 above. This author died in 1206 A.H.= 1791 A.C.

29. *Waqā'i-Nizāmī* or *Nizām-ul-Waqāi'* by Nizām-ud-Dīn Muhammad Shāh Muftī, 1240 A.H.=1824 A.C.

30. George Forster's *Journey from Bengal to England* [performed in 1783 A.C.]. London, 1808.

31. *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Maulavī Khair-ud-Dīn.

32. *Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh* by Bahā-ud-Dīn Khānayārī. MS. 1243 A.H.=1827 A.C.

33. *Shujā'-i-Haidarī* by Muhammad Haidar, MS. 1256 A.H.= 1840 A.C. Āsfiyyāh Library, Hydarābād, Deccan.

The Sikh Period

(1819 to 1846 A.C.)

34. Amar Nāth Akbarī's *Zafar-nāma-i-Ranjīt Singh*. MS.

35. Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn Būṭī Shāh 'Alavī Qādirī Ludhiānavī's *Ta'rīkh-i-Punjāb*. MS. British Museum, Or. 1623, Rieu's *Catalogue*, Volume III, pp. 953-4.

36. William Moorcroft's *Travels in the Panjab, Ladakh, Kashmir, etc.*, 1819—25, Vols. I and II.

37. Pandit Bīrbāl Kāchur's *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* called in a place *Mukhtasar-ut-Tawārīkh*, in another *Majma'ut-Tawārīkh*, and in yet another place *Majmū'ut Tawārīkh*, commenced in 1251 A.H.=1835 A.C. MS.

38. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskardu* [June to December, 1835 A.C.] by G. T. Vigne. Vols. I and II.

39. *Letters from India*, written during 1828-1831 A.C., by Victor Jacquemont.

40. Baron Charles Hügel's *Travels in Kashmir* (in 1835 A.C.) *and the Panjab.*

41. *Travels in India and Kashmir* by Baron von Schönberg. (1843-4 A.C.). Vols. I and II. Volume II deals with Kashmīr.

The Dogra Period

(*From 1846 to the present time.*)

42. *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh* by Mīrzā Saif-ud-Dīn Beg. MS. 1247 A.H.=1857 A.C.

43. *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Mullā Muhammad Khalīl Marjānpurī. MS.

44. *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Mīr 'Azīzullāh Qalandar, during the time of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh.

45. Dīwān Kirpā Rām's *Gulzār-i-Kashmīr* (1864) and *Gulāb-nāma* (1865).

46. *Where Three Empires Meet* by E. F. Knight, 1893.

47. *The Valley of Kashmir* by Walter R. Lawrence, 1895.

48. *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*, MS., by Pīr Hasan Shāh (1832—1898) of Khuīhāma (Bānḍapōr or Bānḍipur) embraces the Hindu and Muslim periods. Deposited by the author at the Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā, Srīnagar.

49. *Kashmir* by Sir Francis Younghusband, 1909.

50. *Mukammal Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq*, Editor, *The Kashmīrī*, Lāhore, in 3 Vols., embraces Hindu (Vol. I), Muslim (Vol. II), and Dogrā Rule (Vol. III). 1910 A.C.

51. *Gulab Singh*, 1792-1858, Founder of Kashmīr, by Sardar K. M. Panikkar, 1930.

52. *Inside Kashmir*, by Pandit Prēm Nāth Bazāz B.A., 1941.

Also—Administration, Census and "Royal Commission" Reports, etc.

Note.—Nos. 1, 2, 21, 30, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 46, 47, 49, 51 and 52 are in English. Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 11 are in Sanskrit. No. 50 is in Urdu. The rest are in Persian.

Details of particular editions of some of the above works will be found in Section III.

Section II

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS ON THE HISTORY OF KASHMĪR

No.	*Author*	*Manuscript*	*Language*	*Obtainable from—*
1	'Abdul Qādir Khān bin Qāzī'l-Quzāt, Maulavī Wāsil 'Alī Khān.	*Hishmat-i-Kashmīr** (wrongly written Hashmat)	Persian	British Museum, London, Rieu's *Catalogue*, Vol. III, pages 1015-16 (Or. 1748).
2	'Abdul Wahhāb *Shā'iq*	*Shāh-nāma-i-Kashmīr* (poetry)	Do.	The family of the late Khān Sāhib Mīrzā Ghulām Mustafā, Retired Wazīr-i-Wizārat, Srīnagar.
3	Abū Rafī'-ud-Dīn Ahmad *Ghāfil* Balkhī Kashmīrī.	*Navādir-ul-Akhbār.*	Do.	British Museum, London. (Add. 24029), Rieu's *Catalogue*, Vol. I, page 299*b*.
4	Abu'l Qāsim Muhammad Aslam *Mun'imī.*	*Gauhar-i-'Ālam.*	Do.	Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
5	Ahmad ibn As-Sabūr Kashmīrī.	*Ta'rīkh-i-Hādī.*	Do.	Srī Ranbīr Library, Jammu, [MS. No. 5698].

*The *Hishmat-i-Kashmīr* by 'Abdul Qādir Khān bin Qāzī'l-Quzāt Maulavī Wāsil 'Alī Khān was completed at Benares in A.H. 1245 A.C. 1830. The work, which contains an historical account of Kashmīr and some neighbouring countries, is based upon an earlier account of Kashmīr written about 1183 A.H. by Muhammad Badī'-ud-Dīn Abu'l Qāsim Aslam, poetically surnamed *Mughnī*, and entitled *Gauhar Tuhfa-i-'Ālam Shāhī*, to which the author

made considerable additions. It is divided into four books (*Chaman*) treating respectively of Kashmīr, Tibet Qalmāqistān, Badakhshān, and the highlands of Afghānistān. The author of the book 'Abdul Qādir Khān, whose family had settled, for some generations, in the Sūbah of Ilāhābād, and was staying with John Lumsden when Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān succeeded to the regency of Oudh (A.H. 1212=A.C. 1796), named it after Mr. Wm. Aug. Brooke, the English Agent whose Persian title was *Hishmat-ud-Daula*. Maulavī 'Abdul Qādir Khān is mentioned in Col. Wm. Kirkpatrik's account of Nepāl (pp. xi and 367), as a member of the mission sent to Khatmandū in A.C. 1793.—Abstracted from Rieu's *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Volume III, 1883, Or. 1748, pages 1015-16.

A copy of the MS., *Hishmat-i-Kashmīr*, was lent to me by Khān Sāhib Muhammad Jamīl-ud-Dīn, B.A. (Alig.), Retired Deputy Collector, Mahalla Qāzī-tola, Badāūn, U.P., Ex-General Minister, Bharatpur State, 1943-45, and in active service in France during the World War I. This MS. is in the handwriting of Lachchmī Narāyan, and is dated Lucknow, the beginning of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 1255 A.H.=1839 A.C. The full title of Mr. William Augustus Brooke is given as *Hishmat-ud-Daula Ihtishām-ul-Mulk Fīrūz Jang*, and he is represented as British Resident of Benares at the time. The MS., inside the border, is slightly over 7 inches long, and slightly over 3½ inches broad, and has 15 lines a page. The number of folios is 100, including the *Khātima*, or the epilogue. 'Abdul Qādir Khān, the author of the MS., utilized, as he notes in folio 5, the following works in the preparation of his *Hishmat-i-Kashmīr*:—"(i) Khwāja A'zam Didamarī's *Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr*, (ii) History of Kalhaṇa Pandit, known as the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in the Sanskrit language, (iii) *The Ta'rīkh-i-Mullā Husain Qādirī*, (or *Qārī* ?), (iv) *The Ta'rīkh-i-Malik Haidar*, (v) Miscellaneous Histories written by Chak Pādshāhs, and known as the *Nūr-nāma*, (vi) *The Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, (vii) The collected works of Mullā Ahmad, (viii) The *Ta'rīkh Hasan Beg*, (ix) *The Ta'rīkh-i-Bābā Nasīb*, (x) *The Ta'rīkh-i-Asrār-ul-Abrār*, (xi) *The Risālah Shaikh Muhammad Murād Naqshbandī*, (xii) *The Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, (xiii) *The Nawādir-ul-Akhbār*, (xiv) *The Majālis-ul-Muminīn*, (xv) *The Dastūr-ul-'Amal of Sayyid Mubārak Khān*, (xvi) *The Rauzat-ush-Shifā*—this last being a historical collection in Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Kashmīrī." The *Hishmat-i-Kashmīr* closes with the end of Mughul rule in the Valley, and refers to Afghān rule and Sikh rule in but a line. Then follows a small chapter on "the wonders and enchantments" of Kashmīr, another chapter treats of the trade of the Valley. Chaman II, III and IV deal with countries as noted by Rieu.

No.	Author	Manuscript	Language	Obtainable from—
6	Amar Nāth Akbarī	*Zafar-nāmah-i-Ranjīt Singh.*	Persian	Panjāb University Library *Descriptive Catalogue*, No. 161, p. 110.
7	A'zam Kaul (?) *Mustaghnī* Didamarī, Khwāja Muhammad. [Rieu adds "Kaul" after A'zam's name and quotes no authority for it. A'zam's ancestors came from Bukhārā and, therefore, the addition of 'Kaul' is rather mystifying.]	*Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr.*	Do. (*Note.*—*Ta'rīkh-i-A'zamī* has been published twice, the last edition was edited by Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat of Srīnagar.)	Panjāb University Library, Lāhore, No. 174, p. 118.
8	Bahā-ud-Dīn Khushnavīs, Mullā.	*Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh-i-Kashmīr*	Persian	British Museum. Rieu's *Catalogue* Vol. III, p. 957*a*.
9	Bīrbāl Kāchur, Pandit. The Author's name is not given in Rieu's *Catalogue*, Vol. III, p. 957*a*.	*Mukhtasar-ut-Tawarīkh-i-Kashmīr.* (Written during 1251 A.H.=1835 A.C. and 1262 A.H.=1846 A.C.)	Do.	Borrowed from the late K.B. Pīrzāda Muhammad Husain *'Ārif*, M.A., C.I.E., formerly Chief Justice, High Court, Srīnagar.
10	Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn surnamed Butī Shāh 'Alavī Qādirī Ludhiyānavī.*	*Ta'rīkh-i-Panjāb.*	Persian	Panjāb University Library, Lāhore, No. 165, p. 112. Also India Office Library, *see* Ethé, Vol. I, p. 198.

*Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn surnamed Butī Shāh 'Alavī Qadirī Ludhiyānavī wrote his *Ta'rīkh-i-Panjāb* in A.H. 1258 = A.C. 1842 at the request of Captain Murray, Resident at Ludhiāna, in whose office he was a *Munshī*.

No	Author	Manuscript	Language	Obtainable from—
11	Ghulām Nabī Khānsyārī, Qāzī	*Wajīz-ut-Ta'rīkh*, in three parts, pp. 604. Part I 50 pp., Part II 454 pp., Part III 100 pp. Written during the reign of Mahārāja Ranbīr Singh in 1274 A.H.=1857 A.C.	Persian	**Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat, Nauhoṭṭa, Jāmi' Masjid, Srīnagar.**
12	Haidar Malik Chāḍura	*Tawarīkh-i-Kashmīr.*	Do.	Khān Bahādur Maulavī Zafar Hasan, B.A., O.B.E., Retired Director-General of Archæology, Delhi, now at the Museum, Lāhore.
13	Hasan Shāh-i-Khuyhāma, Pīr	*Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* commonly known as *Tarīkh-i-Hasan*	Do.	Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā, Srīnagar.
14	Khalīl Marjānpūrī, Mullā Muhammad	*Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl*	Do.	Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat, ex-Municipal Commr., Nauhaṭṭa, Jāmi' Masjid, Srīnagar.
15	Hasan bin Muhammad al-Khākī Shīrāzī	*Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*	Do.	M. Ghubār, c/o the *Āryāna*, Jādah Ibn Sīna, Kābul, *vide* the *Āryāna*, Number 23, Volume XI, Second Year, Awwal Qaus, 1323. This MS. was written in 1019 A. H.=1610 A.C. during the reign of the Emperor Jahāngīr.

16	Mahādev Jān, Pandit, Translator of Pīr Hasan Shāh's *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*	*Tawārīkh-i-Kashmīr*	Urdu	Srī Partāp Singh Public Library, Srīnagar.
17	Muhtasham, Mīrzā	*Ta'rīkh-i-Tanwīr*	Persian	Imām-i-Masjid, Bandūq Khār Mahalla, near Ra'nāwārī, Srīnagar.
18	Mustafā	*Zain-ud-Dīn Rīshī's Tazkira* or *Biography*	Kashmīrī, 1307 A.H.=1889 A.C.	Srī Partāp Singh Public Library, Srīnagar.
19	*Nāfi'*, Muhammad Zamān	*Ta'rīkh-i-Nāfi'*	Persian	Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat, Nauhaṭṭa, Srīnagar.
20	Narāin Kaul *'Ājiz*, Pandit	*Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*	Do.	Srī Partāp Singh Public Library, Srīnagar. Also British Museum, Add. 11,631, Rieu's *Catalogue*, Vol. I, page 298
21	Nizām-ud-Dīn Muhammad Shāh, Muftī	*Nizām-ul-Waqāi'*	Do.	Khwāja Ghulām Muhammad Naqshbandī Ahrārī Mujaddadī, Khānayār, Sayyidwārī, Srīnagar.

[This MS., in the handwriting of the author, has 288 pages, each page having 13 lines. The length of the page is 9", the breadth is $5\frac{1}{3}$", leaving the margin, the space used for writing is $6'' \times 3\frac{1}{3}''$].

22	Qāzī Ibrāhīm	*Ta'rīkh-i-Qalamraw-i-Kashmīr*	Persian	Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat, Nauhaṭṭa, Srīnagar.

No.	Author	Manuscript	Language	Obtainable from—
22	**Saif-ud-Dīn Beg, Mīrzā***	*Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh*	Persian	Mīrzā Kamāl-ud-Dīn *Shaidā*, B.A., President, Municipal Committee, Jammu.
23	Sayyid 'Alī ibn Sayyid Muhammad	Do.	Do.	Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat, Nauhaṭṭa, near Jāmi' Masjid, Srīnagar.
24	*Anonymous*. Supposed to be by a Shī'a gentleman of Kashmīr, presumed in Kashmīr to be Sayyid Mahdī Kashmīrī.	*Bahāristān-i-Shāhī.*	Do.	British Museum, London (Add 16,706), Rieu's *Catalogue* Vol. I, pages 296-7. Events from A.H. 986/1578-9 being treated fully.
25	Sayyid Sa'dullāh, Shāhābādī, Mīr	*Bāgh-i-Sulaimān* (poetry)	Do.	Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā, Srīnagar. Also Pīr Muhammad Shāh, Kalāldūrī Mahalla, Srīnagar. The latter has 252 folios.
26	Sohan Lāl, Ranjīt Singh's Court Vakīl and historian	*'Umdat-ut-Tawārīkh*	Do.	Oriental Library, Bānkīpur, Patna. The MS. closes at 1831 A.C. The copy printed in 1885 goes down to 1849.

*The *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, folios 71, 8 in. by 5 in., 13 lines, each 3 in. long; written in good *nasta'līq*, dated A.H. 1278 (A.C. 1861). Author's name Mīrzā Saif-ud-Dīn, record-writer in Kashmīr, who brought it down from the earliest times to 1277 A.H. (1860 A.C.). Mīrzā Muhy'id Dīn, the brother and successor in office of the author, continued it, and completed it on the 22nd October, 1861, at the request of General Courtland, then recently appointed British Agent in Kashmīr. The MS. is No. 234 in the *Catalogue of Arabic and Persian MSS.* in the University of Edinburgh, 1925, pp. 199-200.

The manuscripts on the history of Kashmīr in the British Museum, London, are nine in number. They are according to Rieu's *Catalogue*, Volume III, page 1195, as follows:—

1 *Rājataranki*, folios 131, written in 599 A.H.=1586 A.C.
2 *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī*, folios 180, written in 1023 A.H.=1614 A.C.
3 *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*, folios 224, written in 1030 A.H.=1620 A.C., by Haidar Malik of Chāḍura.
4 *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*, folios 125, written in 1122 A.H.=1710 A.C., by Pandit Nārāyan Kaul *'Ājiz*.
5 *Navādir-ul-Akhbār*, folios 131, written in 1136 A.H.=1723 A.C., by Abū Rafī'-ud-Dīn Ahmad and completed in Shāhjahānābād in the month of Safar 1136 A.H.
6 *Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr*, folios 315, written in 1160 A.H.=1747 A.C., by Muhammad A'zam son of Khair-uz-Zamān Khān. Also *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Hājī Muhammad A'zam Pashāwarī is noted by Rieu (see his *Catalogue*, Vol. III, p. 1013*a*, III.)
7 *Gauhar-i-'Ālam*, folios 91, written in 1188 A.H.=1774 A.C. One copy by Badī'-ud Dīn Abu'l Qāsim Aslam in 1188 A.H., and another copy by Abu'l Qāsim Aslam *Mun'imī* in 1850 A.C.=1267 A.H.
8 *Hishmat-i-Kashmīr*, folios 20, written in 1245 A.H.=1829 A.C., by 'Abdul Qādir Khān bin Wāsil 'Alī Khān and completed at Benāres.
9 *Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh*, folios 123, written in 1262 A.H.=1845 A.C., the author's name is not given.

Wladimir Ivanow's *Catalogue* of the Persian Manuscripts in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengāl (No. 189, p. 59) calls No. 7 above, *Gauhar-nāma-i-'Ālam*, and says that the copy in question is a history of Kashmīr up to 1200 A.H.=1786 A.C., or thereabout. The work is dedicated to Shāh 'Ālam (1173 A.H.=1759 A.C. to 1221 A.H.=1806 A.C.) and was originally composed in 1160 A.H.=1747 A.C., but subsequently completed about 1200 A.H.=1786 A.C. It is divided into a *muqaddama* (containing a general description of Kashmīr), six *tabaqas* and a *Khātima*, but the *Khātima* is missing in the copy.

A copy of No. 8, of the above, *viz.*, *Hishmat-i-Kashmīr*, is in the Curzon Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengāl, No. 42, page 21.

Persian Literature : A Bio-bibliographical Survey by Professor C.A. Storey, in Section II, Fasciculus 3, M. History of India, Luzac & Co., London, 1939, pages 678-87, gives the names of Manuscripts, almost all of which have been noted in this Bibliography, except the *Shujā'-i-Haidarī* by Muhammad Haidar (See Catalogue of the Āsafiyyah Library, Hydarābād, Deccan, *iii*, p. 96, No. 1384 (A.C. 1840).

Section III

LIST OF PUBLISHED WORKS

A

Abruzzi, Duke of, & Filippi (Fillippode) ..	*Karakorum and Western Himalayas*, 1909. Constable & Co., London, 1912. Two Volumes.
'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī. .. Mullā	*Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī*, written in 1025 A.H.=1615 A.C. Part I "The Rulers of Kashmīr," pp. 199-265. Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengāl, Calcutta, 1924. [*Persian*]
Abu'l Fazl ..	*Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, edited by Blochmann, Calcutta, 1867. [*Persian*]
Do. ..	————English Translation, Vol. I by H. Blochmann, M.A., 1873, Calcutta. Second Edition, revised by Lt.-Col. D. C. Phillott, Calcutta, 1927. Vol. II by Colonel H. S. Jarrett, 1891, Calcutta. Vol. III by Colonel H. S. Jarrett, 1894, Bengāl Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
Do. ..	*Akbar-nāma*, edited by Maulavī 'Abdur Rahīm, Professor of Arabic, Calcutta, Madrasa, Calcutta. Three Volumes, 1877, 1879 and 1886. [*Persian*]—English Translation, Vol. I, II, III by H. Beveridge, I.C.S., Retired. 1902, 1905, 1939. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengāl. Calcutta.
Adams, A. L. ..	*Wanderings of a Naturalist in India.* Edmondstone and Douglas. Edinburgh, 1867.
Akbar Shāh Khān of Najībābād	*Maulānā Ghanī*—Mullā Tāhir *Ghanī*, Poet of Kashmīr. Publisher—Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq*, Lāhore. [*Urdu*]
'Alā'ud-Dīn Muhammad, Muftī, son of Muftī Nūr-ud-Dīn (Ghulām Shāh).	*Mukhtasar Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*, Matba' Gulshan-i-Rashīdī, Lāhore, 1301 A.H. Price As. 3. Pp. 48. [*Urdu*]
Al Birūnī, Abū Raihān ..	*India.* Translated by Dr. Edward C. Sachau. Trübner, 1910.
Anand Kaul Bāmizaī, .. Pandit	History of Kashmīr, *J.A.S.B.*, New Series, Vol. VI, No. 4, April, 1910, pages 195—219.

A—*contd.*

Ānand Kaul Bāmīzai, Pandit .. History of Kashmīr, *J.A.S.B.*, New Series, Vol. IX, No. 5, 1913.

Do. .. *Jammu and Kashmir State.* Thacker, Spink & Co., 1913. Second revised edition. 1925.

Do. .. Shawls. *East and West*, January, 1915.

Do. .. Kashmīr Carpet Industry. *East and West*, October, 1915.

Do. .. Kashmīr Papier Mâché Industry. *East and West*, July, 1916.

Do. .. *Life Sketch of Laleshwari.*—A great Hermitess of Kashmīr. British India Press, Bombay, 1922. Reprint from the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. L., 1921.

Do. .. *The Kashmiri Pandit.* Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1924.

Do. .. *A Life of Nand Rishi.* The British India Press, Mazgaon, Bombay, 1930. Reprint from the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LIX, 1930, pp. 28-32.

Do. .. *Archaeological Remains in Kashmir.* Mercantile Press, Lāhore, 1935.

Do. .. *Lalla Yogeshwari.* Her life and sayings with an introduction by Dīwān Bahādur Rājā Narindra Nāth. The Mercantile Press, Lāhore, 1942.

Anant Rām and Hīrā Nand. *Census Report of Jammū and Kashmīr* of 1931. Ranbīr Government Press, Jammū, 1933.

Ansley, Mrs. Murray .. *Our Visit to Hindustan, Kashmir and Ladakh.* H. W. Allen, London, 1879.

Arbuthnot, James .. *A Trip to Kashmir.* Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1900.

Archaeological and Research Department *Reports*, Kashmīr, 1909 to date.

Archaeological Survey of India *Reports*.

Arora, R.C., B.Sc. (Ag). .. *In the Land of Kashmir, Ladakh and Gilgit.* C.M.S. Press, Sikandra, Āgra, 1940. Price Rs. 7/- Pp. 303.

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Note.—For Hijra and Christian years, Dr. O. Codrington's Table n *A Manual of Musalmān Numismatics,* published by the Royal Asiatic Society, Monograph, Vol. VII, 1904, has been used. Also as a check, Lt.-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig's *Comparative Tables of Muhammadan and Christian Dates,* Luzac & Co., London, 1932.

Section IV

PERIODICALS

Miyān Muhammad 'Abdullāh Quraishī, B.A., known in Kashmīrī circles as co-author, with the late Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq*, of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Aqwām-i-Kashmīr*, Volume III, has kindly prepared the following list of Periodicals that have, from time to time, discussed the various aspects of life in the Valley of Kashmīr and of the Kashmīrīs abroad. This literature is valuable as throwing light, from a point of view a little different from that of a book or a manuscript on Kashmīr, and should be helpful to the student of latter-day history, political, social and cultural, of Kashmīr. With certain additions and alterations this list is given below :—

1. *The Khair-Khwāh-i-Kashmīr.* Urdu weekly, published from Lāhore and edited by Pandit Hargopāl Kaul *Khasta* during 1882-83. Critical of Mahārājā Ranbīr's régime. *Khasta* was exiled by the Mahārājā and lived in Lāhore for some time. He ventilated his grievances through this paper. See page 348 and footnote 2 of *Kashīr*, Volume II.

2. *The Rāvī*, Lāhore. As above.

3. *The Public News*, Lāhore. As above.

4. *The Akhbār-i-'Ām*, Lāhore.—Urdu weekly, established in 1881 by Pandit Mukand Rām Gurtu, subsequently edited by his son Pandit Gopī Nāth. It was, later on, converted into a daily. It stopped publication some ten years back.

5. *The Murāsala-i-Kashmīr.*—An organ of the Kashmīrī Pandits, published weekly from Lāhore during 1880 and 1890.

6. *The Kashmīr Prakāsh.*—A monthly magazine of Lāhore, edited by Pandit Manka Meshar. It began to be issued in 1898 and ceased publication in 1901. It worked for the social uplift of the Kashmīrī Pandits.

7. *The Kashmīr Darpan*, Allahābād.—It was a bi-lingual monthly magazine in Urdu and Hindi edited by Pandit (now Sir) Tej Bahādur Saprū, M. A., LL. D., during 1898-1904. Some of its files are available in the *Kaifī* Collection of the Panjāb University Library, Lāhore.

8. *The Shumālī*, Rāwalpindī.—It appeared from Rāwalpindī some fifty years ago, and stopped publication after two years.

9. *The Gulshan-i-Kashmīr*, Lāhore.—An Urdu weekly, edited by Maulāna Tāj-ud-Dīn Ahmad *Tāj* in 1901. Now defunct.

10. *The Panja-i-Faulād*, Lāhore.—An Urdu weekly, edited by the late Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq* during 1901-1906. It discussed affairs in Kashmīr and Jammu. Its files are available at Messrs. Zafar Brothers, Booksellers, Zafar Manzil, Outside Sherānwāla Gate, Lāhore.

11. *The Kashmīrī Gazette*, Lāhore.—An Urdu monthly, established by Chaudhrī Jān Muhammad Ganāī and edited by Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq* during 1901-1904. It worked for the social and political awakening of Kashmīrī Musalmāns. Its files are available with Chaudhrī Allāh Bakhsh of Messrs. Allāh Bakhsh Jān Muhammad, Book sellers, Kashmīrī Bāzār, Lāhore.

12. *The Kashmīrī Makhzan*, Lāhore.—An Urdu monthly, edited by Khwāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn, B.A., LL.B., Muslim Missionary for England, and Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq* during 1905 for the social uplift of the Kashmīrīs.

13. *The Kashmīrī Magazine*, Lāhore.—An Urdu monthly, established by Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq* in 1906. It was converted into a weekly in 1912. It was devoted to the historical, social and political movements that agitated the mind of the people of Kashmīr in the time of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh. Its files are preserved by Zafar Brothers, Zafar Manzil, Outside Sherānwāla Gate, Lāhore.

14. *The Akhbār-i-Kashmīr*, Lāhore.—This was the name given to the *Kashmīrī Magazine* by Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq* in 1912 when converting it into a weekly. It ceased publication in 1935. It is a mine of information about Kashmīr for about a quarter of a century from 1912 to 1935. Its files are available with Messrs. Zafar Brothers, Zafar Manzil, Outside Sherānwāla Gate, Lāhore.

15. *The Safīr*, Lāhore.—Urdu monthly of the Kashmīrī Pandits, edited by Pandit Lachhmī Nārāin Kaul during 1914-1916.

16. *The Subh-i-Kashmīr*, Lāhore.—Urdu monthly, edited by Pandit Lachhmī Nārāin Kaul and Pandit Dīnā Nāth *Mast* in 1916 onwards. It was the successor of the *Safīr*, Lāhore, and a bold critic of Kashmīr politics.

17. *The Bahār-i-Kashmīr*, Lāhore.—Bi-lingual, Urdu and Hindi, monthly of the Kashmīrī Pandits' Association. It was edited, from time to time, by some of the well-known scholars and poets among the Kashmīrī Pandits. It continued till the Partition of India. Some of its files are available with Messrs. Zafar Brothers, Zafar Manzil, Outside Sherānwāla Gate, Lāhore.

18. *The Rafīq-i-Hindustān*, Lāhore.—An Urdu weekly published during 1885 and 1890-91. It discussed Kashmīr affairs.

19. *The Ā'īna-i-Hind*, Lāhore.—Urdu weekly, published by Bābū Ghulām Muhammad in the beginning of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh's reign against the policy of the Council appointed by the British Government in 1887.

20. *The Hamdard-i-Hind*, Lāhore.—An anti-Pratāp paper, edited by Pandit Sarab Dyāl during 1894. It condemned Mahārājā Pratāp Singh and supported the rival party and the Council. It was the first paper issued from British India, which was proscribed in the State.

21. *The Rājput Gazette*, Lāhore.—Urdu weekly, established by Ṭhākar Sukhrām Chauhān in the beginning of this century. It continued till the Partition of India. During this long period, it discussed specially the affairs of Kashmīr for many years when it was edited by Pandit Rāj Nārain *Armān* Dehlavī.

22. *The Kashmīr*, Amritsar.—Urdu weekly edited by Khwāja Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn during 1924-1927.

23. *The Kashmīrī Musalmān*, Lāhore.
24. *The Mazlūm-i-Kashmīr*, Lāhore.
25. *The Maktūb-i-Kashmīr*, Lāhore.

The Daily *Inqilāb*, Lāhore, wrote strong articles against the administration of Mahārājā Harī Singh about 1929-31. When its entry into the State was banned, the *Kashmīrī Musalmān* was issued. When this paper was also banned in 1931, the *Mazlūm-i-Kashmīr* took its place. When this paper was also proscribed in the State, the *Maktūb-i-Kashmīr* took up the work. This paper was also banned. The Glancy Commission and the Reforms following it may be said to be due to the powerful writings of these papers coupled with the Ahrār Movement, the advice and assistance of the Kashmīr Committee, and the agitation within the Valley of Kashmīr under the leadership of Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdullāh, Chaudhrī Ghulām 'Abbās, and others.

So far, efforts were made from outside for the uplift of the people of Kashmīr. But now the Kashmīrīs themselves began to issue periodicals from Srīnagar, Jammu, Muzaffarābād, Pūnch and Mīrpur. The following is the list of some of the papers which were issued during this period, viz., 1932–1948. These are important in respect of current topics and noteworthy events that took place from time to time.

26. *The Vatistā, Srīnagar.*—The first Urdu weekly issued by Pandit Prēm Nāth Bazāz B.A., in 1931. After a suspension of many years, it has been converted into a Hindi monthly since 1947.

27. *The Sadāqat, Srīnagar.*—Urdu daily, published to support the movement initiated by Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdullāh and his associates in 1932–33. It was at one time edited by Maulavī 'Abdur Rahīm, M.A., LL.B., recently city Judge, Srīnagar, but now in jail. Defunct.

28. *The Daily Haqīqat*, Srīnagar.—It was a successor of the *Sadāqat*, Srīnagar, which was believed to be edited by Pandit Prēm Nāth Bazāz, B.A., under the assumed name of S. Q. Qalandar. It ceased publication in 1933–34.

29. *The Mārtand*, Srīnagar.—Urdu daily, published by the Sanātan Dharm Yūvak Sabhā since 1931. In the beginning it was edited by Pandit Keshab Bandhu, but till recently by Pandit Prēm Nāth Kanah.

30. *The Islām*, Srīnagar.—Urdu bi-weekly, belonging to the party of Maulavī Yūsuf Shāh Mīr Wā'iz. It was started in 1933 under the editorship of Muhammad Amīn but did not survive long.

31. *The Kashmīr-i-Jadīd*, Srīnagar.—Urdu daily edited by the late Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq* during 1933–34.

32. *Albarq*, Srīnagar.—Urdu bi-weekly, edited by M. A. *Sābir* during 1935–40.

33. *The Bekār*, Srīnagar.—Urdu weekly, brought into being by Mr. Sadr-ud-Dīn *Mujāhid* in 1932-33.

34. *The Khālid*, Srīnagar.—Urdu weekly, a successor of the *Bekār*, Srīnagar, edited by Mr. Sadr-ud-Dīn *Mujāhid*. It supports the cause of the Jammu & Kashmīr National Conference.

35. *The Hidāyat*, Srīnagar.—Urdu weekly, published under the guidance of Mīr Wā'iz Hamadānī.

36. *The Kesarī*, Srīnagar.—Leaving the editorship of the Daily *Mārtand*, Srīnagar, Pandit Keshab Bandhu issued the weekly *Kesarī* till 1938, when he was imprisoned, and the paper was stopped. This paper used to write against Capitalism.

37. *The Desh*, Srīnagar.—Urdu weekly, a successor of the weekly *Kesarī*, Srīnagar, edited by Pandit Keshab Bandhu since 1940. It generally advocates Communist ideas.

38. *The Rahbar*, Srīnagar.—Urdu daily, established by M. Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn in 1933, now a weekly, edited by Pandit Dīna Nāth *Mast*.

39. *The Daily Hamdard*, Srīnagar.—Edited and owned by Pandit Prēm Nāth Bazāz, B.A., since 1933. It is a strong supporter of Roy's Radical Democratic Party, and is anti-'Abdullāh politics. It is well-edited and popular among Muslims. Its illustrated weekly issues have been informative regarding the history, sociology and literature of Kashmīr. Pandit Prēm Nāth Bazāz is now imprisoned (1948).

40. *The Daily Khidmat*, Srīnagar.—Being edited since 1939 by Maulavī Muhammad Sa'īd Mas'ūdī, Maulavī Fazīl, lately lecturer in Arabic, Prince of Wales College, now (1948) named Gāndhī Memorial College, Jammu. It is an organ of the Jammu & Kashmīr National Conference. It is now edited by Maulavī Ghulām Ahmad Mīr, Kashfī, Maulavī Fāzil.

41. *The Dehātī Dunyā*.—Urdu organ of the Rural Development Department, Jammu & Kashmīr Government. It is edited by Shaikh Ghulām Qādir. It is devoted to *Dehāt Sudhār* or rural uplift, adult education, and the formation of *Panchāyats* throughout the State.

42. *The Paighām*, Srīnagar.—Urdu weekly, edited by Quraishī Muhammad Yūsuf and Nizām-ud-Dīn Chishtī, B. A., in 1939-40.

43. *The Kashmīr Guardian*, Srīnagar.—Urdu weekly, under the editorship of Pandit Baldeo Prashād Sharma, B.A., now in the State Publicity Department.

44. *The Islāh*, Srīnagar.—Urdu weekly edited by Chaudhrī 'Abdul Wāhid and Maulavī 'Abdul Ghaffār, Maulavī Fāzil, who are now refugees in the West Punjāb. It has been a strong supporter of the Muslim cause and is anti-'Abdullāh. It was started in 1934 under the auspices of the Ahmadiyya Movement of Qādiān, East Punjāb.

45. *The Vakīl*, Srīnagar.—Urdu weekly, published by Pandit, Shambu Nāth Kaul since 1935.

46. *The Mahābīr*, Srīnagar.—Hindi weekly, popular among Hindu women.

47. *The Ittihād-i-Jāgīrdārān*, Srīnagar.—Urdu weekly started by the Jāgīrdārs of the State but was shortlived.

48. *The Swāstaka*, Srīnagar.—A monthly magazine.

49. *The Kashmīr Times*, Srīnagar.—English weekly, owned by Sardār 'Abdur Rahmān Miṭhṭhā of Bombay, and edited by Mr. G.K. Reddi coming from the Madras Presidency. It had to stop publication on the recent change of administration in Kashmīr. It advocated the views of the Communist Party and was anti-'Abdullāh. At one time owned by a Kashmirī Pandit, and edited by Mr. J. N. Zutshī, B.A., LL.B., who subsequently edited the *Kashmīr Sentinel*.

50. *The Kashmīr Chronicle*, Srīnagar.—English weekly, edited by Pandit Gwāsha Lāl Kaul, B.A., author of *A Short History of Kashmīr*.

51. *The Hurriyat*, Srīnagar.—Urdu weekly, published by Maulavī Yūsuf Shāh Mīr Wā'iz's party. It was a successor of the *Islām*, Srīnagar.

52. *The Mirror*, Srīnagar.—English weekly, owned by Pandit Prēm Nāth Bazāz, B.A. It is now defunct.

53. *The Nūr*, Srīnagar.—Urdu weekly, being issued since 1939 by Mr. M. D. Nūr.

54. *The Ranbīr*, Jammu.—Urdu weekly, began to be published in 1923 by Lāla Mulk Rāj Sarāf, B.A. It was subsequently converted into a bi-weekly. Some of its 'special numbers' have proved very interesting. It was the first paper in the State. See pp. 820-1, Vol. II, of *Kashīr*. It generally wrote in favour of H. H. Government and its high officials, and was generally favoured by them and was believed to be subsidized.

55. *The Amar*, Jammu.—Urdu weekly, representative of the Dogrās, and the Mahāsabhāists, and was edited by Lāla Sheo Rām Gupta.

56. *The Chānd*, Jammu.—Weekly Urdu, was edited by Dīwān brothers. It advocated moderate views, tried to uplift the poor and rural population and labourers though the editors themselves were reported to be capitalists. Instructive stories published in this paper were read with great interest. Now it is a daily in Urdu.

57. *The Dēsh Sewak*, Jammu.—No longer in existence.

58. *The Sudarshan*, Jammu.—Weekly, writes in favour of Nationalism and Hindu-Muslim unity.

59. *The Dīpak*, Jammu.—Bi-lingual, Hindi and English. It discusses political affairs in English and social affairs in Hindi.

60. *The Karn Kashmīr*, Jammu.—Urdu weekly, edited by Mr. Muhammad Shafī' Chak in 1931. Now defunct.

61. *The Pāsbān*, Jammu.—Urdu weekly, a successor of the *Karn Kashmīr*, and a supporter of the policy of the All-Jammu and Kashmīr Muslim Conference. It is edited by Mi'rāj-ud-Dīn Ahmad since 1932. He is now (July 1948) a refugee in Siālkōṭ.

62. *The Ratan*, Jammu.—Urdu weekly owned by Lālā Mulk Rāj Sarāf, editor *The Ranbīr*. It is sanctioned by the State for use in Schools. The *Kisān* was also issued by Lālā Mulk Rāj Sarāf from Jammu and is now defunct.

63. *The Jamhūr*, Jammu.—Urdu weekly, owned and edited by 'Abdul Majīd Qarshī.

64. *The Khurshīd*, Jammu.—Urdu weekly, edited by *Qais* Shirwānī.

65. *The Inkishāf*, Jammu.—Now defunct.

66. *The Naujawān*, Jammu.—Urdu weekly issued by Munshī Muhammad Husain *Ghāzī* in 1933.

67. *The Watan*, Jammu.—It was a fearless critic. Its security was forfeited by the State and it ceased publication. It was edited by a patriotic Sikh.

68. *The Sādiq*, Pūnch.—It is edited by Ziyā-ul-Hasan *Ziyā* and upholds the cause of the Muslims of Pūnch.

69. *The Parbhāt*, Pūnch.—Its aim was to support the cause of Hindus and Sikhs. It was edited by Lālā Dyā Nand Kapūr.

70. *Al-Mujāhid*, Pūnch.—Urdu weekly, edited by Shaikh Nabī Bakhsh Nizāmī since 1933; it is now defunct.

71. *The Āftāb*, Pūnch.—Urdu weekly published by Hakīm Sarvan Nāth *Āftāb* since 1937.

72. *The Zamīndār*, Muzaffarābād.—A Sikh organ, but soon disappeared.

73. *The Tegh* or Sher Babar, Muzaffarābād.—As above.

74. *The Sadāqat*, Mīrpur.—Published by Lālā Gyān Chand. It is an advocate of the rights of the Hindus.

75. *The Himmat*, Mīrpur.—It was issued by the late Rājā Muhammad Akbar, who was, in the beginning, a supporter of the Muslim Conference, but subsequently changed over to the Kashmīr National Conference.

76. *The Jāvīd*, Urdu weekly, Jammu.—Very ably edited by Mr. Allāh Rakkhā *Sāghir*. Well got-up. Followed the Anjuman-i-Taraqqī-i-Urdu in its style of writing Urdu. Mr. Sāghir is imprisoned now (1947-8). The *Jāvīd* has ceased publication.

77. *Al-Insān*, Jammu.—An Urdu weekly organ of the J. & K. Gujar Jāṭ Conference, edited by Chaudhrī Muhammad-ud-Dīn Barnālvī.

78. *Kashmīr*, weekly, Srīnagar.—Edited by Pandit Prēm Nāth Kanah. Mouthpiece of a party of State's Peoples.

79. *The Nau-Yug*, Urdu daily, Srīnagar.—Supports the Kashmīr National Conference. Edited by Pandīt Nand Lal Wātal, B.A. It was owned formerly by the Ārya Samāj, Huzūrī Bāgh, Srīnagar.

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80. Mention must be made of the *Gāsh*, the *Pratāp* and the *Lāla Rukh*, that publish contributions in Kashmīrī. For them the reader is referred to page 401 of *Kashīr*, Volume II.

KASHĪR CHRONOLOGY

The Pre-Muslim Period of the History of Kashmīr embracing Vedic, Buddhist and Brāhmanical Times	From the earliest times to 1320 A.C.
The Sultāns of Kashmīr beginning with Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn (Rinchana) to Sultān Habīb Shāh	1320 to 1560 A.C. or 240 Years. [From 1323 to 1338 A.C. the interval of 15 years is taken up by Udayanadeva's and Koṭā Rānī's rule.]
The Chaks	1560 to 1586 A.C. or 26 Years.
The Mughuls	1586 to 1752 A.C. or 166 Years.
The Afghāns	1752 to 1819 A.C. or 67 Years.
The total length of Muslim Rule in Kashmīr	240 + 26 + 166 + 67=499 Years.
The Sikhs	1819 to 1846 A.C. or 27 Years.
The Dogrās—From Mahārāja Gulāb Singh to Mahārājā Pratāp Singh excluding the present ruler Mahārājā Hari Singh.	1846 to 1925 A.C. or 79 Years. In 1946 Dogrā rule in Kashmīr completed its century.

Facsimile; 3rd line, read *Nashāt* for Nishāt.

Page 15, 2nd line, read *Honigberger* for Hönigberger.

„ 26, below the verses, read نَشاط for نِشاط.

„ 35, read the heading as *Early History, Buddhist and Brāhmanical*, instead of the Pre-Islamic Perio l.

„ 37, line 3, in paragraph 3, read *Samdhimatnagar* for Samdhimatnnagar.

„ 44, line 5, from above, read *Shaikhupura* for Sheikhupura.

„ 53, last para, in two places, read *753* for 751.

„ 65, line 8, from the bottom, read *shall* for sh ll.

„ 69, read *Udayanadeva* for Udyānadeva in three places in the second paragraph; also on page 128 in paras. first and second; and pages 129, in paras. first, second and third.

„ 92, No *é* but e in Rieu and Blochet. Also pp. 164, 242, and 250 in Rieu.

„ 112, line 14, from the bottom, read *1494* for 1394.

„ 124, in لبِ جُو the *pesh* has jumped to the next hemistich, where it is not required at all.

„ 135, space is required between *by* and *Sir* in the footnote No. 2.

„ 141, line 3, from below, accent on the ī in Ghaznī.

„ 147, the comma, after appraised, is thrown away further than it should be.

„ 171, lines 4 & 21, read *Gujarāt* for Gujrāt.

„ 173, footnote No. 4, the *f* is broken, and the *i* is to be accented *í* and not ī in the name of the book.

„ 178, line 2, below the inset, read *Baḍ* for Bād.

„ 205, delete the comma after *first* in line 8 from the bottom.

„ 207, line 11 from above, read *Nazr* for Nazar.

„ 222, read *Qāzī'l-quzāt* for Qāzī-ul-Quzzāt.

„ 224, *i* in *Akbarī* is to be accented, and so also in *jāgīr*.

„ 225, line 7, from the bottom, I in Īrān is wrongfont.

„ 236, line 2, from the bottom of the text, read *1587* for 1887.

„ 237, read صداے for صدائے in the last hemistich.

„ 250, read *1594* for 1694 in the date of Nizām-ud-Dīn's death, line 18 from above.

„ 251, lines 6, 7, 8, from above, Kashmīr was included in the *Sūba* of Kābul, and not Kābul in Kashmīr.

„ 257, line 19, from the top, the hyphen is superfluous between B.A. and P.B.

„ 263, line 8 from above, read *Gujarātī* for Gujrātī.

„ 298 Zulfiqār and Zulfaqār are both permissible, although some people vehemently insist on Zulfaqār.

„ 300, read *temper* for emper in the last line of the top paragraph.

„ 312, read آن in the first line of the Persian couplet for ان.

Errata—Volume I (*continued*)

Page xxx, the Map of India at the time of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn should face page 170, and not page 169.

" xxxi, the order of the illustrations Nos. 62 and 63 may be inverted, and pages 244 and 245 be presumed instead of 245 in both places.

" 28, in the last line in the second paragraph, the Arabic word for the undergarment referred to is

القطون (Al qutūn) or cotton, anglicized as acton.

" 42, the photograph of Buddhist remains in old Hārvan, near Srīnagar, should have been here, *i.e.*, facing page 42, and not facing page 44. The photograph itself is inverted.

" 115, in the coloured portrait of Sayyid Muhammad Farīd-ud-Dīn Qadirī, the young man with the black beard is his son.

" 124, in the 6th line of the Urdu couplet, read پر for ثر

" 134, in the photograph of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn Shāh Mīr facing this page, delete *the* at the end of the first line of the letterpress.

" 178, in the 2nd line of the letterpress, read *Bad* for Bād.

" 268, in the 2nd line of the first couplet, read مدلت for مذالت.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (*addenda, etc.*)

lviii, at the top, add—

Imrānī, M. R. *Paradise under the Shadow of Hell : India's War on Kashmir as seen by Non-Muslims and Neutral Observers.* In five parts. Imperial Printing Works, 61 Railway Road, Lāhore, September, 1948, pp. 193.

" lix, first line at the top, add a *comma* after Kāk.

" lxiv, add before the letter R—

Puri, Dr. G. S., Department of Botany and Geology, Lucknow University. *The Flora of the Karewa Series of Kashmir and its Phytogeographical Affinities with Chapters on the Methods used in Identification. The Indian Forester*, Dehra Dun, U. P., India, March, 1948, Vol. 74 No. 3 pages 105-122.



The Dargāh Asār-i-Sharif, Hazrat-bal, Srīnagar.

The Dargāh is credited with the Sacred Hair of the Prophet brought to Srinagar by Khwāja Nūr-ud-Dīn of the Ishbar village on the opposite bank of the Dal, half a mile to the north of the Nishat Bāgh. Nūr-ud-Dīn then owned a Commercial House at Shāhjahānābād (Delhi). The Hair was acquired by him in about 1042 A.H.=1632 A.C. during Shāh Jahān's rule, from Sayyid 'Abdullāh who came to India and represented himself as the ex-Mutawalli of the Prophet's Tomb at Madina.

CHAPTER I

KASHĪR AND THE KÖSHUR[1]

OR

Kashmīr and the Kashmīrī

Many a writer has attempted to describe Kashmīr, some even at length, yet Kashmīr still defies description. "The praises of Kashmīr cannot be contained within the narrows of language," said Abu'l Fazl.[2] And so says Hafīz—

کھینچنا تصویر کا لانا ہے جُوئے شیر کا

—ابوالاثر حفیظ (تصویر کشمیر)

[Portraying the picture is like drawing[3] a stream of milk—by Farhād for his beloved Shīrīn from the Mount Bīsutūn.]

Kashmīr, verily an emerald of verdure enclosed in a radiant amphitheatre of virgin snow, is such a beautiful country, blest with a fertile soil, glorious climate, grand mountains, fine rivers and lovely lakes, and with such charming flowers and delicious fruits, singing birds and sweet odours, that it "once enjoyed a great fame as the seat of the original paradise of the human race."[4] It is, therefore, significant to learn from Dr. Terra that Kashmīr and the adjoining plains contain all the essential data for a study of early man in Southern Asia.[5] And it is from Kashmīr that the first evidence of a Himālayan Ice Age has been forthcoming.[6] Even though Kashmīr may not be the original Paradise, it is certainly regarded as one of the most blessed spots upon the earth. In fact, it forms an isolated world by itself wherein one is inclined to think each spot the most beautiful of all, perhaps because each, in some particular, excels the rest. The country with which Kashmīr is apt to be compared, says Sir Francis Younghusband,[7] is Switzerland.

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1. In the Kashmīrī language, an inhabitant of Kashmīr is called Köshur, and so also his language.
2. The *Akbar-nāma*, English Translation by H. Beveridge, page 828.
3. In the older sense of 'constructing and directing a ditch or canal from one point to another.'—Murray's *English Dictionary*.
4. *The Historians' History of the World—The Times*, London, 1907, Vol. II, page 485.
5. *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures* by Dr. H. De Terra and T. T. Paterson, Washington, D. C., 1939, page 1.
6. *Ibid.*, page 1.
7. *Kashmir*, Sir Francis Younghusband, 1917, page 2.

Kashmīr and Switzerland.

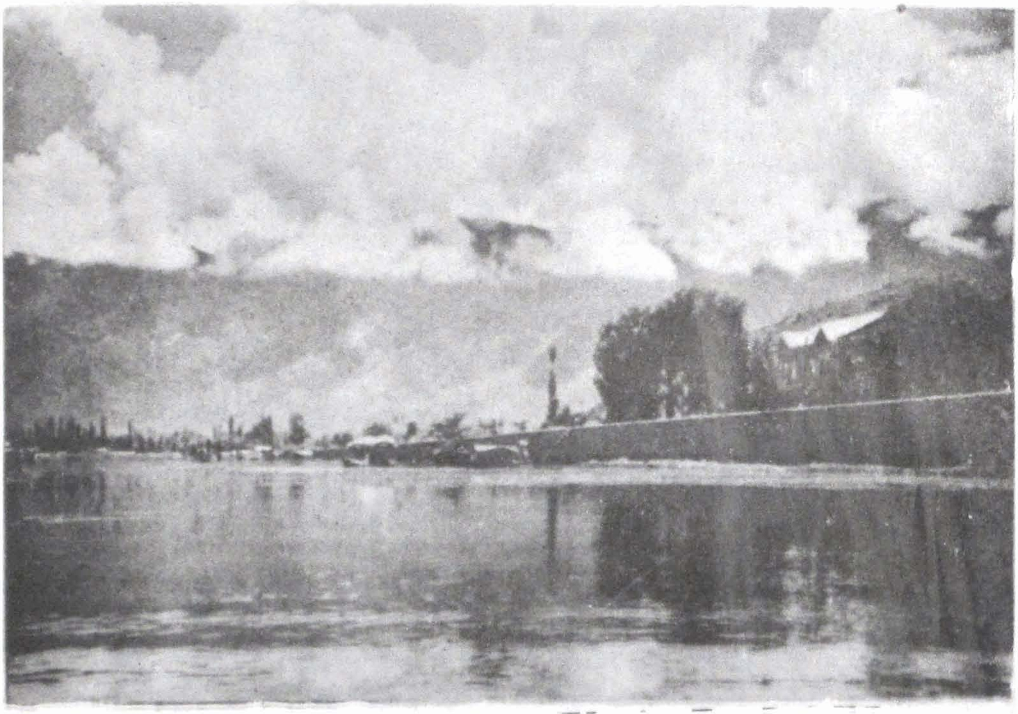
Switzerland indeed has many charms and a combination of lake and mountain scenery, in which it excels Kashmīr, but it is built on a smaller scale, and has not the same wide sweep of snow-clad mountains. To Vigne,[1] however, the glens, glades, forests and streams of Kashmīr are truly Alpine. Moreover, there is no place where one can see a complete circle of snowy mountains surrounding a plain of about 1,900 square miles, everywhere over 5,000 feet above sea level, of anything like the length—about 84 miles—and breadth—about 20 to 25 miles—of the Kashmīr Valley. From snowfield to snowfield, the Valley has a width of 25 to 30 miles. The main valleys of Switzerland are like the side-valleys of Kashmīr. Many of the peaks of the uninterrupted wall of Kashmīr hills out-top Mont Blanc by thousands of feet and far exceed the loftiest summits of the Caucasus. There is not behind Switzerland what there is at the back of Kashmīr, and visible in glimpses from the southern side—a region of magnificent mountains surpassing every other in the world. On account of its position in the higher Himālaya, Kashmīr is the Indian Piedmont.

Kashmīr and Greece.

Poets have sung of beautiful Greece with its purple hills and varied contour, its dancing seas and clear blue sky. But Kashmīr is more beautiful than Greece. Sir Francis Younghusband[2] writes: "It has the same blue sky and brilliant sunshine, but its purple hills are on a far grander scale, and if it has no sea, it has lake and river, and the still more impressive snowy mountains. It has, too, greater variety of natural scenery, of field and forest, of rugged mountains and open valley." "And to me," continues Younghusband, who has seen both countries, "Kashmīr seems much the more likely to impress by its natural beauty." My own visits to Switzerland and Greece confirm Younghusband's observations. Sir Muhammad Iqbāl does not exaggerate when he says :

کوہ و دریا و غروب آفتاب   من خدا را دیدم آنجا بے حجاب

1. *Travels*, by G. T. Vigne, London, 1842, Vol. I, page 289.
2. *Kashmir*, page 133.



The Dal with its clouds.

The Beauty of the Ḍal.

It has happened not infrequently that people have been unimpressed with the Tāj at first sight, but when they looked at it closer, they realized the charm of Shāh Jahān's 'dream in marble.' The same sometimes happens when the sceptical visitor goes to Kashmīr. Let such a one first of all go up the Takht-i-Sulaimān in the early morning.

نهی چون پائے بر تختِ سلیمان شود کشمیر و دشتِ او نمایان

He will feel what conversion the Ḍal immediately brings about—the sight is grand, too grand for words to describe. The water is so clear that the reflections of the surrounding mountains are perfect. "Chenars and willows, picturesque chalets, dark cypresses, blue distance, and snowy mountains make a picture hard to equal anywhere."

الله الله هے کیا حسنِ چمن پانی میں!
سبزه و لاله وگل، سرو و سمن پانی میں!
کیسے کیسے هیں دِل افروز نظارے اِسمیں!
کوه پانی میں، چمن پانی میں، بَن پانی میں!
تودهٔ سیم هے یه ڈل کے خزانے میں نِہاں
برف کہسار هے یا عکس فگن پانی میں!
اِك طرف کوه په هے تختِ سلیماں قائم
اِك طرف سبز پری کا هے وطن پانی میں!

—چوهدری خوشی محمد، ناظر
(نغمهٔ فِردوس، حصّه اول- صفحه ۱۱۵)

زسیرِ ڈل دِل و جان تازه گردد به ساغر عهد و پیمان تازه گردد
گلستان زیرِ آبش بیشمار است مگر آبش نقابِ نوبهار است
ز گلها روے ڈل رشکِ جناں شد به شوقش مرغِ آبی میتوان شد

—نوّاب ظفرخان، احسن

[*Nāzir* and *Ahsan* were both governors of Kashmīr, the one under the Dogrās and the other under the Mughuls.]

The late Justice Miyān Muhammad Shāh Dīn then aptly wished : مر جائیے تو ڈل کے کنارے مزار ہو !

[And dying let my grave be on the Ḍal!]

The sceptic can no longer remain sceptical : he must soon be vanquished by the graceful charms of the lovely lake. It is not one big sheet of water, but is all the more attractive for that reason. Little canals intersect the floating gardens and small islands, while villages and orchards are dotted about its banks, which enclose an area of about five miles in length and two in breadth.

به دورِ ڈل گلستان بیشمار است   که هریك آبروے صد بہار است

—نوّاب ظفرخان' احسن

Pages have been written in praise of the beautiful milky waters of Gāndarbal,[1] the gushing springs of Achabal,[2] Kukar-nāg[3] and Ver-nāg,[4] the "peculiar neutral tinted" tarn of Çesha-nāg[5] 12,000 feet high up in the lovely Liddar valley of which pastoral Pahalgām, 'The Shepherd's Village' (about 60 miles from Srīnagar) is a pleasant resort (about 7,000 feet above the sea level), the fresh water lakes of "secluded, profound and silent" Mānasbal[6] and the lily-embroidered Wular, the heights of Trāgabal,[7] the glacier valley of Sonamarg, the glen of Gangabal, the charm of Gulmarg 'The Meadow of Flowers,' and the transcendental joys of the deep jade spring that lies below Affarwat[8] on the

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1. The Gāndarbal village, 13 miles from Srīnagar, is on the left bank of the Sind river, a tributary of the Jhelum.

2. The Achabal village is about 6 miles south-east of Islāmābād, and contains the shrine of Sayyid Shihāb-ud-Dīn of Baghdād. Achabal is called Sāhibābād on account of Jahān Ārā Begam known as Begam Sāhiba.

3-4. The Kukar-nāg spring is a few miles from Ver-nāg, the reputed source of the river Jhelum. Ver-nāg, the nāg or spring of Vēr also known as Nila-nāga derives its name from the pargana of Vēr now called Shāhābād.

5. Çesha-nāg is the name of the serpent on which the earth is believed to stand.

6. The Mānasbal lake about two miles in diameter and considered to be the loveliest of all Kashmīr lakes is about 16 miles north-west of Srīnagar. It is surrounded by majestic hills. *Mānas* refers to a 'mountain' and *bal* a lake. Hence a mountain lake. It is the deepest lake in the Valley with a maximum depth of 12.8 meters. "The little lake," wrote Andrew Wilson in 1875, "is not much larger than Grasmere . . . . but its shores are singularly suggestive of peacefulness and solitude". (*The Abode of Snow*, page 424.) The ruins of a fine Mughul garden are situated on one of its banks.

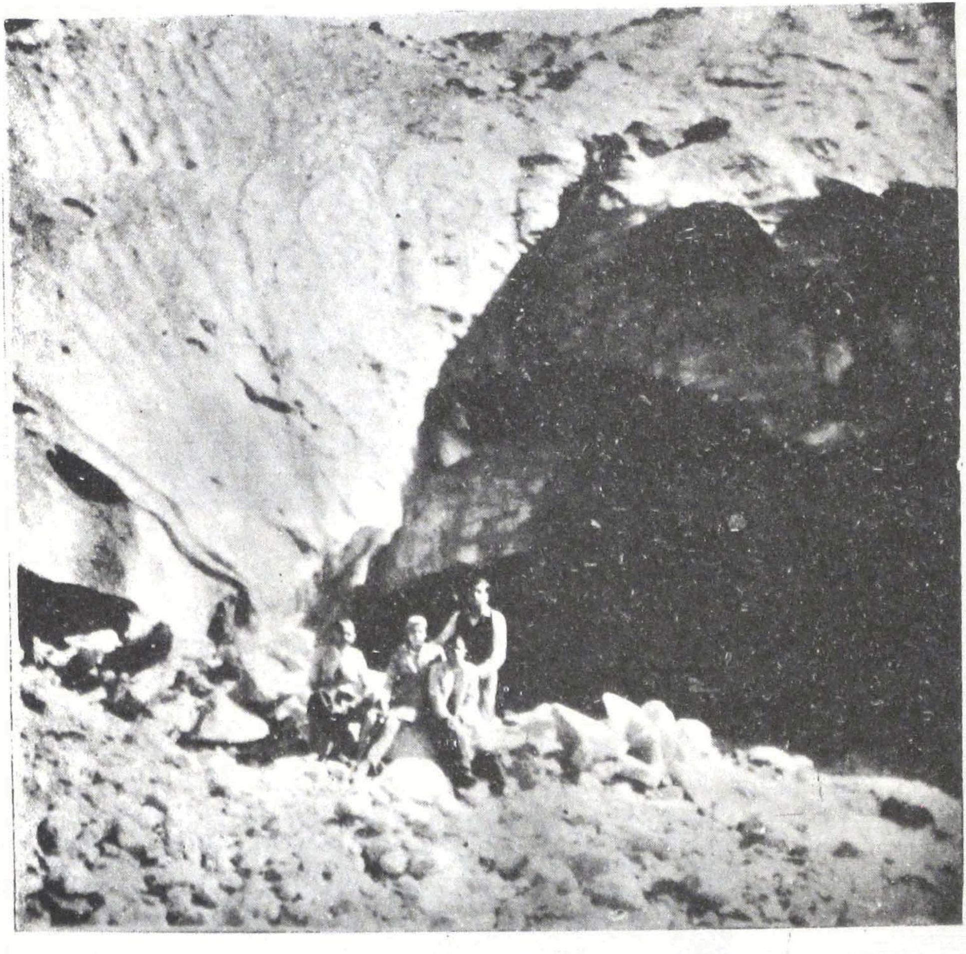
7. Trāgabal (with its Chowkī and Rest House), 9,160 feet high, is over 10 miles north of Bandīpōr which is on the Wular.

8. Affarwat is a hill above Gulmarg.



Shesha-nāg

Shesha-nāga is the popular name of Sushram-nāg Lake, at the north foot of a great glacier descending from the Kohenhār Peak. It lies on the way from Pahalgām to Amarnāth.



The Kolhai Glacier reached by way of Pahlgām. Dr. Sufi sitting to the left.



Sonamarg



A glimpse of glorious Gurāz

fringe of the forest, yet words have ever proved hopelessly inadequate to describe beauties that defy description.

> Sweet interchange
> Of hill and valley, rivers, woods and plains,
> Now land, now lake, and banks[1] with forest crowned
> Rocks, dens and caves !
>
> —*Paradise Lost,* Book IX, 115-118.

To Abu'l Fazl,[2] Kashmīr is so enchanting as to be fittingly called a garden of perpetual spring surrounding a citadel terraced to the skies, and deservedly appropriate to be either the delight of the worldling or the retired abode of the recluse. His brother Faizī says:

به حیرتم که چه آثارِ قُدرتِ ازلی ست
بهر نظاره بنازد نظر به صنعِ قدیر
—فیضی

Other Attractions.

To put it in other words, to the holiday-maker Kashmīr is the chief garden of Asia. " For the lover of sport, a wide range of game is available. The botanist and the zoologist have here a great wealth of flora and fauna. The lovely glens and the shaded mountain spurs in their picturesque settings provide an inexhaustible theme to the genius of the poet and a background for the contemplation of the philosopher. For the linguist, Kashmīr with its surroundings has a variety of dialects belonging to different branches of the human family. For the geologist, it offers an interesting study of soils and rocks with chronological data unobtainable elsewhere in India. For the archæologist, there are numerous monuments of different ages and traces of cultural influences showing the interplay of civilizations. The scholar has an extensive field for research in systems of (Hindu) philosophy peculiar to Kashmīr," and for research in Muslim history, culture, poetry and sociology. "The explorer has mysterious lands on the boundaries and the lofty mountains to merit his attention."[3]

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1. The text has 'sea and shores.'
2. The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, English Translation by Colonel H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1891, Vol. II, page 348.
3. *The Annual Administration Report of the Jammu and Kashmir State for* 1940-41, combining the views of Vigne, Moorcroft, Elphinstone, and Sir Walter Lawrence—page 11.

And then—living in Kashmīr is cheaper than in most other countries of the world. Srīnagar, the Venice in the heart of Switzerland, offers fascinating living in gorgeous house-boats and gay gondolas. And the countryside and the hills have camping grounds for a free and healthy life under canvas. Kolahai is the Matterhorn of Kashmīr towering at 17,800 feet in beautiful surroundings of mountains and glaciers. Lolāb reminds one of Scotland and Wales. The coniferous forests of Kashmīr are the finest in Northern India.

Climate.

Though the Valley is about 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, it is not so cold as might be expected at such an altitude. گرمش نه گرم است ، سردش نه سرد است

[Heat there is, but hot 'tis not;
Cold there is, but cold 'tis not.]

The reason is the surrounding high hills, which save the Valley from the cold blasts of the north and scorching winds from the south. And yet, as large a variety in temperature or humidity can be obtained in different parts of Kashmīr as in the whole of Europe, from the shores of the Mediterranean to the North Cape, points out Dr. Arthur Neve. From January to the middle of February, the mean temperature of Srīnagar is 35 degree F., and from July to the middle of August, it is 80 degrees; the extremes in the shade being, in the first case, 15 to 45 degrees, and in the second case 55 to 96 degrees and in some years 98 or 99.

The climate of the Valley proper until quite the end of May is very similar to that of Switzerland. As the summer advances, it becomes somewhat relaxing. But the heat scarcely, if at all, exceeds that of South Italy. The autumn months are the pleasantest in the whole year with clear, bright, but fairly cool days. The rainfall is much less than that of any of the other Himālayan hill-stations. At Srīnagar the yearly amount seldom exceeds 27 inches. At Gulmarg, it is very much more, but even then not more than two-thirds of that of Murree. For two months, however, even the lower parts of the Valley are seldom free from snow, which formerly lay, eight inches or a foot deep though not quite so much now. Kashmīr is indeed a centre for winter sports. According to Dr. Arthur Neve, the climate of Kashmīr is more suitable than that of England for chest cases.*

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* *The Tourist's Guide to Kashmir, Ladakh, Skardo, etc.*, by Major Arthur Neve, F.R.C.S., Edinburgh, R.A.M.C., 15th edition, revised by Dr. E. F. Neve, F.R.C.S., page 4.



NORTH KASHMIR
SOUTH KASHMIR
SRINAGAR
BARAMULA
GULMARG
PUNCH
Handawur
Sopor
Bandipura
Sumbal
Patan
Badgom
Magam
Awantipur
Bijbihara
Islamabad
Anantnag
Kulgam
Shupiyan
Achhabal
Rajaori
Mendhar
Uri
Baltal
Tral
Sonamarg
Chilam
Naugam
Langyat

The American will find in Kashmīr the cold of Canada, and the warmth of Northern Mexico, or the vigour of San Francisco and the moderation of Los Angeles in climate.

ذرّہ ذرّہ ھے مرے کشمیر کا مہماں نواز

راہ میں پتّھر کے ٹکڑوں نے دیا پانی مجھے

—پنڈت برج نرائن چکبست - لکھنوی

(صبحِ وطن - ۱۹۲۶ء — صفحہ ۱۲۱)

[How exceedingly hospitable is the land of Kashmīr
E'en the wayside stones offered me water to drink !]

The Valley of Kashmīr.

The Valley of Kashmīr, with which this book deals, consists of two districts of the present State of Jammu and Kashmīr, *viz.* the Anantnāg district and the Bārāmūla district. The Anantnāg district has four tahsīls : (1) Srīnagar (2) Islāmābād or Anantnāg (3) Kulgām, (4) Pulwāma, formerly Awantipōr. The Bārāmūla district has : (1) Bārāmūla, (2) Baḍgām or Srīpratāpsinghpōr and (3) Handwāra or Uttarmāchipōr. These seven tahsīls constitute the Kashmīr Valley proper. An old tradition puts the number of villages in Kashmīr at 66,063. But information, collected in 1400 A.C., and believed by Stein to be accurate, puts the number of villages at 100,000 in plains and mountains together. The census of 1891 A.C. states the number of villages in Kashmīr to be 2,870.* The census of 1931 gives 3,557 as the number of inhabited towns and villages in the Kashmīr Province and that of 1941 as 3,733, or an increase of 863 villages in fifty years. Apparently the information of 1400 A.C. giving the number of villages as 100,000 may have included either the entire territory then under the Sultān of Kashmīr or the entire Kashmīrī-speaking area in and around the Valley *viz.* the Valley of the Vitasta, the Valley of the Sind, Kishtwār, Pāḍar, Riāsī, Rajaurī, Ūrī, Pūnch, Karnāh, the Northern and Western banks of the Chenāb, Rāmban, Batōt, and part of Dardistān.

From early times the Valley has been divided into two great parts known by their modern names Kama-rāj and

* Stein's English Translation of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II pages 438-39.

Mara-rāj. These terms, Sir Aurel Stein says, are derived from the Sanskrit Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya. Marāj or Marāz comprises the districts on both sides of the Jhelum above Srīnagar, and Kamrāj or Kamrāz those below. Abu'l Fazl also notes likewise. During Muslim rule, it appears that Srīnagar was the chief city of Marāj and Sopōr the headquarters of Kamrāj.

Area.

The area of the Valley of Kashmīr is 6,131 square miles which is over four times that of the Cochin State (1,418 square miles), almost double that of the Alwar State (3,158), bigger than Patiāla (5,932), slightly smaller than Bhopāl (6,902), about half the size of Holland (12,582), more than half of Turkey in Europe (10,882), and more than one-third of Switzerland (15,975). In latitude, Kashmīr corresponds to Damascus in Syria, to Fēz in Morocco and to South Carolina in the United States of America.

Though not greatly significant in area, the beauty and variability of the Valley are unique for air, soil and picturesque landscape. It is said of the Valley that "every hundred feet of its elevation brings some new phase of climate and vegetation, and, in a short ride of thirty miles, one can pass from overpowering heat to a climate delightfully cool, or can escape from wearisome wet weather to a dry and sunny atmosphere."[1] To the Mughuls it was known as "the terrestrial paradise of the Indies," and Jahāngīr who first brought it into prominence declared—as Bernier states[2]—that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose Kashmīr. It appears from Badāonī's account that Akbar called Kashmīr his *Bāgh-i-Khāss*[3] or his "Special Garden."

Population.

The population of the Valley of Kashmīr, according to the census of 1931, was 1,331,771, of which 1,256,274 were Muslims, 64,806 were Hindus, 10,257 were Sikhs and the rest Christians, Buddhists, Pārsīs and others. On March 1, 1941, the total figure for the Valley was 1,464,034.

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1. *The Valley of Kashmīr* by Walter R. Lawrence, Oxford University Press, 1895, pages 13-14.
2. Bernier's *Travels*, 2nd edition, revised by V. A. Smith, 1914, page 401.
3. The *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Persian text, Calcutta, 1865, Volume II, page 369.

The shape of the Valley is that of an elliptical saucer, or more precisely a boot-shaped bowl. From the foot of the Kishangangā water-shed to the southeast corner beyond Islāmābād, the floor of the Valley is built of little-consolidated lake beds and alluvial soils. The greatest portion of this area, which is over 2,000 square miles, exhibits silts and sands into which the Jhelum and its tributaries have carved a relief of varying character.

Travellers have commented on the terraces that form conspicuous features[1] of the Valley. Indeed, without these terraces the Valley would be 'a forlorn sight.' "Their green cultivated fields contrast with the bleak, rocky slopes and lend to the scenery a definite air of human planning. On them villages and smaller towns are nestled again t the talus-strewn valley flanks, protected, as it were, from the ravaging spring and summer floods. Temple ruins testify to the great antiquity of some of these settlements, which date back to the first millennium of our era."

Kashmīr a Vast Lake in Prehistoric Times?

Geological evidence and mythological tradition agree that the Valley of Kashmīr was once, perhaps a hundred million years ago, one vast lake hundreds of feet d p. Kashmīr legends say that a Çakti manifestation of Çiva (one of the gods of the Hindu Triad) called Satī,[2] appeared in the form of water; this Çakti is also named Pārvatī and the place, where it appeared, came to be known as Satīsaras, the place where Çaktī Satī took the shape of a tarn or lake.

The Legend of the Lake.

The legend runs that Kāçyapa, the grandson of Brahmā, found, when he reached Jalandhara (Jullundur) in the Punjāb, on a pilgrimage from the south, that all the country to the north-west had been laid waste by a *rākṣas* a (demon) Jalodbhava (water-born), who lived in the immense Satīsiras. Distressed at the havoc caused by Jalodbhava and his imps,

1. *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures* by Dr. H. De Terra and T. T. Paterson, Washington, D. C., 1939, page 182.

2. Satī was the daughter of Dakṣa and the spouse of Çiva. She consumed herself in the sacrificial fire of Dakṣa's sacrifice, as he refused to invite Çiva to take his share of the offerings.

Kāçyapa devoted himself to religious exercises, in consequence of which the Hindu Triad, Brahmā, Viṣnu and Çiva, appeared to aid him. They found that Indra (the thunder god) and other gods had attempted to annihilate the demons on several previous occasions and had succeeded in destroying not a few, but the majority of the demons had escaped by hiding under water. Viṣnu, assuming the form of Varāha (boar), struck the mountains at Vārāhāmūla (modern Bārāmūla[1]) with his tail and cut up the remaining obstacles with his teeth. The waters of the lake rushed out, but the demon took refuge in the low ground, where Srīnagar now stands. He baffled pursuit for a time, but was finally caught and crushed to death by the gods. When Jalodbhava was destroyed, the smaller demons lost heart, and the drained basin gradually became inhabited in summer. In winter, however, the people retreated to the drier and warmer regions of the south, leaving Kashmīr to the demons. One winter, an aged Brāhman remained behind, taking up his quarters in a cave. He was seized by the demons and carried off to a place now known as Nīlanāga[2] (the Lord of Serpents), where he was thrown into the lake. He sank to the bottom, but to his amazement he found it to be really a palace in which the king, Nīla Nāga (Kāçyapa's son), was

1. Bārāmūla town is situated on both sides of the river Jhelum which are connected by a bridge. The distance between Bārāmūla and Srīnagar is 34 miles. The height of the town above sea level is 5,100 feet. The population of Bārāmūla, according to the census of 1931, was 6,886 of whom 5,839 were Musalmāns. In 1941 the population has almost doubled and is 12,722.

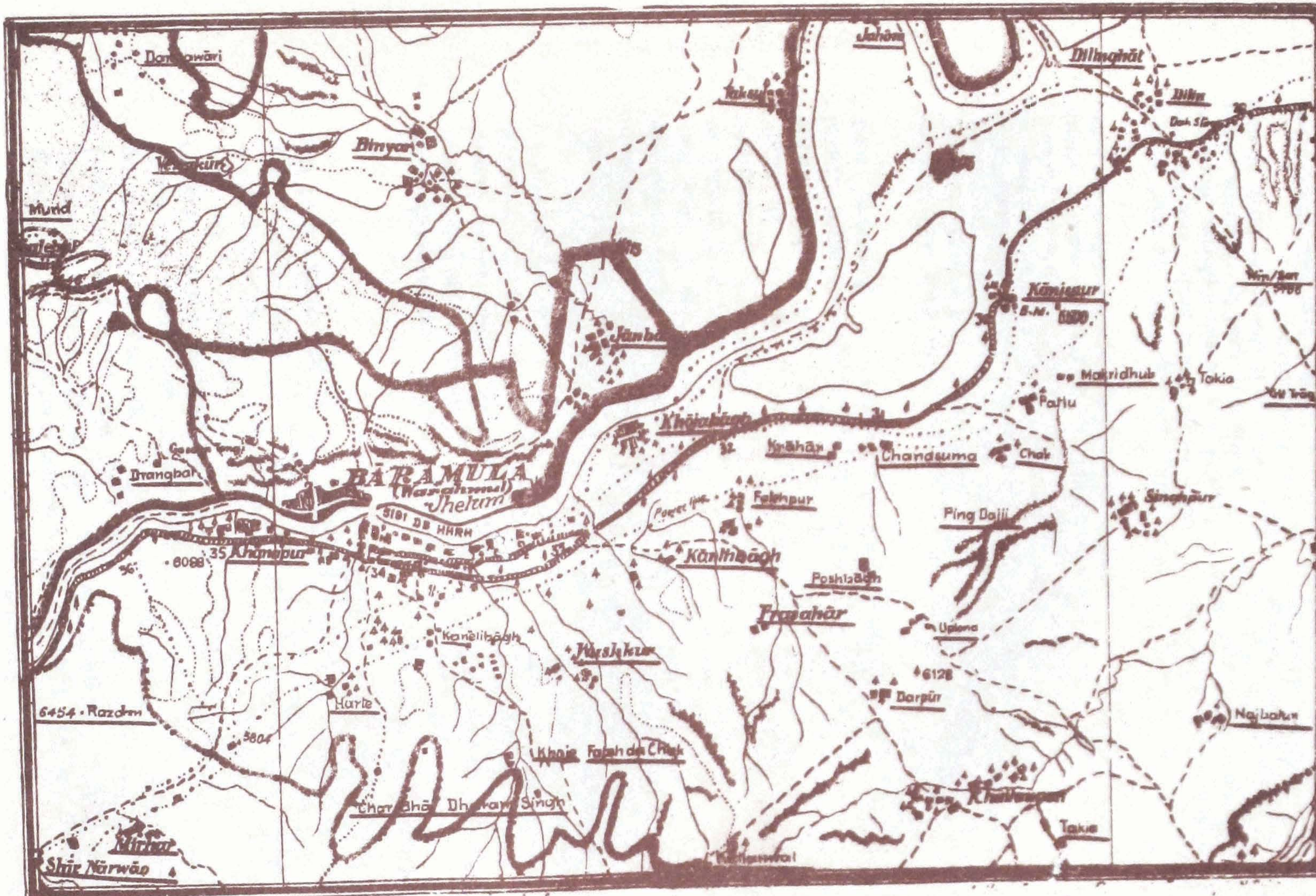
Beyond the town, begins the road to Srīnagar. This fine road is bordered with tall, erect, white poplar trees.

Huṣkapura founded by Huṣka, a Kushāna king, in the second century A.C., now reduced to and corrupted into the modern village Uṣkara or (Wuṣkur), is about two miles to the south-east of the modern town.

2. Nīla-nāga (Blue Spring) is an oval sheet of water, about 100 yards long 20 yards wide about 40 feet deep, lying in a hollow on the slopes of the hills on the south side of the Kashmīr Valley, in Gogji Pathar village about 4 miles west of Chrār Sharīf which is 20 miles from Srīnagar. Nīla-nāga is considered holy by the Hindus. Less than 3 miles north-west of Nīla-nāga, the Dūdhgangā leaves the mountains to enter the Karewa Hills.

Abu'l Fazl wrote : "Its waters are exquisitely clear . . . and many perish by fire about its border. Strange to relate, omens are taken by its means. A nut is divided into four parts and thrown in, and if an odd number floats, the augury is favourable, if otherwise, the reverse."—English Translation of the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, page 363. But Stein says it refers to the legends of the famous Nīlanāga at Vērnāg.

To face page 10 of Dr. Sufi's 'Kashir'.



BĀRĀMŪLĀ

sitting on his throne. He sought audience of this king and laid a complaint before him of the rough treatment which he had received. The king was most gracious and gave him the *Nīlamata-Purāṇa** for his guidance, assuring him that, if he obeyed the precepts of that book and made the offerings therein prescribed, the demons would cease to molest him. In the spring, he was restored to the dry land. He carried out his instructions and imparted them to others. The result was that, from that time, people were able to remain in Kashmīr during the winter and the demons ceased to trouble them.

Geological Evidence.

The above story, legendary as it is, corresponds with the results of early geological observations. In prehistoric times, the basin of Kashmīr contained a lake much larger than that of today. The sand-stone rock at the western corner of the basin, according to these earlier observations, seems to have been rent by some cataclysm followed by attrition ; and the lake was drained by the deepening of the Bārāmūla gorge, which was the result of the slow process of erosion by water, and which must have taken hundreds of years to accomplish. At that period, the climate was so cold, and the winter snows were so heavy and lasted so long, that the country could be inhabited only in summer by nomads who migrated southward in winter. In time, however, the climate became temperate, and Kashmīr came to be the abode of a permanent and prosperous agricultural community. These earlier observations are, however, now contested.

[The alluvial deposits filling up the basin of Kashmir were held by the earlier geologists to have been formed from the waste of the surrounding mountains, and to have been laid down at the bottom of a great lake. It has been stated that these deposits once covered the whole Valley to a height of one thousand feet above its present level, and that the greater portion has been carried away by the Jhelum to the plains of the Punjab. The Wular lake which now measures 10 miles in length and 5 in breadth, was regarded by Montgomerie as a last relic of the great

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* The *Nīlamata* or Teachings of the Sage Nīla, the chief of the Nāgas, is the oldest extant written record which deals with the holy legends regarding the origin of Kashmīr and its sacred places. Moreover, it is one of the main sources of information used by Kalhaṇa when writing his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Kalhaṇa refers to it also as the book of rites and festivals prescribed by Nīla for Kashmīrians.

Nīlamata, or the Teachings of Nīla, Sanskrit text with critical notes, edited by Dr. K. De Vrees,—pages xxi.—151, was published at Leiden (Holland) by E. J. Brill in 1936.

expanse of water which once covered all Kashmīr. But this idea of a great prehistoric lake has been abandoned by Mr. R.D. Oldham. Mr. Oldham studied the *Karewas* or plateaus and the present lakes of the Kashmir valley in 1903, and came to the conclusions that the *Karewas* are of fluviatile and not of lacustrine origin, and that there was never at any time a materially larger lake than at the present day.—*A Sketch of the Geography and Geology of the Himalaya Mountains and Tibet* by Col. S.G. Burrard and H. H. Hayden, Calcutta, 1907-08, Part III, page 169.]

The Name Kashmīr.

The old name Satīsaras was replaced by Ka-samīra, that may be taken to mean (land) from which water (Ka) has been drained off by wind (Samīra). According to another interpretation, Kashmīr is a Prakrit compound with its components: *kas*, meaning a channel and *mīr*, meaning a mountain. Kas-mīr could thus mean a rock trough. In its configuration, Kashmīr is a deep trough (84×20 to 25 miles) with rocky walls. This is one theory.

The other theory—that Kashmīr, or Kashīr as named by its inhabitants, was so called on account of the settlement of a race of men called Kash,[1] who were a Semitic tribe and founded what are now called the cities of Kash,[2] Kāshān[3] and Kāshghar[4]—has yet to be properly investi-

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1. *See* Sir Lucas King's revised edition of the English Translation of Bābur's *Memoirs*, Vol. I, page lxi. The acceptance of this theory would lead us to discard that which connects *Kash* with the Khaças of the Himālayan hills, and opens up quite a new field of research. Sir George Grierson has discussed the origin of Khaças in his *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Part IV, pages 2-8. One conjecture is that *Kash* is the same as the Semitic Cush, Kosh or Kash and not the Āryan-speaking Khaças.

2. Kash is a town in Bukhārā district on the trade-route between Samarqand and Balkh. Kash is now called Shahr-i-Sabz or 'green town' on account of the fertility of its surroundings. Shahr-i-Sabz is surrounded by hills on the north, east and south. The present town was built at the beginning of the seventh century A.C.

3. Kāshān is a town in the small province of Kāshān in Irāq-i-'Ajam, Īrān It has a population of 30,000 and is one of the hotest towns of Īrān, lying in a fertile plain, 90 miles N E. of Isfahān and 150 miles from Teherān. The province is divided into the two districts of "garm sir" the warm, and "sard sir" the cold. Great quantities of silk stuffs from raw material imported from Gilān and copper utensils are manufactured at Kāshān, and sent to all parts of Īrān. Kāshān also exports rose-water and is the only place in Īrān where cobalt can be obtained. Jewellery and carpets are also manufactured. At the foot of hills, four miles west of the city, are the beautiful gardens of Fin.

4. Kāshghar is an important city in the district of Kāshgaria in the extreme west of China in the province of Chinese Turkistān. At present, Kāshghar consists of two towns, Kuhna Shahr, or 'old city,'

gated. In that case, the origin of the word Kashmīr from Kash, the race, and 'īr' a suffix like 'ān' and 'ghar' will permit the belief that the Kasia Regio and the Kasii Montes of Ptolemy, beyond Mount Imaus, were inhabited by this same race of Kash whose domination at some period probably extended from Kāshghar to Kashmīr, in both of which they have left their name.

But the fact is that the name Kashmīr is ancient and, in the words of Stein,[1] linguistic science can furnish no clue to its origin nor even analyse its formation. The earliest Chinese reference to Kashmīr is dated 541 A.C., which calls the Valley *Ku-shih-mi*. The name Kashmīr has been used as the sole designation of the country throughout its known history. It has uniformly been applied both by the inhabitants and by foreigners. "We can trace back its continued use through an unbroken chain of documents for more than twenty-three centuries, while the name itself is undoubtedly far more ancient."[2] The inhabitants pronounce it as Kashīr which, according to Stein, is the direct phonetic derivative of Kashmīr with the loss of *m*. In Kāshur or Kōshur—the inhabitant of Kashīr and the language of Kashīr,—*u* replaces *i*.

Kashmīr made known abroad.

There is no notice in the accounts of Alexander's expedition which can be shown to imply even a hearsay knowledge of the Kashmīr Valley, says Stein.[3] "The first authentic information concerning Kashmir which appears to have reached Europe," says Baron Hügel,[4] "was through the Portuguese, whose religious zeal prompted them to promulgate Christianity among the natives; for we attach little credit to the tales we are told of their king marching to the relief of Porus, when he was attacked by Alexander the Great,

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built in 1513 A.C., and Yangī Shahr or 'new city,' built in 1838 A.C., about 5 miles apart and separated by the Kizil-Su. Kāshghar stands at the meeting-place of several important and ancient routes, and thus has considerable strategical, commercial and social importance. Culturally, it is superior to Yārqand. Kāshghar manufactures silks, carpets, and jewellery and the population is estimated at 62,000.

1. Sir Aurel Stein's English Translation of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* Vol. II, page 386.

2. *The Ancient Geography of Kashmīr*, pages 61-62.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

4. *Travels* by Baron Charles Hügel, London, 1845, page 4.

although the later Greek authors mention a country they call Kaspatyrus, which would seem to be Kashmīr. Setting aside such unsatisfactory accounts, we may repeat that to Europe Kashmīr was, in a measure, unknown till the subjects of Portugal first trod its valleys." Jerome Xavier, a Navarese of high birth, is supposed to be the first European who ever had the glory or the courage to penetrate to this remote region. Another of the same family, Francis Xavier, "animated with like fervent zeal to diffuse the light of Christian truth throughout the East, had already gained, and not undeservedly, the glorious title of the Apostle of the Indies." Jerome Xavier appeared at the court of Akbar the Great at Agra and accompanied the Emperor to Kashmīr. Xavier's remarks on Kashmīr were published in his work, *Hajus de Rebus Japonicis, Indicis*, etc. (Antwerp, 1605).

The next noted traveller who acquainted the West with Kashmīr is Francis Bernier, M.D. of the Faculty of Montpellier, Southern France. Bernier left France in 1654, when twenty-nine, in his desire to see the world. In 1657, during the reign of Shāh Jahān, he came to Sūrat, after having been to Syria and Egypt, at the very period when Shāh Jahān's sons were contending for the Mughul throne, and Aurangzīb ultimately ascended the throne of Delhi. Bernier arrived at Delhi towards the end of 1659. "When in Delhi, as he had accidentally lost his property and was in a helpless condition, he tried to get some employment." Having failed in his attempt, he secured a monthly allowance from the State Charity Fund through the intervention of Dānishmand Khān, a noble of Aurangzīb's court. After twelve years' abode in India, Bernier returned to France. He fixed himself at Paris where his *Travels* were published in 1670.

Father Desideri, a Jesuit, was the other important visitor to Kashmīr. His observations on Kashmīr are contained in a letter entitled *Les Lettres Edifiantes* from Lhassa in 1716.

Then, in the year 1783, came George Forster, a civil servant in the East India Company's Presidency of Madras. Kashmīr had already been annexed to Afghānistān by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. In fact, Tīmūr Shāh, the son and successor of Ahmad Shāh, had been ten years on the throne enjoying the fruits of his father's conquests. Āzād Khān governed Kashmīr.

Other noted visitors are: William Moorcroft, G. T. Vigne, Baron Hügel, Dr. Hönigberger, Victor Jacquemont and the Baron Eric von Shönberg. All of them visited Kashmīr during Sikh rule. The reader will find brief references to these visitors as also relevant extracts from their accounts in due course in the *Kashīr*.

The Stone Age in Kashmīr.

Hitherto it has been held that there was no Stone Age in Kashmīr. Recent finds, however, of agricultural implements, a tomahawk, tumuli, standing megaliths and prone monoliths, made after careful search at Pāndrēṭhan, Takht-i-Sulaimān, Vendrahōm, Rangyil, Nāran Nāg and Arhōm in Kashmīr seem to establish the existence of such an Age.[1]

The Aborigines as the First Settlers.

The wide prevalence of Nāga-worship before and even after the Buddhist period indicates that the first settlers in the Kashmīr Valley must have been the people, known as aborigines, who had spread over the whole of India before the advent of the Āryans. Nothing is known as to the stage of civilization these early inhabitants had attained when they entered Kashmīr.

The Āryans.

Then came the wave of Āryan invasion from the northwest of India, though this is not accepted by scholars like Keith. As in the Punjāb and Northern India, they mixed with the aborigines and formed one people. They must have come in numbers large enough to put their own racial stamp on the people here.

An attempt has been made to show that Kashmīr was once a Zoroastrian[2] country, but the references quoted in support of this view are more or less of a legendary nature.

The Jews.

The physical and ethnic characteristics which so sharply mark off the Kashmīrī from all surrounding races have

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1. *The Stone Age in Kashmir* by Mr. G. E. L. Carter, I.C.S.

The collection of stone implements on which Mr. Carter has based his Note may be seen in the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay.

See also Dr. Terra's *Studies on the Ice Age in India*, page 2. Dr. Terra began the geologic survey of the Kashmīr Valley in 1932 A.C.

2. Sir J. J. Modi, *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIX, December 1895, pages 237-248, under *Cashmere and Ancient Persians*.

always struck observant visitors to the Valley, and have led to several conjectures as to their origin. One such strong conjecture connects the Kashmīrīs with the Jews or rather one of the Hebraic peoples.

The 'Jewish' cast of feature of many of the inhabitants of Kashmīr has been noticed by scores of modern travellers. Two leading authorities on Kashmīr in recent times, whose profound knowledge of the land and its people can hardly be questioned, namely Sir Walter Lawrence and Sir Francis Younghusband, have admitted the decided 'Jewish' cast of faces among men, women and children. The late Sir Walter Lawrence says[1] that the hooked nose is a prominent feature and the prevailing type is distinctly Hebraic. Sir Francis says[2] that "here may be seen fine old patriarchal types, just as we picture to ourselves the Israelitish heroes of old. Some, indeed, say, though I must admit without much authority, that these Kashmīrīs are of the lost tribes of Israel . . . . . and certainly, as I have said, there are real Biblical types to be seen everywhere in Kashmīr, and especially among the upland villages. Here the Israelitish shepherd tending his flocks and herds may any day be seen." Bernier was hardly less definite. He said[3]: "On entering the kingdom after crossing the Pir-panjal mountains, inhabitants in the frontier villages struck me as resembling Jews. Their countenance and manner and that indescribable peculiarity which enables a traveller to distinguish the inhabitants of different nations, all seemed to belong to that ancient people. You are not to ascribe what I say to mere fancy, the Jewish appearance of these villagers having been remarked by our Jesuit Fathers and by several other Europeans, long before I visited Kashmir."

Shāh Hamadān, the great saint, visited Kashmīr in the fourteenth century A.C. He also named the Valley Bāgh-i-Sulaimān or the "Garden of Solomon,"[4] seemingly supporting the settlement of Israelites in Kashmīr.

Abū Raihān al-Bīrūnī (973—1048 A.C.) 'accompanied[5] the expedition' of Mahmūd against Kashmīr, probably in

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1. *The Valley of Kashmír*, Oxford University Press, 1895, page 318.
2. *Kashmir*, Ed. 1917, pages 129-130.
3. *Travels* (Smith's Edition), page 430.
4. Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, page 238.
5. *The Rāj.*, English Translation by Stein, Vol. 2, page 360.

1021 A.C., the expedition being unsuccessful on account of the valorous defence by Kashmīrians and heavy snowfall. Al-Bīrūnī, however, utilized every opportunity during his long stay at Ghazna and in the Punjāb (1017-30) for collecting information on Kashmīr. Writing more than a century before Kalhaṇa, about the inhabitants of Kashmīr, al-Bīrūnī says[1] :—" They are particularly anxious about the natural strength[2] of their country, and therefore take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence, it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times, they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people."

The possibility of 'Jewish' admixture in Afghān blood has been suspected. The researches of Sir George Grierson prove that the Kashmīrī language belongs to the Dārdic, and not to the Sanskrit group, though it must be admitted that Sanskrit has considerably influenced the present Kashmīrī language. It is now definitely known that Pushtu is a member of the eastern branch of the Īrānian family, and that Kashmīrī too belongs to the Īrānian group, or, to be more precise, to the Indo-Īrānian group. Hence, there must be some affinity between Pushtu and Kashmīrī. As already noted, the language as spoken in Kashmīr is not called Kashmīrī by the inhabitants but Kōshur and the land, Kashīr.

It should, however, be admitted that, beyond al-Bīrūnī's statement, there is no authentic recorded evidence available to establish the existence of any large Jewish or rather Hebraic element in Kashmīr.

[Perhaps the following will be read with interest in this connexion :—

Dr. Jill Cossley Batt, B.A., D.Sc., authoress and explorer, collaborate with Dr. Irvine Baird, says the *Montreal Gazette*, in meeting mysterious

1. Al-Bīrūnī's *India*—English edition by Dr. Edward C. Sachau Vol. I, page 206.

2. Abu'l Fazl writes : " The roads of the country are of such a nature that if the ruler get news a few days before of the approach of strangers and seize the passes, it would be difficult, or rather impossible, for an army adorned with thousands of Rustams to get possession of the country."—The *Akbar-nāma* (English Translation by Beveridge, 1906, Vol. II, page 198.) Abu'l Fazl, however, could not be expected to foresee the invention of the aeroplane in our day !

people, high up in the Himalayas within the borders of Tibet, dwelling in caves, retaining characteristics of an ancient civilization, to whom the name of 'Lost Tribe' has been attributed. The lost tribe is believed to be of Chaldean origin. The theories of Batt and Baird are expected to be outlined in a book entitled 'The Lost Tribe.' The expedition of Dr. Batt and Dr. Baird in 1930-31 A.C. was supported by the Prime Ministers of Canada, Australia, Newfoundland, and forty-two leading British and American firms.—Extracted from the article on the subject in the *Montreal Gazette*, reproduced in the *Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay, dated December 17, 1933, page 13.]

The Arabs.

"The first rush of Arab invasion in the Indus Valley during the eighth century had carried Muhammadan arms at times close enough to the confines of Kashmīr." But no permanent conquest was effected even in the Punjāb. The notices of Muslim geographers like al-Mas'ūdī, al-Qazwīnī, al-Idrīsī are restricted to a brief statement only.[1]

The Bambas, living on the right bank of the Jhelum, in Kashmīr, however, claim descent from the Banū Umayya,[2] a section of whom is stated to have migrated to Badakhshān, stayed there for some generations, and to have come to Kashmīr with Ḍulcha in 1322 A.C.

Here reference to a similar people may perhaps help us in appreciating the claim of the Bambas. The Russian Orientalist of Bombay, Mr. W. Ivanow, furnishes me with the translation of a paragraph from a Russian work,[3] which I should like to reproduce :—"*Arabs :* (Census, 1924—54,318 individuals). Live as continuous population in the Bukhārā district, and in the Qatāqurghān and Samarqand districts of the Samarqand province. In isolated groups live in many other places of the Uzbeg and the Turkomān republics, amongst Uzbeg or Tājik population, and chiefly occupied in agriculture. *Language:*—The majority has lost the original language and speaks Uzbeg, Turkish or Tājikī, as the population amongst which they live. The Arabs inhabiting a few villages of the Qarāqul ta'luqa of the Bukhārā district have preserved their original Arabic. In some places they still preserve

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1. *The Ancient Geography of Kashmīr* by Dr. Stein, page 20.
2. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Vol. XV., 1908 Edition, page 101), says Banū Hāshim but Banū Umayya appears to be more probable. The Bambas, however, are now classed as Rājputs.
3. *A List of the Nationalities inhabiting the U.S.S.R.*, by I. I. Zaroobin. Leningrad 1927, page 21, para 81.

tribal divisions, although the majority are already entirely assimilated with the population around them. *Religion* :— Sunnīs."

There is, however, a strong admixture of the Indo-Āryan type, and the extent of this influence can be gauged from the magnitude of the change wrought on the Kashmīrī language by Sanskrit. We have reason to assume that, even in Hindu times, Kashmīr was under foreign rule and the reign of those foreign dynasties was accompanied by settlements of immigrants of the same nationality, though it is not likely that these colonies were extensive.

It can, therefore, be maintained that the present population of Kashmīr is an admixture of aborigines with slight 'Jewish,' large Āryan and some other foreign elements. So much for the origin of the Kashmīrī. Let us turn to his character.

The Character of the Kashmīrī.

That the Kashmīrī is essentially mystical and imaginative, those who have known him intimately and studied him closely will readily admit. His environment has made him so. Huge snowy peaks, flowing silvery streams and sublime solitudes have induced this frame of mind. The cult of Buddha from the third century B. C. to the fourth century A.C., *viz.* for seven hundred years, the teaching of the Vedānta, the mysticism of Islam percolating through Persian sources have, one after another, found a congenial home in Kashmīr. The Pandit and the Pīr have striven hard to make him superstitious as well. The result is that mysticism and superstition are now ingrained in the very nature of the Kashmīrī. In fact, he breathes that very atmosphere. He almost fully justifies to this day the observations recorded by Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt about 1550 A.C. The Mīrzā said* that so many heresies have been legitimatized in Kashmīr that people know nothing of what is lawful or unlawful. The so-called 'pīrs' (spiritual guides) and 'sūfīs' (mystics) are "for ever interpreting dreams, displaying miracles and obtaining from the unseen, information, regarding either the future or the past . . . . consider the Holy Law (Sharī'at) second in importance to the True 'Way' (Tarīqat) and that, in consequence, the people of the 'Way' have nothing to do with the Holy Law." The observations

* *The Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, English Translation by Elias and Ross, 1895, page 436.

of Mīrzā Haidar close with the following prayer :—" May the Most High God defend all the people of Islam from such misfortunes and calamities as this, and turn them all into the true path of righteousness." The need of such a prayer must be equally felt even now, and all that tends to '*pīr parastī*' or saint-worship must be eradicated as completely and as quickly as may be practicable if the Musalmāns of Kashmīr are to make any real advance in the world.

What a strange contrast does this state of affairs present to the real teachings of Islam whose Prophet disclaims "every power of wonder-working," and " ever rests the truth of his divine commission entirely upon his Teachings. He never resorts to the miraculous to assert his influence or to enforce his warnings. He invariably appeals to the familiar phenomena of nature as signs of the divine presence. He unswervingly addresses himself to the inner consciousness of man, to his reason and not to his weakness or his credulity."*

The imagination of the Kashmīrī has given some fine poetry to the world, which, however, has never been fully appreciated for lack of presentation in a suitable form. In intellect, he is perhaps the superior of any other Indian and is very quick in argument. The commonest Kashmīrī 'can talk intelligently on most subjects, and has a great aptitude for sarcasm, but, like other artistic people, he is emotional and fond of exaggeration.' He is fond of singing and song-birds too. Some of the songs sung in the rice-fields are full of poetical thought and the airs are sweet and plaintive. Though very loud, voluble and persistent, the Kashmīrī is extremely quiet under calamities such as earthquake and cholera.

The Kashmīrī can turn his hand to anything. He is an excellent cultivator and a fine gardener, and has a considerable knowledge of horticulture. He can weave excellent woollen cloth and can make first-rate baskets. He is a fine wood-carver, silver and goldsmith. He perfectly understands the art of varnishing and is eminently skilful in closely imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood by inlaying gold thread. He can build his own house, and make his own ropes. In fact, there is scarcely a thing, says Lawrence, which he cannot do. As a fine craftsman, he

* Syed Ameer Ali : *The Spirit of Islam*, Christophers, London, 1922, page 32.

may have a few equals in the world, but probably none superior to him. The boatman of Kashmīr, says Pirie, is as clever as the gondolier of Venice, and would emerge safely from the riskiest of situations. The *Wāza* is an excellent cook and could prepare perhaps fifty dainty dishes of meat alone. His way of serving food, however, leaves much to be desired, though he is modifying his mode of service. That the cuisine of the Punjābī has been largely influenced by the *Wāza* admits of no question. The *Wa'in* or *Woin* or *Wōñu*—not a distinct class apart—is the Baniā or the petty trader and perhaps occasionally the money-lender. The Kashmīrī understands his own business, and does not often make a bad bargain though sometimes the village Kashmīrī would be foolish enough to conceal his goods or fruits from the outside visitor.. Normally the city vendor in and around Amīrā Kadal has three rates, the cheapest for his own people, the dearer for Indian visitors to the Valley and the dearest for the European or the American. There may be some logic in these rates so far as the Kashmīrī vendor is concerned, but it is unfair to the purchaser who gets the same commodity for which he pays the cheap, dear or the dearest rate.

Conservative the Kashmīrī is, but not altogether impregnable to new ideas. He is kind to his wife and children, and divorce scandals or cases of immorality among villagers, says Younghusband, are rarely heard of. He is hospitable and entertains his guests most cheerfully. The Kashmīrī is neither a murderer nor a marauder, and crimes against person or property seldom occur. The Kashmīrī's dog will not bite, though it may bark. Even his snakes have no poison except the viper in Dachigām *rakh*, etc. His rivers and lakes are free from dangerous animals. The *Hāpüt*, or the bear, the stray wolf, the leopard, the panther and the hyena are the only rare terrors of his forests. The Kashmīrī is no drunkard or opium-eater. Except that he is an inveterate snuff-taker, he may be said to be remarkably abstemious. "The Kashmīrīs," wrote Bernier, "are celebrated for wit, and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians. In poetry and science, they are not inferior to Persians. They are also very active and industrious." The traveller, G. T. Vigne, calls the Kashmīrī 'the Neapolitan of the East.'* But—

نہ دیدم در بسیطِ دہر ہرگز　　ہُنرمندے چو اُو محُتاجِ نانے

—میر ولی‌اللہ - وکیل - ایبٹ آباد

* *Travels*, Vol., I page 325.

"The Kashmirians are gay and lively people, with strong propensities to pleasure," wrote George Forster* in 1783 A.C. "None are more eager in the pursuit of wealth, have more inventive faculties in acquiring it, or who devise more modes of luxurious expense. When a Kashmirian, even of the lowest order, finds himself in possession of ten shillings, he loses no time in assembling his party and, launching into the lake, solaces himself till the last farthing is spent."

In many respects, the Kashmīrī cultivator resembles an Irishman, says Sir Walter Lawrence; he certainly possesses the quick wit which is so characteristic of the Irish, and has the same deep-rooted objection to paying rent. There are many points of resemblance between Ireland and Kashmīr. Both are small countries which have been subject to the rule and protection of more powerful nations, and yet have never welcomed any change or improvement. Both the Kashmīrī and the Irish love a joke, are fond of harmless deception, and are masters of good-humoured blarney. Both are kind to their children and to old folk and, continues Sir Walter, both have the same disregard for the first principles of sanitation, though "the interior of a Kashmīrī hut is probably cleaner than that of a similar class of dwelling in Ireland."

Women of Kashmīr.

Many an outsider has given his impressions about the women of Kashmīr. Two very divergent views, one expressed by an Englishman and the other by a Frenchman, are indeed striking. Colonel Alexander Dow in his *History of Hindostan* published in 1772 A.C. writes:—

"The inhabitants are astonishingly handsome and the women especially enchantingly beautiful" (Vol. I, p. 41). And Andrew Wilson refers to the legend of the two angels Hārūt and Mārūt having been ensnared by the beauty of Kashmīrī women (*The Abode of Snow*, p. 420). Victor Jacquemont, a French Naturalist, writes in his *Letters from India* (Vol. II, p. 65): "Know that I have never seen anywhere such hideous witches as in Cashmere. The female race is remarkably ugly." Eastern poets, on the other hand, are one in their appreciation of the beauty of the women of Kashmīr, and a typical case is that of the poet

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* *Journey*, Vol. II, pages 25-26.

Zuhūrī who says :—

بہ ترکانِ غارت گرِ صبر و ہوش   بہ کشمیریانِ ملاحت فروش

Foreign visitors very often err in generalizing before they have seen enough to form an accurate estimate of the real state of affairs. Oriental historians of the medieval period, and particularly the class amongst them gifted with the art of rhyme, are notorious for their tendency to exaggerate. The French writer, whom we have quoted above, must have been repelled by the dirt which is the lot of some classes of the women of Kashmīr. In the *Ā'īna-i-Kashmīr* of the late K. B. Pīrzāda Muhammad Husain '*Ārif*, M.A., C.I.E., ex-Chief Justice, Kashmīr, this fact is accordingly brought out in the following lines :—

ہیں حُسن و رنگ میں مشہورِ عالم عورتیں یاں کی
لباس اُن کا مگر میں نے بہت ہی بدنما دیکھا
رواں گھر گھر میں ہے پانی، مگر دھوتی ہیں کم کپڑے
ہزاروں میں کسی اک کے نہ کپڑوں کو صفا دیکھا
سوا اک ڈھیلے کُرتہ کے گلو سے لیکے ٹخنے تک
بجز رومالِ سر کے اور نہ کوئی پارچا دیکھا
نہ آسائش، نہ زیبائش، نہ پردہ اور نہ حفظِ تن
نہیں معلوم کیا واضع نے اسمیں فائدہ دیکھا؟
زمیندار اور اہلِ ڈل تو کچھ معذور ہیں، لیکن
یہ اہلِ شہر سے پوچھو کہ تم نے اسمیں کیا دیکھا!
حیا و عصمت و عفّت تو اب تک ان میں ہے باقی
جواں اور زال سب کو باحیا اور باوفا دیکھا

Once when a Zenana missionary was impelled to say, "O dear Kashmīrī women, why won't you wash ?" they looked at her wondering and replied, "We have been so oppressed that we don't care to be clean."* Perhaps this answer

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**Irene Petrie*, Missionary to Kashmīr, by Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson B.A., Sixth Edition, London, 1905, p. 111.

explains the fact that under oppressive rule during Afghān and Sikh times, cleanliness involved imposition or abduction, and thus the habit of uncleanliness was forced on women.

George Forster, who visited Kashmīr in 1783 A.C., likens the women of the Valley to the women of the south of France who are noted for their beauty, adding that women of Kashmīr "would be called brunettes in the south of France or Spain." To an Indian eye the women of Kashmīr are of a make different from their own. Kashmīrī women are fairer in complexion, not uncommonly blue-eyed, supple and attractive in appearance, as compared to the wheat-coloured, hard-boned peasant women of the Punjāb, or the dark-complexioned women of other parts of India. The Panditānī appears to be more delicately featured very often, but the Musalmān-nī is more vigorous and seems to possess a stronger stamina. Apparently one may consider this to be due to caste restrictions in one case and a wider field in the other. But under identical conditions of life there is, perhaps, no such difference at all, though a State survey, 25 years ago, revealed a large incidence of tub rculosis among the Panditānīs. The Kashmīrī woman's large lustrous *siyāh chashm* (blaek eye) is on a par with that of a Turkish, Īrānian or Afghān beauty, though Khwāja Hāfiz of Shīrāz singles out only Kashmīrīs and Turks when he says in his *Dīwān*—

ز شعر حافظ شیراز می گویند و می رقصند
سیه چشمان کشمیری و ترکان سمرقندی

It is indeed a compliment from the great Hāfiz and from Zuhūrī, the famous court-poet of Bījāpur, that the Kashmīrī should be bracketed with the Turk in the comeliness of his person, for the Turk is admittedly the handsomest of all the races of the Orient. The great Sa'dī gives but an expression to the universal acclamation of the beauty of the Turk when he says :—

سعدیا روز ازل حسن به ترکان دادند

There is, however, no doubt that poverty and ignorance and the political vicissitudes of this unhappy Valley have considerably marred the feminine charm of its womenfolk, and made a visitor to the Valley exclaim :—

حسن کو چاهئے انداز و ادا، ناز و نمك
کیا هوا گر هوئے گوروں کی طرح گال سفید

But given the chances of freedom and decent living enjoyed by the women of the West, there will be an entirely different outlook. And the women of Kashmīr would rank amongst the best of their kind in the world, as some of those gone out to live in the Punjāb, and the United Provinces, etc., tend to show. The health and enlightenment of the women of Kashmīr should, therefore, be of supreme importance in the programme of social uplift. Kashmīrī children are most winsome, wrote Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson. Indeed they can compare favourably with children in the West in the evident innocence of their enchanting charm, but the appalling illiteracy of the mother and the surrounding squalor and poverty will not let them grow up winsome.

Criticism of the Kashmīrī.

The Kashmīrī has been classed with the Kambūh and the Afghān as being a scoundrel in the saying very frequently quoted both for amusement and for satire :—

اگر قحطُ الرِّجال اُفتد از ایشان اُنس کم گیری
یکے افغان، دوم کمبوہ، سوم بد ذات کشمیری

which in Colonel Torrens' *Travels* (p. 299) is translated:

"Should fate decree a dearth of men,
Then, friend of mine, beware ye

Of Afghān—Kambūh, scoundrel too,
But, worst of all, do thou eschew
That ill-bred knave Kashmīrī."

Here, too, the Kashmīrī is singled out as the worst of the three notorious knaves of Northern India! A clever Kashmīrī, however, once turned the tables on his satirist stating that this saying really means that all Afghāns are bad, all Kambūhs are bad too, but it is the ill-bred Kashmīrī alone, who should be shunned and not every Kashmīrī.

The average Kashmīrī or, in any case, the Hānjī or the boatman, is considered to be rather prolific. This may be due to the usual reason of the poverty of the Kashmīrī in general. Some, however, believe it is due to river and other water containing large quantities of fish, but on that it would not be discreet to hazard judgment. It would indeed be an interesting investigation.

It has been asserted that the Kashmīrī "is a coward, a liar and a dirty fellow."

به تعریف کشمیر و کشمیریان   بهشتی پر از دوزخی گفته اند

He is a coward because long oppression has made him so. His cowardice is extraordinary. Under the slightest threat of danger, the poor stay-at-home Kashmīrī used to tremble and quake, weep and howl. Not very long ago, it was commonly remarked in the Punjāb that a Kashmīrī would not dare use a gun, but would throw it down in fear and say that "it would go off of itself."

از غلامی جذبه های او بمرد   آتشی اندر رگ تاکش فسرد

—اقبال - جاوید نامہ

Natives of certain hilly tracts in Northern India have been found to be somewhat cowardly, but those who have observed coolies from Kashmīr and coolies from other hill districts, working together in Simla or Dalhousie, must have noticed that the Kashmīrī coolie is decidedly the more cowardly though definitely more civil, and according to Aldous Huxley "wonderfully cheerful." In fact, the former very often lords it over the latter, and assigns to him the dirtier or the more irksome part of the job.

تلاش رزق میں تو دربدر ہر وقت پھرتا ہے
کبھی پنجاب تیرا مستقر ہے گاہ شملہ ہے
«ہتو» کہکر تیری تحقیر سب اغیار کرتے ہیں
تیری تذلیل بھی اکثر سر بازار کرتے ہیں
اگر تو انقلاب زندگی سے آشنا ہوتا
تو اتنا نکبت و ادبار میں کیوں مبتلا ہوتا

—نشاط

[Poverty being always pitiably acute, the poor can hardly be blamed for leaving—after the first mild dose of danger—homes where social conditions provide them with so little. Truly the dearth of possessions confers a certain freedom too. Here, it is to leave home and hearth !—*Unknown*]

Though it is so, it seems strange that the Kashmīrī professional wrestler should be the terror of his

opponents in the *akhāṛās* or wrestling pits of India. No doubt, therefore, that William Moorcroft[1] should have said, about 1820 A.C., that amongst the peasantry are found figures of robust and muscular make, such as might have served for models of the Farnesan Hercules.[2] The Kashmīrī is indeed a bundle of contradictions.

Again, "he is a liar because of the peculiar system of government which encouraged a most elaborate scheme of espionage." And in the words of Sir W. H. Beveridge, "in a land, on which terror has once lain like a poisonous mist, truth does not grow easily." Cowardice and lying have, in turn, bred in him envy and malice, self-praise (*thekun*), and condemnation of others. There is an apparent lack of sympathy though a good deal of lip-service. Like the lower type Anglo-Indian who often uses the curse 'bloody' or the Britisher who repeats 'damn it,' the Kashmīrī curses by invoking '*tapail*' and '*tāwan*.' '*Traṭh*' and '*zaharbād*' are frequently on the lips of women, as the Punjābī women use *suāh* and *siyāpa*. Again, the Kashmīrī plays havoc with his oaths. *BaYād-i-Qur'ān* he would repeat fifty times a day, like the lower class Lāhaurī or any such Punjābī who has abuse on the tip of his tongue.

Pessimism, want of education and poverty have made the Kashmīrī dirty.

جان ز اہلِ خطّہ سوُزد چوُں سپند خیزد از دِل نالہاے درد مند

—اقبال - جاوید نامہ

To my mind, his dirtiness is the cause of his degradation in the eyes of an outsider. Aldous Huxley goes to the length of saying that the Kashmīrī has a genius for filthiness. A regular jihād (crusade) against his dirty habits is the one imperative necessity, though it must be remarked, in passing, that this habit of dirtiness is shared, in some cases, by the European in his own native land, where he puts on clean clothes but does not keep the body equally clean, and dreads the bath either from the expense involved or the severity of the climate to which he finds himself, like the Kashmīrī, exposed. Such a European is not ashamed to call the

1. *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 128.

2. The Farnese Hercules is a marble statue of the first century B.C., and represents Hercules with exaggerated muscles. The statue was in the Farnese palace. Farnese is the name of an Italian ducal house, the ruling dynasty of Parma, Italy, in the 15th to 17th centuries A. C.

Kashmīrī—" that athletic bearded disgrace to the human race."[1]

" And do not sneer at the lack of sanitation. Remember the Chinese are desperately poor and have already suffered terribly in this War." This is the advice contained in the handbook for American troops in China in February, 1943. Should the high-browed foreigner forget it when meeting the desperately poor Kashmīrī ?

This type of Westerner who despises the Kashmīrī should remember that he too, at one time, evoked such remarks and was the butt of similar ridicule from the Easterner. " To these Saracens we are indebted for many of our comforts. Religiously cleanly, it was not possible for them to clothe themselves according to the fashion of the natives of Europe, in a garment unchanged till it dropped to pieces of itself, a loathsome mass of vermin, stench and rags [like the humble Hatō's head cover ?]. They taught us the use of the often-changed and often-washed undergarment of linen and cotton, which still passes among ladies under its old Arabic name."[2]

It is, however, an undeniable fact that much of the evil reputation of the Kashmīrī in the eyes of the visitor to the Valley is due to the contact of the latter mostly with the low class Kashmīrī, the Hānjī or the boatman and the hawker, and in some cases the half-educated Kashmīrī Pandit who has been acting as a *Bābu* or *Munshī*, or tutor to the visitor from the West, and who according to Aldous Huxley has more than Spanish objection to manual labour. And, therefore, most of the usual criticism of the character of the Kashmīrī is unjust and unjustified. The common Kashmīrī provokes laughter at his accents in Urdu and is thus a source

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1. *Magic Ladakh* by Major M. L. A. Gompertz,—Seely, Service & Co., Limited, London, 1928, page 26,—repeating E. F. Knight, author of *Where Three Empires Meet*, Longmans, London, 1893, p. 111. The poor Kashmīrī is, at least, innocent of crime like that referred to by Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Osburn, D.S.O.—" Not long ago it was stated that thirty per cent. of all cases in which young English girls had been seduced were cases of incest between father and daughter."—*Must England Lose India ?* Alfred A. Knopf, London, 1930, second edition June 1930, page 106, lines 16-19.

2. *A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* by John William Draper, M.D., LL.D., Professor of the University of New York. Two Volumes. Revised Edition. George Bell, London, 1875. Volume II, pp. 33-34.

of merriment to the outsider. His accent in English too is slightly peculiar.

The Future.

To sum up, it may be said: "though superstition has made the average stay-at-home Kashmīrī timid, tyranny has made him a craven-spirited liar, and physical disasters have made him selfish and pessimistic, and, up to recent times, the cultivator lived under a system of *begār* (carrier service, or forced labour) and having no security of property, he had no incentive to effort, and with no security of life he lost the independence of a free man": yet it is evident that changes are happily taking place, the impact of modern life is having its effect, and the influx of visitors and outside agencies are bringing about gradual awakening. The future is, therefore, not without hope, for the Kashmīrī has in him the qualities that can make a great nation. Among its numerous great sons, the Kashmīrī can number a learned jurist and an eminent politician in the United Provinces, a poet and philosopher in the Punjāb, a territorial magnate in Dacca, and, in other places, a great reformer, an able administrator, and a leading merchant-prince. The Kashmīrī has also taken part in the Great European or World Wars. He has shown his mettle in July 1924 by withstanding, quite unarmed, charges of State cavalry at Srīnagar, and in 1932 during the disturbances in the Valley. And he has won, at considerable sacrifice, a constitution by which the Prajā Sabhā or the Legislative Assembly was inaugurated on 18th October, 1934. This Assembly, however, is but a recommendatory body subject to the Council of Ministers.

The educated Kashmīrī of the Punjāb, Lucknow, Patna or Dacca holds his own against the most advanced Indian in intellect, culture and refinement, as well as in general appearance, physique and manly qualities.

KINGS OF KASHMĪR DURING THE PRE MUSLIM PERIOD

[AS GIVEN BY KALHANA.]

Gonanda I.	Accession assumed Kali Saṁvat 653 (Laukika S. 628).
Dāmodara I.	
Yaçovatī	
Gonanda II.	
Thirty-five kings 'lost'	
Lava	
Kuça	
Khagendra	
Surendra	
Godhara	Aggregate length of reigns 1266 years (Laukika S. 628—1894).
Suvarṇa	
Janaka	
Shachīnara	
Açoka	
Jalauka	
Dāmodara II.	
Hushka, Jushka, Kanishka.	
Abhimanyu I.	

[The above is according to the English Translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* by Sir Aurel Stein—Vol. I, pp. 134-5.]

KINGS OF THE GONANDA DYNASTY—GROUP I.

B. C.			reigned for		Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
1184	1.	Gonanda III	,,	..	35	..	..
1149	2.	Bibhīshaṇa I	,,	..	53	6	..
1095	3.	Indrajit	,,	..	35	..	..
1060	4.	Rāvaṇa	,,	..	30	6	..
1030	5.	Bibhīshaṇa II	,,	..	35	6	..
994	6.	Nara I *alias* Kinnara	,,	..	39	9	..
955	7.	Siddha	,,	..	60	..	..
895	8.	Utpalāksha	,,	..	30	..	..
864	9.	Hiraṇyāksha	,,	..	37	7	..
827	10.	Hiraṇyakula	,,	..	60	..	..
767	11.	Vasukula	,,	..	60	..	..
707	12.	Mihirakula *nicknamed* Trikoṭihā (killer of three crores of people)	,,	..	70	..	..
637	13.	Baka	,,	..	63	..	..

B.C.			reigned for		Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
574	14.	Kshitinanda	,,	..	30	..	..
544	15.	Vasunanda	,,	..	52	..	..
491	16.	Nara II	,,	..	60	..	..
431	17.	Aksha	,,	..	60	..	..
371	18.	Gopāditya	,,	..	60	..	6
311	19.	Gokarṇa	,,	..	57	11	..
253	20.	Narendra I *alias* Khiṅkhila	,,	..	36	3	10
217	21.	Yudhishṭhira I	,,	..	*No period is mentioned*		
		Total Gonandas, Group I		..	1014	9	9

THE VIKRAMĀDITYA DYNASTY—GROUP 2

B. C.			reigned for		Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
169	22.	Pratāpāditya I	,,	..	32	..	..
137	23.	Jalauka	,,	..	32	..	..
105	24.	Tuñjīna I	,,	..	36	..	..
		Change of dynasty (" Anyakulajā Rājā ")					
69	25.	Vijaya	,,	..	8	..	..
61	26.	Jayendra (dynasty ends)	,,	..	37	..	..
24	27.	Saṁdhimati *alias* Āryarāja (Jayendra's minister)	,,	..	47	..	..
		Total : Vikramādityas and others, Group 2		..	192	..	..

THE GONANDAS RESTORED—GROUP 3

B.C.			reigned for		Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
24	28.	Meghavāhana	,,	..	34	..	..
58	29.	Pravarasena I *alias* Tuñjīna II	,,	..	30	..	..
88	30.	Hiraṇya and Toramāṇa (dynasty interrupted,			30	2	..
118	31.	Mātrigupta, the poet, (Protègè of the great Vikramāditya of Ujjain, defeater of the Shakas)	,,	..	4	9	1
123	32.	Pravarasena II	,,	..	60	..	..
183	33.	Yuddhishṭhira II	,,	..	21	3	
204	34.	Narendra II *alias* Lakhaṇa	,,	..	13	..	..
217	35.	Raṇāditya *alias* Tuñjīna III	,,	..	300	..	..
517	36.	Vikramāditya	,,	..	42	..	..
559	37.	Bālāditya	,,	..	37	4	..
		Total Gonandas after the first restoration, Group 3		..	572	6	1

THE KĀRKOṬA OR NĀGA DYNASTY—GROUP 4

B.C.			reigned for	Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
396	38.	Durlabhavardhana *alias* Prajñāditya	,, ..	36	..	..
632	39.	Durlabhaka *alias* Pratāpāditya II	,, ..	50	..	..
682	40.	Chandrāpīḍa	,, ..	8	8	..
691	41.	Tārāpīḍa	,, ..	4	..	24
		Total Kārkoṭas up to the end of Tārāpīḍa		98	8	24
		Grand total up to the end of Tārāpīḍa	..	1,878	..	4

A.D.				Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
695	42.	Muktāpīḍa *alias* Lalitāditya	,, ..	36	7	11
732	43.	Kuvalayāpīḍa	,, ..	1	..	15
733	44.	Vajrāditya Bappiyaka *alias* Lalitāditya II	..	7	..	..
740	45.	Prithivyāpīḍa	,, ..	4	1	..
744	46.	Sangrāmāpīḍa	,, ..	7	..	..
751	47.	Jayāpīḍa	,, ..	31	..	..
	48.	Jajja (brother-in-law and minister of Jayāpīḍa *usurper*)	,, ..	3	..	..
785	49.	Lalitāpīḍa	,, ..	12	..	..
797	50.	Prithivyāpīḍa II, *alias* Sangrāmāpīḍa II	..	7	..	..
804	51.	Chippaṭajayāpīḍa *alias* Brihaspati (son of Lalitāpīḍa by a concubine)	,, ..	12	..	..
816	52.	Ajitāpīḍa, son of Chippaṭa's brother, deposed and succeeded by	,, ..	..	..	..
	53.	Anaṅgāpīḍa (son of Sangrāmāpīḍa)	..	..	..	..
	54.	Utpalāpīḍa (son of Ajitāpīḍa)	,, ..	41	..	..
		Total up to the end of the fourth Taraṅga		260	5	20

CHANGE OF DYNASTY—GROUP 5

A.D.			reigned for	Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
857	55.	Avantivarman (son of Sukhavarman, son of Utpala, brother of the concubine above referred to), from Phālg. kr. 1 of 31 to Āshāḍh. sh. 3 of 59	,, ..	27	4	18
884	56.	Shaṁkaravarman, up to Phālg. kr. 7 of 77	..	18	7	19
903	57.	Gopālavarman	,, ..	2	..	..
	58.	Saṃkaṭavarman	,, ..	..	..	10
05	59.	Sugandhā, queen	,, ..	2	..	..

DYNASTY CHANGED

	60.	Nirjitavarman *alias* Paṅgu (grandson of Shūravarman)	..	..	..	..

A.D.		reigned for	Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
		He hardly reigned at all, when he was succeeded by his son, 10 years old, named ..			
907	61.	Pārtha, up to Paush. kr. 1 of 97, *i.e.*, for 19 yrs., 9 mas., 23 ds., less by 4 ys. 0 ms., 10 dys. of Gopāta Saṃkaṭa, and Sugandhā	15	9	13
923		Nirjitavarman or Paṅgu again up to Māgha. kr. 1 of 98 „ ..	1	1	..
924	62.	Chakravarman, up to Māgha. kr. 1 of 9. ..	11	..	..
935	63.	Sūravarman, up to Āṣāḍh. kr. 1 of 10 ..	1	..	..
936		Pārtha again, up to Āçāḍha. kr. 1 of 11 ..	..	5	..
936		Chakravarman again up to Jyeshṭa. ç. 8 of 13	1	11	23
938	64.	Unmattāvanti, up to Āçāḍha, kr. 1 of 15 ..	2	..	7
		Total years, Group 5, end of the 5th Taraṅga „ ..	83	4	0

DYNASTY CHANGED—GROUP 6

A.D.		reigned for	Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
940	65.	Yaçaskara, up to Bhād. kr. 3 of 24, including „ ..			
	66.	Varṇaṭa who reigned a few days before Yaçaskara's death „ ..	9	..	..
948	67.	Saṃgrāmadeva, up to Phālg. kr. 10 or 24 ..	..	6	8
950	68.	Parvagupta, up to Āçāḍha, kr. 13 of 26 ..	1	4	4
951	79.	Kshemagupta, up to Pauçh. ç. 1 of 34 ..	8	6	8
960	70.	Abhimanyu, up to Kārt. ç. 3 of 48 „ ..	13	10	3
973	71.	Nandigupta, up to Mārga. ç. 12 of 49 „ ..	1	1	9
975	72.	Tribhuvana, up to Mārga. ç. 5 of 51 „ ..	1	11	23
976	73.	Bhīmagupta „ ..	5		..
981	74.	Diddā, Queen, up to Bhād. ç. 8 of 79 „ ..	22	9	3
		Total years, Group 6, end of the 6th Taraṅga ..	64	..	23

DYNASTY CHANGED—GROUP 7

A.D.		reigned for	Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
1004	75.	Saṃgrāmarāja, up to Āçādha. kr. 1 of 4	24	9	8
1029	76.	Harirāja, up to Āçhādha. ç. 8 „ ..	..	..	22
1029	77.	Ananta, up to Kārt. ç. 6 of 39, when he crowned his son Kalaça „ ..	35	3	28
1064	78.	Kalaça, up to Mārga. ç. 6 of 65 „ ..	26	1	..
1090	89.	Utkarça and Harsha, up to Bhād. ç. 5 of 77 „ ..	11	8	29
		Totals years Group 7, end of the 7th Taraṅga „ ..	97	11	27

DYNASTY CHANGED—GROUP 8

A.D.		reigned for	Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
1102	80.	Uchchala, up to Pausha. ç. 6 of 87 „ ..	10	4	1
1113	81.	Raḍḍa *alias* Shaṅkha „ ..	..	..	..
1113	82.	Salhaṇa, up to Vaiç. ç. 3 of 88 „ ..	..	8	26

DYNASTY CHANGED

A.D.			reigned for	Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
1113	83.	Sussala up to Phālg. new moon of 3 including 6 ms., 12 ds. of	„ ..			
	84.	Bhikshāchāra	„ ..	15	9	27
1129	85.	Vijayasiṁha, still reigning in the 25th year or A.D., 1151, *i.e.*, Shake 1072	„ ..	22	..	..
		Total to end of Shaka 1072, or A.D. 1151, *i.e.*		48	5	25

[The above is according to the English Translation of the *River of Kings* by the late Mr. R. S. Pandit, pp. 581-582 and 585-586.]

[AS GIVEN BY JONARAJA]

A.D.		Period of reign Ys.	Ms.	Ds.
1127	Jayasiṃha (same as Siṃhadeva of Kalhaṇa) ..	26	11	27
1154	Pramāṇuka	9	6	10
1164	Vārttideva	9	6	..
1171	Vopyadeva	9	4	2
1180	Jassaka	18	..	10
1198	Jagadeva	14	6	3
1213	Rājadeva	23	3	27
1236	Saṅgrāmadeva	16	..	10
1252	Rāmadeva	21	1	13
1273	Lakshmaṇadeva	13	3	12
1286	Siṃhadeva	14	5	27
1301	Sahadeva *alias* Rāmachandra	19	3	25
1320	Riñchana	3	1	19
1323	Udayanadeva	..	..	..
1338	Koṭā	..	..	..

[The above is according to the English Translation by Jogesh Chander Dutt of Jonarājā's *Rājāvali*—Vol. III, p. XXI at the end.]

CHAPTER II

THE PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD

(a) The earliest known kings of Kashmir.

As this Chapter deals with the history of Kashmīr during the period when Hindus—Brāhmans and non-Brāhmans—and Buddhists, etc., ruled the Valley we call it the Pre-Islamic Period of the history of Kashmīr. In view of the exhaustive exposition of this period by the late Sir Mark Aurel Stein in his English Translation of the *Rājataraṅgṇī*, only a brief outline of the period is presented to the reader of *Kashīr*.

Gonanda I.[1]

Gonanda I is the first ruler from whose reign some semblance of a chronological history of Kashmīr begins. His reign is dated 20 years before the Mahābhārata war.[2] Gonanda I went to war with Krishna on behalf of his relative

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1. Tradition takes us as far back as the times of Rāmachandra, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, who is said to have conquered and visited Kashmīr, but of whom nothing more is related. The tradition says that, when the country became permanently inhabited, it was split up into numerous little Kuttarāja's or kingdoms founded by Brāhmans, which began in course of time to fight among themselves with the result that they called in a Rājput named Dayā Karan from the Jammu territory to restore order and rule in the country. [*The Gulāb-nāma*, p. 52.] Dayā Karan was the son of Pūran Karan and grandson of Jambu Lochan, the founder of Jammu town and of the Jamwāl dynasty of Rājputs. Some historians connect him with the line of the Rājās of Mathurā. Dayā Karan and 35 Rājās of his line are said to have ruled here. This latter part of the tradition, Sir Aurel Stein says, has been added by a Kashmīrī Pandit to please the present rulers of Kashmīr hailing from Jammu—*Introduction to the Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, page 73.

Also *Gulab Singh* by K. M. Pannikar, page 14.

2. Kalhaṇa takes, as the starting point of his chronological calculations, the traditional date indicated by Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* for the coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira, the Pāṇḍava hero of the Epics. . . . The date of this legendary event is accepted by him also for the accession of Gonanda I, the first of the "lost" kings of Kashmīr, whose name, as we are told, was recovered by the chronicler (or his predecessors) from the *Nīlamata Purāṇa*. The exact reason for the equation of these dates is nowhere given. But it appears that the story as contained in the earlier version of the *Nīlamata*, which Kalhaṇa had before him, represented Gonanda I in a general way as a contemporary of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas.—Stein's Introduction to his English Translation of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, page 59.

Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, and laid siege to the town of Mathurā, but was killed in the battle.

Dāmodara I.

He was succeeded by his son, Dāmodara I, who, impelled by the desire to avenge his father's death, attacked Krishṇa at a *svayaṃvara* which was held by the king of Gandhāra, the corridor of India, a territory lying on the banks of the Indus. Dāmodara was killed, whereupon Krishṇa installed the late king's pregnant widow, Yaçovatī, on the throne.

The queen bore a son who was placed on the throne as Gonanda II while yet an infant. The Mahābhārata war occurred soon after; but as the king of Kashmīr was yet an infant, his alliance was sought for neither by the Kurus nor by the Pāṇḍus.

(b) The Pāndu Dynasty.

A Gap of 35 *Kings.*

Then came thirty-five kings one after the other, whose names and deeds, according to Kalhaṇa, have been lost through the destruction of records. Pīr Hasan Shāh,* a noted local Muslim historian, however, fills up the gap by allotting a rule of one thousand years to twenty-two kings of the Pāṇḍu dynasty. If we give credence to the traditions prevailing among the present-day Kashmīrīs—who ascribe every old monument to the Pāṇḍus calling it *Pŭnḍavlärih* or Pāṇḍu edifice—Pīr Hasan Shāh's statement may be given a value comparable to that which attaches to the account of Kalhaṇa up to the middle of the 8th century of the Christian era. Hīmāl and Lōlarē, two noted heroines, in two love stories so popular in Kashmīrī folk-lore, belonged to this period. Hīmāl's lover was Nāgrāi. Lōlarē's lover was Bömbur.

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*Zain-ul-'Ābidīn (1420-70 A.C.) is said to have instituted a search for ancient manuscripts, and copies of certain chronicles were found. Of these, Kalhaṇa's chronicles were by far the most important. But the history of thirty-five of the early Hindu kings was still missing. Subsequently, an old manuscript was discovered written on birch-bark. This was called the *Ratnākara Purāṇa* and was of especial interest, as it contained a record of those kings whose reigns were omitted from Kalhaṇa's history. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn had a Persian translation made, but both this and the original have disappeared, though the historian, Pīr Hasan Shāh, is said to have obtained a copy of the translation. It is, however, impossible to vouch for this story.

According to this account of Pīr Hasan Shāh, Haraṇdeva, a scion of the Pāṇḍus, is said to have taken service with Gonanda II, and risen to the office of minister to the king. As often happened in those days, Haraṇdeva killed the old Rājā, usurped the throne, and founded a dynasty of his own.

Rāmadeva.

The second ruler of this dynasty, Rāmadeva, is said to have been a conqueror, having vanquished as many as 500 kings, and brought under his sway the whole of India from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. He assessed land revenue at one-tenth of the gross produce, which was raised to one-fifth by one of his successors.

Sundarasena.

In the reign of Sundarasena, twenty-second in the line, a great earthquake clove open the earth in the middle of the capital Samdhimatnnagar, and the whole city was submerged along with its king and inhabitants. The site of the city is now occupied by the Volur (Wular) lake. Lava, chief of Laulaha or Lōlauv (modern Lōlāb), the beautiful and fertile valley, oval in shape and situated on the north-east side of Kashmīr, was then elected King.

(c) The Maurya Dynasty.

Açoka.

We may pass over the next twenty kings whose names, but no deeds, have been preserved, and come down to Açoka. In spite of a number of surmises to the contrary, there is a consensus of opinion among historians that Açoka of Kashmīr history was the Emperor Açoka of Magadha, who reigned from 272 B.C. to 231 B.C., and whose dominions extended eastward to Bengal and westward to the Hindū-kush.* Açoka was a Buddhist who erected many vihāras or monasteries, and stūpas or sacred cupolas. He acted on the policy of religious toleration and patronized all religions.

* The chronological position and genealogical relations of Açoka of Kashmīr as stated by Kalhaṇa show him to have been different from the Açoka of India and to have existed about a thousand years before the latter. But Kalhaṇa's chronology before the ninth century of the Christian era is absolutely unreliable, while his genealogical connexions are mere attempts at arranging kings in one line of descent—Stein's Introduction to his English Translation of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. 1, page 64.

One of the greatest lessons that he taught to his people was to "overcome all lassitude," and he never spared himself any pains. This description of the Emperor Açoka agrees entirely with that given by Kalhaṇa, though the latter's chronology was so vague that he dates the Kashmīr Açoka[1] a thousand years before the great Indian emperor of the same name.

The Emperor Açoka's rule in Kashmīr is the first great landmark in the history of this country which was then governed through a deputy who had his seat[2] of government at Taxilā (Pāli—Takkasilā or Takshaçilā). This is about the time when Rome and Carthage were beginning to grapple together in the Punic Wars. Açoka built the original town of Srīnagar, at a site about four miles above the existing capital and which is now occupied by a small village called Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna (old capital) or Pāndrēṭhan.[3] "He had broken through the fetter of Brāhmanism and established friendly intercourse with Greece and Egypt, and it is to this connexion that the introduction of stone architecture and sculpture in Kashmīr is due." Buddhism, offering a higher morality and persuasive argument at the same time, disarmed Brāhman opposition and spread rapidly. It very deeply affected the Kashmīrī character. The extraordinary patience that the Kashmīrī shows under the severest visitations of nature such as cholera and earthquake is clearly traceable to this early Buddhist influence. The outside appearance of most of the present-day Muslim shrines is not unlike that of Buddhist pagoda; though all details are entirely Saracenic as we shall see under the section on architecture. Buddhism lingered on in the Valley right up to the times of Kalhaṇa who was himself an admirer of Buddha though he

1. In the time of Jalauka, the alleged son and successor of Açoka, Buddhists are stated by Kalhaṇa to have been "powerful and flushed with success." History tells us that it was Açoka who raised Buddhism from the status of a local sect to one of the great religions of the world, and it was he who sent missionaries to Kashmīr. If we accept the chronology of Kalhaṇa, we shall have to place Açoka of Kashmīr at least a thousand years before the date of the Emperor Açoka, and we also stand a fair chance of falling into the ridiculous anachronism of introducing Buddhism into Kashmīr fully eight centuries before its founder was born.—Stein's Introduction to his English Translation of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, page 64.

2. *Early History of India* by V. A. Smith, 3rd Edition, 1914, p. 164.

3. Originally Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna—Stein's English Translation of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Book I, p. 19.

was a Çivaite. The pond in which the temple of Pāndrēthan was erected has now been drained and the plinth excavated. The domed roof is a fine piece of sculpture. The temple is about 18 feet square with projecting porticos. It was erected in 921 A.C. by King Pārtha whom we shall know later.

Jalauka.

Açoka was succeeded by Jaloka or Jalauka, whom, perhaps from the phonetic similarity of names or from the close succession of one by the other, Kalhaṇa states to be the son of the former. His name, however, is quite unknown to Indian history.[1] He may have been a native king of Kashmīr. He may have come to the throne by a *coup de main*, similar to that by which Chandragupta Maurya, took advantage of the utter confusion and anarchy that prevailed in western India on the return of Alexander the Great, and established the Maurya empire on the ruins of the small states shattered by the great Macedonian conqueror. During Açoka's later years the country was harassed by Mlecchas, probably the restless Mongolian hordes from the steppes of Central Asia who were always on the move in search of new pastures and new homes. The strong hand of the Emperor was soon after removed by death. The difficult nature of the surrounding country and the cares of an already unwieldy empire may have kept his successor from any attempt at its recovery. At any rate, there was anarchy and confusion in Kashmīr, and the time was ripe for the native adventurer, Jaloka or Jalauka, to try conclusions with the foreign depredators, in which he was successful. Jalauka was a popular hero and a worshipper of Çiva. The first religious edifice on the isolated hill, rising to about 1,000 feet above the plains, and known as Takht-i-Sulaimān and called by Hindus Çankarāchārya,[2] was built by Jaloka about 200 B.C. The temple is supposed to have been rebuilt in the 6th century A.C. by Rājā Gopāditya. At first an opponent of Buddhists, Jaloka finally became friendly to them. He is said to have conquered Qannauj and Gandhāra and brought lawyers and other people from those parts to settle in the country. Kalhaṇa gives useful information concerning the administration of the country. It appears that up to the time of Jaloka, government

1. *Early History of India* by V. A. Smith, 3rd Edition, 1914, pp. 191-92.

2. Old name Gopādri 'the Gopa-hill'.

consisted of seven main state officials—the Premier, the Judge, the Revenue Superintendent, the Treasurer, the Commander of the army, the Purohita (Ecclesiastical Minister) and the Astrologer. Jalauka increased this number to eighteen[1] of whom no details, however, are given.

Dāmodara.

Jalauka was succeeded by Dāmodara II, whose stories cluster round the Dāmodara Uḍar,[2] an arid alluvial plateau some eight miles south of Srīnagar that served as a dam to bring water to his town of Gudasuth, now a small village of 476 souls, situated on the plateau. There is an aerodrome at Dāmodara Uḍar.

" Christ in Kashmīr ? " Saṁdhimati.

At this stage of *Kashīr*, though our chronology differs from that of Kalhaṇa, yet the period being the same, we cannot help referring to an event of extraordinary interest. In Taraṅga second of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, there is a çloka (No. 90) which refers to a certain minister Saṁdhimati-Āryarāja " the greatest of sages," and minister to Jayendra (61 B.C. to 24 A.C.). Both Sir Aurel Stein and Mr. R. S. Pandit, in their translations, speak of him as having led a life of poverty, suffered a long imprisonment, and "death at the stake," and then coming to life again, and having ' consented to the prayers of the citizens ' ruled Kashmīr for forty-seven years. Finally, this Samdhimati turned Sanyāsī, but whither he went we know not, neither does Kalhaṇa's chronicle throw any light on this point. This man is not mythical. He seems to have an historical individuality.

There is a tradition, rather persistent, occasionally reinforced by casual accidental occurrences which are given prominence by a certain class of writers, namely, that Christ was buried in Srīnagar, some go to the length of calling him Hazrat Yūz Āsaf, and point to his grave at Khānayār in Srīnagar. But Yūz Āsaf, supposed to be the descendant of Moses, was sent as an ambassador to the court of Baḍ Shāh by the ruler of Egypt. Yūz Āsaf, written in Arabic characters, can be also read as Bodhisattva. There is no substantive proof for the visit of Christ to India, but it is

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1. These eighteen officers evidently correspond to the eighteen "Tīrthas" or court officials, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* II, V. 38.—Stein's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, First Book, verse 120, footnote 120, pages 22, 23.

2. The Dāmodara *Karewa* (Dāmodara Uḍar) is called by Kalhaṇa Dāmodarasuda. *Uḍar* is the Kashmīrī word for the Persian term Karewa (plateau).

indeed a strange coincidence in world history that Christ should have had resurrection somewhat similar to that of Saṁdhimati though certainly not exactly so. The dates of Saṁdhimati and Christ are also almost identical. To say that Saṁdhimati is no less a person than Christ himself would be far too bold an assertion. But the fact remains that the great Prophet of Galilee and the minister of Kashmīr have certain strong resemblances and both the personalities live in the same age though so far apart as Palestine and Kashmīr. It is a mystery indeed to the writer as it must be to the reader. And we leave it at that.

(d) The Kushāna Dynasty.

Yueh-chi.

We may now come to the Yueh-chi, a Turkish race, who had established themselves in the valley of the Oxus, and overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactria in the second century before Christ. The vanquished people moved southward and conquered the whole of Northern India, which they retained until they were extinguished by the Kushāna section of the Yueh-chi.

Kadphises I, A.C. 15.

In about 15 A.C. Kadphises I, chieftain of the Kushāna clan of the Yueh-chi, welded together all the sections of the Yueh-chi nation, and conquered Afghānistān.

Kadphises II, A.C. 45.

He was succeeded about A.C. 45, by his son Kadphises II, who sent an army to conquer Eastern Turkistān. The expedition ended in disaster, and he was compelled to pay tribute to China.* He subsequently conquered Northern India as far as Benares.

Kanishka, A.C. 78.

Kanishka succeeded Kadphises II in 78 A.C., and extended his empire as far south as the Vindhyas and upper Sind. He annexed Kashmīr, and with this we reach once more the *terra firma* of historical record in the annals of this country. He was a Buddhist by faith, and had his capital at Peshāwar where the remains of some of his monuments have been exhumed. He erected numerous monuments in Kashmīr,

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*Vincent A. Smith presumes that it was Kanishka and not Kadphises II, whose armies fought against China.—*Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, 1914, page 253.

and built the town of Kanishkapura, the modern village of Kānispōr,[1] about six miles from Bārāmūla. Under his patronage the third council of the Buddhist church was held, which carried on its deliberations in the Khandalvan Vihār, near Hārvan in Kashmīr, about 100 A.C., under the presidency of Nāgārjuna and drew up the Northern Canon or "Greater Vehicle of the Law."

The Great Bodhisattva, Nāgārjuna, lived in his time at Hārvan,[2] higher up the Shālimār. Nāgārjuna was a Buddhist alchemist of great fame. He was born in the land of Vidarbha (Berar)[3] as the son of a wealthy Brāhman who had remained childless for many years. Astrologers were called in and they found that the child could only have a span of seven years. Before the end of the seventh year, his parents, in order to be spared the painful sight of the child's predicted death, sent him on a journey to other places till he arrived at Nālandā and met Āchārya Rāhula. At Nālandā he became a monk, and devoted himself to religious studies. He contradicted the doctrines of the Brāhmans and taught the monks at Nālandā. The Nāgas used to attend his sermons in the guise of young boys. On invitation from the Nāgas, he resided three months in their dwelling place. On account of his connexions with the Nāgas, he received the name of Nāgārjuna. One statement is that his mother gave birth to him under a tree called Arjuna. Hence Nāga and Arjuna combined became Nāgārjuna. In course of time, Nāgārjuna became the head of the whole Buddhist church. Most authorities agree that Nāgārjuna flourished in the first century of the Christian era. He is one of the celebrated teachers elevated to Bodhisattvaship and is the alleged founder of the Mahāyāna system

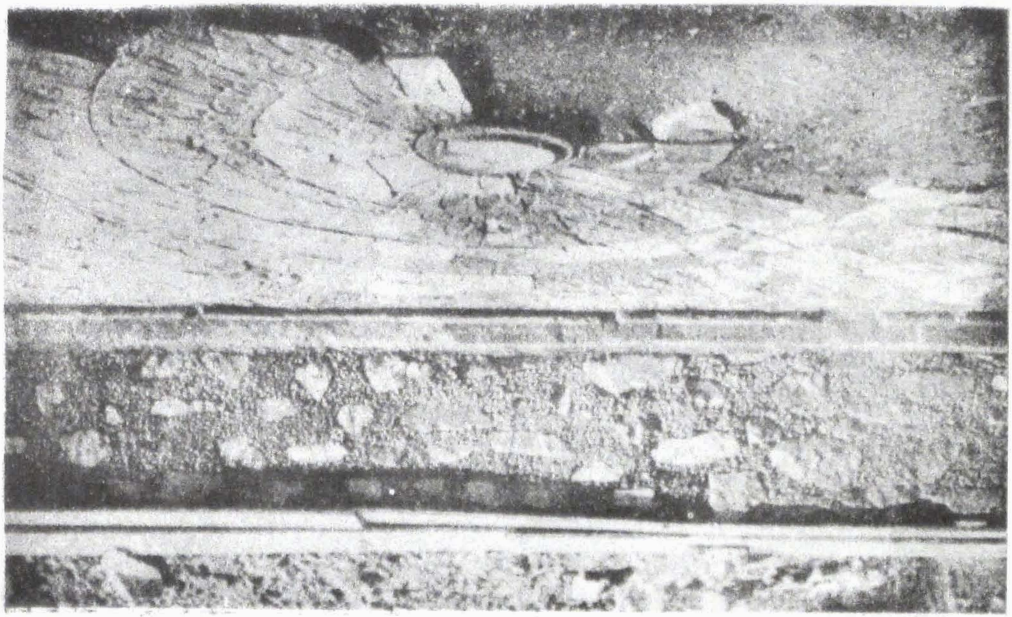
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1. Stein's English Translation of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, Book First, page 30, footnote 168.

2. According to some Buddhist records, Menander, the Bactrian king of Northern India (155 B.C.), delighted in controversies with Nāgārjuna (*Ancient India* by R. C. Dutt, p. 119); but local historians are silent about Menander.

"Recent excavations have revealed one of the oldest monuments at Hārwan, containing the only remains of its kind in India. A temple and some tablets have been unearthed, which date the monument as belonging to the Kushāna period, when Kashmīr was closely connected with Central Asia. The remains are situated only a few furlongs below the water reservoir at Hārwan," Srīnagar.—*Jammu and Kashmir Annual Administration Report* for 1940-41, published in 1942, page 9 *m*.

3. *The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources* by M. Walleser, Probsthain & Co., London.



Buddhist Remains in old Harvan, near Srinagar.

which he is said to have introduced into Tibet. He is represented as at once a poet, a philosopher, a physician and an author of great ability. Perhaps, different Nāgārjunas have been mixed up in one.

Kanishka conquered Kāshghar, Yārqand and Khutan, then dependencies of China.

Huvishka, 123 A.C.

It is probable that Vasishka and Huvishka, who were the sons of Kanishka, acted in succession as viceroys, but it appears that Vasishka predeceased* his father who was succeeded in his whole empire by Huvishka in 123 A.C.

Huvishka founded Hushkapura, the modern Ushkārā, a small village near Vārāhamūla or the modern Bārāmūla. His rule lasted till about 140 A.C.

Vasudeva or Jushka, 140 A.C.

He was succeeded by Vasudeva, also called Jushka, who died in about 178 A.C., when Kushāna rule came to an end in Kashmīr. The dynasty, however, lasted in Kābul and the Punjāb till they were swept away by the Hun invasion in the 5th century A.C. The Kushāna chronology, it may be noted, is not yet quite definite.

Abhimanyu I.

Jushka was succeeded by Abhimanyu I in whose reign Buddhism received a check in Kashmīr.

(e) The Gonanda Dynasty.

Gonanda III.

Abhimanyu I, was followed by Gonanda III, the founder of the Gonanda dynasty.

Nara.

Gonanda III, revived Brāhmanism and a reaction against Buddhism began. King Nara, the sixth in the line, is said to have burnt down " thousands of *vihāras* (monasteries)." From this time onward, Buddhism in Kashmīr declined steadily.

(f) The White Huns.

Mihirakula, 528 A.C.

We may pass over the next four kings and come down to Mihirakula, the White Hun, who seized the throne of Kashmīr in 528 A.C. Under his father, Toramāna, the

*Vincent A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, 1914, page 270.

Hun empire had been established in the latter half of the fifth century in Afghānistān and Western India.[1] Mihirakula succeeded in 510 A.C., his capital being Çākala in the Punjāb, which may be identified with Siālkot, according to Fleet, or with Sangala Hill in the Sheikhūpurā district or, according to Anspach, Jaṇḍiālā in the Amritsar district of the Punjāb.[2] He was "a man of violent acts and resembling death," whose approach the people knew "by noticing the vultures, crows, and other birds which were flying ahead eager to feed on those who were to be slain." His revolting acts of cruelty became so abhorrent that the native princes formed a confederacy, and, under the leadership of Bālāditya of Magadha and Yaçovarman of Central India, inflicted a decisive defeat on him. Mihirakula fled to Kashmīr where he was kindly received by the king and placed in charge of a small territory. He repaid the king's kindness by seizing his throne and putting him to death. Then issuing from Kashmīr, Mihirakula attacked and conquered Gandhāra and drowned multitudes of people in the Indus. Kalhaṇa depicts him in the blackest colours of cruelty as being surrounded day and night by thousands of murdered human beings. Mihirakula delighted in acts of cruelty and people still point to a ridge (Hastīvanj—from *hastī*, elephant, and *vanj*, to go—the passage for elephants) on the Pīr Pāntsāl (Pīr Panjāl) range, near 'Alīābād Sarāi,[3] where the king, to amuse himself, drove one hundred elephants over the precipice, enjoying their cries of agony. He favoured Brāhmanas, and hated Buddhism. He committed suicide about the middle of the fifth century, overpowered probably by the sense of his own misdeeds.

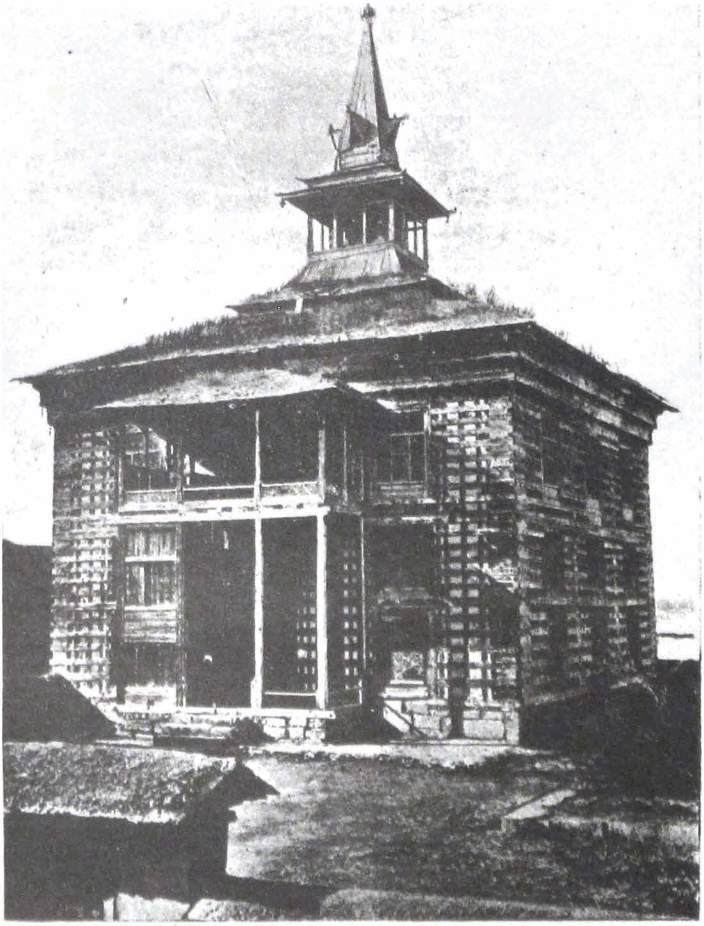
[The Pīr Panjāl Pass is 11,400 feet above sea level, and the neighbouring peaks are upwards of 16,000 feet high. Gulmarg is but one of the many mountain meadows found at different elevations on the northern slopes of the Pīr Panjāl. The Kausar-nāg—the largest mountain lake of Kashmīr 13,000 feet above sealevel, and over two miles long is on the Pīr Panjāl range. The lake is surrounded by some of the most picturesque of the Himālayan peaks. Three of these peaks each about

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1. The White Huns or Ephthalites came originally from Eastern Turkistān.—*Early History of India* by V. A. Smith, 3rd Edition, 1914, pages 315-16.

2. Chakla (or modern Chaklāla, near Rāwalpindī) appears, perhaps, more probable on account of its geographical and phonetic similarity.

3. 'Alīābād Sarāi, about half a mile above Hastīvanj and 46 miles from Srīnagar, is a halting place to the north of the Pīr Panjāl Pass. The *sarāi* which offers some accommodation to travellers, and stands in wild and dreary solitude was a Mughul hospice. During the wintry portion of the year, it is buried in snow and unvisited.



The Jāmi' Masjid at Pāmpar which is noted for saffron and lies on the Jhelum, about 9 miles from Srinagar.



A Saffron Field of Pāmpar

15,500 feet high tower over the Kausar-nāg. G. T. Vigne, in his *Travels*, Vol. I, page 265, writes: "Panjāl is a Persian word, signifying a range of mountains. The Kashmīrians call it Pansal, which more properly signifies a station where water is provided for passengers." Reference to half a dozen standard dictionaries of the Persian language furnishes no clue to the meaning given to it by Vigne. Grierson's *Dictionary of the Kashmīrī Language* does not also give the meaning noted by Vigne. Stein says that the *Pañcāla* is the original of the modern Pāntsal. (*Rāj.*, Vol. II, p. 396.)

Habīb *Kaifwī* of Jammu evokes patriotic sentiments in the Kashmīrī by his lines on the Pīr Panjāl:—

شفا پرور تیرے چشموں کا پانی　　ہواؤں میں نوید زندگانی

وطن کی آبرو تیری بلندی　　تجھے سونپی وطن نے پاسبانی

تری عظمت تری ہیبت جہاں میں　　ہماری سربلندی کی نشانی

تری آغوش میں سوتے ہیں بادل　　ترے دامن میں ندی کی روانی

ترے دامن میں پھولوں کی قطاریں　　بہت سی زرد اکثر ارغوانی

—حبیب "کیفوی" جموں- از "رہبر"- ۱۶ مئی ۱۹۴۲ء

The *Pādhsāh-nāma* has the following on the Pīr Panjāl:—

معاذالله ز راهِ پیر پنجال　　که مثلش دیده کم چرخِ کهن سال

صبا در دامنش زاں می‌خرامد　　که نتواند به بالایش بر آمد

سراپا گشته حیرت چرخِ والا　　که ره ایں کوه را چوں رفته بالا

دریں ره مرغ نتواند پریدن　　به مقراضِ پر ایں ره را بریدن

بود مشکل گذشتن زیں رهِ تنگ　　دریں ره رهروِ نقشیست بر سنگ

رہے افتاده چوں طولِ امل پیش　　که در هر گام دارد صد خطر پیش

گروہے دست از جاں بر فشانده　　در آں ره چوں گره بر تار مانده

ز قطعِ ره بسر غلطیده یکسر　　چناں کز رشته بگسسته گوهر

حاجی محمد جان قدسی

(از "پادشاه نامه" عبدالحمید لاهوری۔ جلد ا صفحه ۱۹۔ سال هفتم)

It is said that, on clear days, the minarets of Lahore, 130 miles distant as the crow flies, can be seen from the top of the Pīr Panjāl Pass—V. A. Smith's edition of Bernier's *Travels*, 1914, footnote on page 407.]

Kālidāsa.

It was during these troublous times of the Huns, it is believed, that Kālidāsa, one of the greatest poets of India, was born in Kashmīr. He flourished during the latter half of the 5th or the first half of the 6th century A.C. This date is assigned to Kālidāsa on the basis of his reference to the Huns in Kashmīr in the *Raghuvaṃsha*. It is pointed out that Kālidāsa left his home in Kashmīr during the unsettled days of its occupation by the Huns, and travelled throughout the length and breadth of the country, halting perhaps much longer at Ujjain than at other places.

[The following points, according to Pandit Lachhmidhar, raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that Kālidāsa was a native of Kashmīr :—

(1) His affectionate description of the rice-fields and the songs associated with the rice-fields.

(2) His description of a living saffron plant which is grown in Kashmīr and which no non-Kashmīrian writer is known to have described. The practice of painting the ladies' breasts with the saffron paste so frequently mentioned by Kālidāsa was also a real practice in ancient Kashmīr.

(3) His description of the Devadāru forests, lakes, tarns, glades, caves with lions, musk deer on the higher altitude of the mountains all point in the direction of Kashmīr as the home of Kālidāsa.

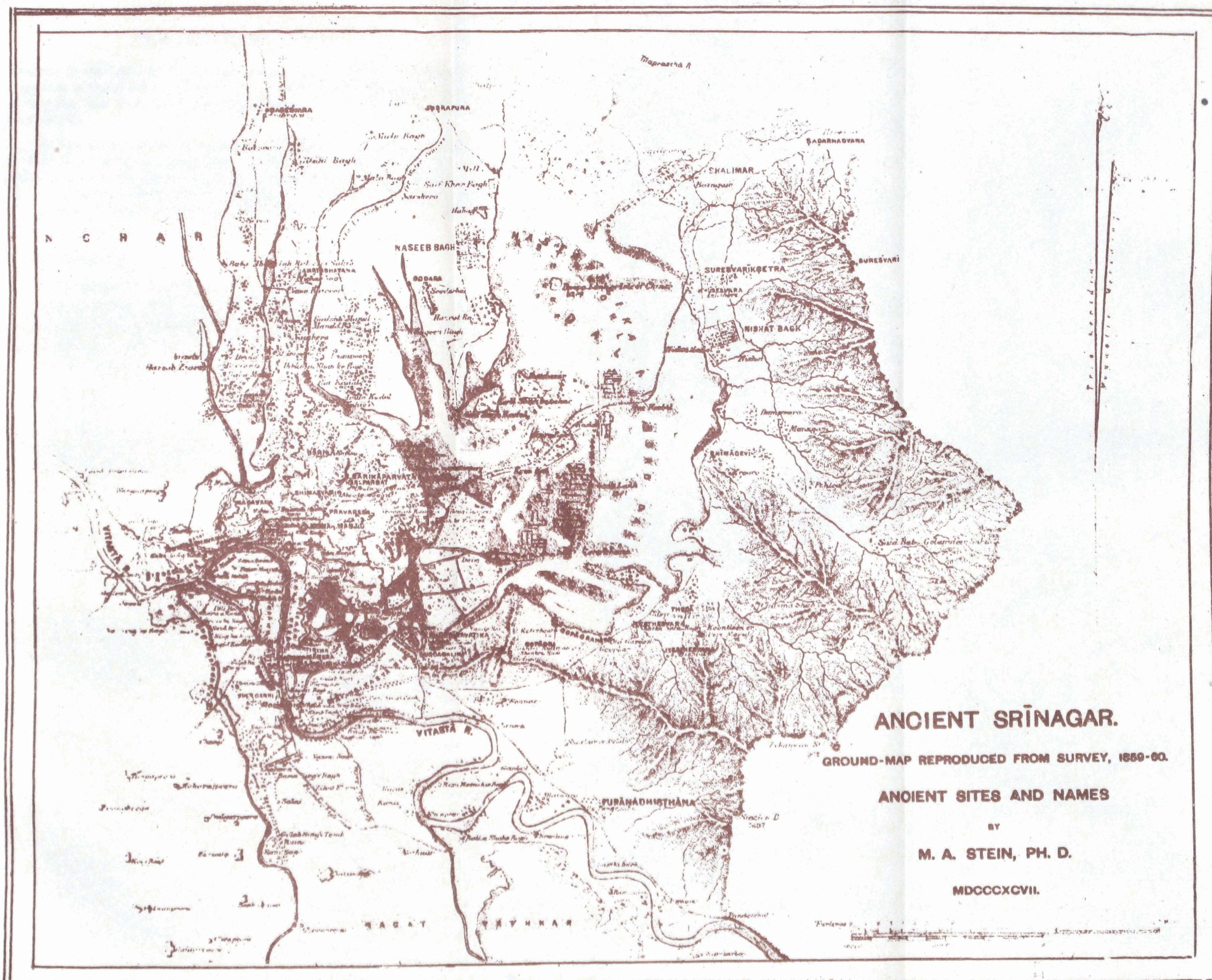
The following arguments give a strong indication that Kālidāsa was a Kashmīrī by birth :—

(1) Kālidāsa refers to some sites of minor importance in Kashmīr which have till recently been considered as imaginary; but modern research has identified these sites with their ancient names. The sites are only of local importance and could not be known to one who was not in close touch with Kashmīr. They are in the Sind Valley.

(2) Kālidāsa, in his description of Kashmīr in the *Çakuntalā*, refers to the lacustrine origin of Kashmīr, which is commonly known to Kashmīrīs. He shows his partiality for Kashmīr.

(3) Reference is made to certain Kashmīrian legends such as that of *Nikumbha* which are known only to Kashmīrian writers.

(4) The personal religion of Kālidāsa was the Kashmīrī Çaivism based on the doctrine of the Pratyabhijñā philosophy unknown outside Kashmīr. It is a remarkable discovery, it is pointed out, that the drama of *Çakuntalā* is an allegory of the tenets of the Pratyabhijñā philosophy of Kashmīr. Recently a view has been expressed that there is no evidence in *Çakuntalā* that there ever existed anywhere Pratyabhijñā philosophy during the period that Kālidāsa lived, as this philosophy originated in


ANCIENT SRĪNAGAR.
GROUND-MAP REPRODUCED FROM SURVEY, 1859-60.
ANCIENT SITES AND NAMES
BY
M. A. STEIN, PH. D.
MDCCCXCVII.
SHALIMAR
NISHAT BAGH
NASEEB BAGH
SURESVARI
VITASTĀ R.
PURĀNADHISTHĀNA

Kashmīr in the first half of the 9th century A.C., * Somānanda being the originator of the system. There is, however, no doubt that this tendency of thought may have been developing before it was systematized by Somānanda.

(5) The argument of the *Meghadūta* points to Kashmīr as the home of Kālidāsa.—Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Lachhmidhar, M.A., M.O.L., Shāstri, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Delhi, in his University lectures during the month of March, 1925, on "*The Birth-place of Kālidāsa.*" These lectures were printed in book form in 1926 by the University.]

Yudhishthira I.

The last of the Gonanda line, Yudhishṭhira I, was a worthless ruler, and was turned out by his own subjects who called in a foreign king, and subsequently Kashmīr went under the suzerainty of Vikramāditya Harsha of Ujjayinī (Ujjain).

Vikramāditya.

There is, however, no indisputable proof in the shape of inscriptions and coins, of the existence of Vikramāditya in the first century B.C. The era of which he is held to be the founder was not called by his name till the tenth century A.C.

Pravarasena II, 580 *A.C.*

On the death of King Harsha, about the third quarter of the sixth century, Kashmīr was conquered by Pravarasena II, a prince of Mālvā who ruled in 580 A.C. Pravarasena-Çreshṭhasena, alias Tunina II, who is said to have ruled for 30 years, from 88 to 58 B.C., is Pravarasena I. The present city of Srīnagar called after him Pravarapura and subsequently Pāndrēṭhan, was founded by him. According to verse 354 of the third Taraṅga of Kalhaṇa, this king had "the Great Bridge" constructed of boats for the first time in Kashmīr.

[Srīnagar, the City Royal, is the ancient and present name of the city. During Muslim rule, it was called Kashmīr, or locally Kashīr, and Bīrunī accordingly notes that "the city of Kashmīr covers a space of four *farsakhs*." (Sachau, Vol. I, page 207). But when the Sikhs took Kashmīr in 1819 A.C., they restored the old name Srīnagar, which was originally Shrīnagara or Shrīnagarī, and according to Kalhaṇa, founded by Açoka, on a site near the present city. The site of the present city was selected by Pravarasena II, who called it Pravarsenapura shortened to Pravarapura. *Nagara* means the city

* *The Doctrine of Recognition* (MS.) by Mr. R. K. Kaw, M.A.

and *Shrī* is the name of the goddess Lakshmī and may be taken to mean wealth, or beauty or sovereignty. *Shrī* here does not mean *Sūrya* or the sun, and it is a mistake to call Srīnagar the 'City of the Sun.'

Srīnagar has an area 4 miles in length and 2 miles in breadth. It is situated somewhat in the centre of the Valley of Kashmīr, and extends along both banks of the Jhelum which is spanned by seven bridges. The river winds its way through the city with an average width of 80 yards. The greater part of the city lies on the right bank. It is strange to note that no two buildings are alike. The city is 5,250 feet above the sea level. In spite of this elevation, July and August are hot and somewhat humid. But the spring and autumn are very pleasant. The mean temperature is 35° in January and 80° in July. The annual rainfall seldom exceeds 27 inches.

The population of Srīnagar, according to the census of 1931, was 1,73,573 of which 1,38,764 are Muslims and 33,670 are Hindus, 870 Sikhs, 257 Christians, 5 Buddhists, 4 Zoroastrians and 3 Jains. The Census of 1941 gives the population of Srīnagar as 2,07,787, which means an increase of 34,214 or 19·71 per cent. during the last ten years. Srīnagar is the terminal of one of the Central Asian trade-routes. Like most ancient capitals, it has been built and re-built at different times and on different sites.

"The suburbs of Sreenuggur call up reminiscences of those of Constantinople with their turbaned tombs of departed Moslems—their green luxuriance of nature and squalid penury of art—but the fancied resemblance grows less and less as you approach the city. To enter it you pass no imperial walls or massive gateways, but little by little the houses huddle themselves closer together, and at last form a street, narrow and dirty and stony enough to induce a relapse into your dreamy memories of Stamboul, while here and there a high-featured face and stately form, in ample turban and flowing robe, stalks by and helps to keep up the delusion. But now a gap in the wall of houses on your right lets in a stream of warm light on the dark, foul footway and through it you see close by you, not the broad bosom of the breezy Bosphorus or the crowded waters of the Golden Horn, but a sluggish stream glittering in the sunlight and covered with boats of all sizes; some heavily laden barges are being slowly punted up stream, while others of lighter build glide past merrily, propelled by the rapid strokes of half a dozen paddles—it is a busy scene. And on the opposite side of the river, you see reproduced as in a mirror a facsimile of the bank you stand on—the same houses, the same landing-places, the same people—for it is the Jhelum that you look on; and on his right bank and on his left stand the crowded dwellings of the capital of Kashmīr—Sreenuggur." (Col. Torrens' *Travels*, pp. 246-47.) But the modern visitor will find a great deal of difference between Istanbūl and Srīnagar now. Istanbūl has dwindled while Srīnagar has considerably expanded. Istanbūl is Europeanized. Srīnagar too has changed but is still essentially Asiatic.

To face page 48 of Dr. Sufi's 'Kashir'.



SRINAGAR

Mayasūm is the island formed by the Tsunt-i-Kol canal. It was called, at one time, the European quarter, on account of the Residency, the hotel, the club, and the Post and Telegraph offices and some European shops and banks in Srīnagar.]

Bālāditya.

This dynasty of the White Huns lasted for about half a century, the last of the line, Bālāditya, dying without male issue.

(g) The Kārkoṭa Dynasty.

Durlabhavardhana, 627—663 *A.C.*

The throne devolved upon Bālāditya's son-in-law, Durlabhavardhana, who was of humble origin stated to have been the son of a Nāga. His family was given to ophiolatory or serpent-worship which had been the prevailing religion of Kashmīr from time immemorial. [*The Ancient Geography of India* by Alexander Cunningham, p. 92.] He was the founder of the Nāga or Kārkoṭa dynasty.

[The word Kārkoṭa as an appellative indicate different plants; it also occurs as the name of a presumably un-Āryan tribe.[2] There is probably some connexion between the Nāga name 'Kārkoṭa' and the word Carkoṭa, which in the *Atharva-Veda* is used to indicate some kind of poisonous snake. In the lists of principal Nāgas found in epic literature, the Nāgarāja Kārkoṭa (ka) takes an honourable place. He is the procreator of this royal house. In the kingdom of Nepāl, Kārkoṭa takes a prominent position in popular worship and legend, and is considered to be foremost among the Nāgas of Nepāl. The country round Mathurā must once have been a great centre of Nāga worship. Bastar, the feudatory state in the south-east corner of the Central Provinces, is ruled by a Nāga dynasty. Most Gond chiefs in this same Province pretend to be descended from the Nāgavamça. A caste of the Kāyasthas of Bengāl derive their origin from a serpent king. The Nāga Hills is the name of a district in the Surma Valley of Assam. In further India, we meet with royal clans which are believed to descend from a Nāgī ancestress. The story of the Nāgī ancestress is widely spread in the Far East in China and Japan. Nāga is the name of the capital of the province of Camarines Sur, Luzon, Philippine Islands.

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1. Like great royal families who trace their origin to the sun or the moon. The Mikado of Japan is a modern example.

2. *Indian Serpent-Lore* or the Nāgas in Hindu Legend and Art, by J. P. H. Vögel, Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Archaeology in the University of Leyden, Holland, late Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India.—Arthur Probsthain, London, 1926, pp. 214-15.

The great importance of the Nāgas both in Buddhist and in Brāhmanical lore is reflected in plastic and pictorial art. Among the frescoes of the Ajanta there are several representations of Nāgas.

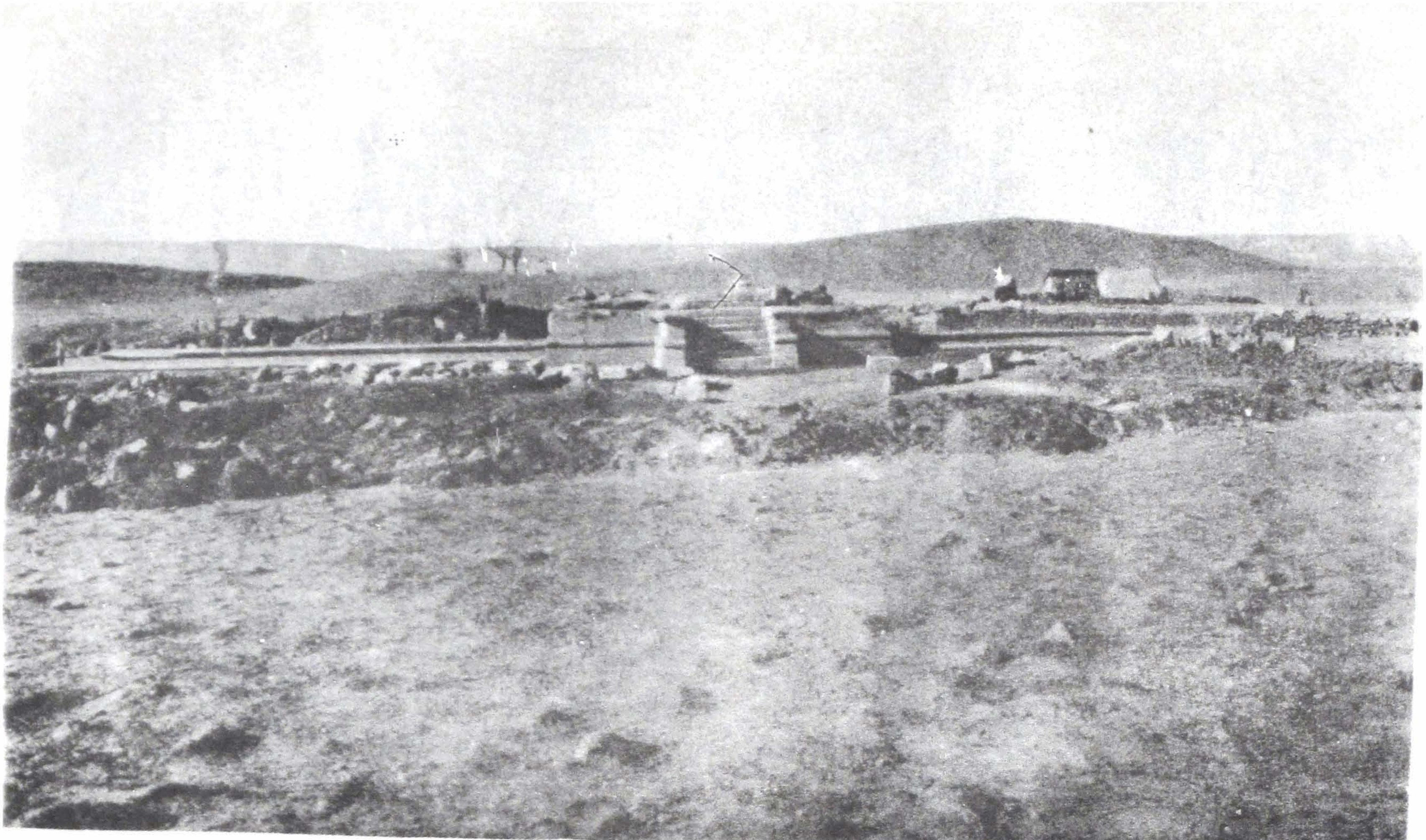
Regarding the origin and significance of Nāga worship, there prevails a very marked diversity of opinion. According to James Fergusson,[1] the Nāgas were not originally serpents but serpent-worshippers—an aboriginal race of the Turānian stock inhabiting Northern India, who were conquered by Āryans. Dr. C. F. Oldham[2] is of the opinion that the Nāgas claimed descent from the sun and had the hooded serpent for a totem. Takshaçilā (Taxila), he says, was the chief city of the Nāga people, and Takshaka was one of their chiefs.

The Nāga somehow or other is mixed up with the cult of Shaivaism. Shiva is imagined to have depended for his ornaments on the Nāgas (serpents). And it is claimed that South Indian Shaivaism migrated to Northern India, leaving in the south its remnants in the Nāgaras, or Nāyars. The tribe of Nāgas had powerful kingdoms in different parts of India as testified to by the names of important cities called Nāgpur, in many parts of India. (*The Origin of Shaivaism*, by K. R. Subramanian, M.A., University of Madras, 1929.)

Durlabhavardhana of Kashmīr is believed to have been really the offspring of the Nāga Kārkoṭa mentioned in the opening paragraph.]

With the establishment of the Kārkoṭa dynasty, we reach the firm ground of comparatively authentic history. Durlabhavardhana reigned from 627 to 663 A.C. The visit of the Chinese pilgrim Yüan Chwāng (Hiuen Tsiang)[3] to Kashmīr (631-633 A.C.) occurred during the time of this king who accorded a hospitable reception to the pilgrim. Hiouen Thsang "resided in the Valley as an honoured guest for fully two years. The two full years represent a longer halt than any which the pious traveller allowed himself during his sixteen years' wanderings through the whole of India and Central Asia. The records of this great Chinese pilgrim contain by far the fullest and most accurate description of Kashmīr that has come down to us from a foreign pen during the period."[4] Hhüsen Kwân's description of the people of Kashmīr is :—" Light and frivolous, and of a weak, pusillanimous disposition. The people are handsome in appearance, but they are given to cunning. They love learning and are well-instructed."

1. *Tree and Serpent Worship, 1873.*
2. *The Sun and the Serpent, 1905.*
3. This name has more than half a dozen forms.
4. *The Ancient Geography of Kashmir* by Dr. Stein, page 14.



Recent excavations at Tāpar, 22 miles from Srīnagar, or 4 miles below Paṭan, on the Srīnagar-Bārāmūla road. Tāpar is ancient Pratāpura built by Pratāpāditya II, 663—713 A.C., the father of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa.

Kashmīr is one of the most important and most famous lands in the history of the spread and development of Buddhism.* In the literature of this religion we find frequent reference to the capital, and the country generally, in terms of praise and admiration. But Hsüan Chwang found that "this kingdom is not much given to faith, and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought."

The country was prosperous and peaceful. The political power of Kashmīr extended to all the adjacent territories on the west and south including Rājapurī (Rajaurī), Parṇotsa (Pūnch), Bhimbar, Uraçā (Hazāra), Taxila (Takkasilā or Takshaçilā) and Siṃhapura, which seems to have included the Salt Range.

Durlabhaka, 663—713 *A.C.*

Durlabhavardhana's son and successor was Durlabhaka or Pratāpāditya II. *En passant* Pratāpāditya I (169—137 B.C.) was a relative of King Vikramāditya and is said to have been brought from abroad by discontented ministers of Kashmīr. Durlabhaka ruled for fifty years from 663 to 713 A.C. This was the time of Chinese aggression towards the west, during which Turkistān and Western Tibet were conquered and annexed to the 'Celestial' empire.

[Excavations in September, 1942, were undertaken and are continued by the Archaeological Department of Jammu and Kashmīr State at Tāpar, ancient Pratāpapura, built by Pratāpāditya II. The village Tāpar is situated at a distance of 22 miles from Srīnagar, or 4 miles below Paṭan. The ruins have been discovered of the base of a temple, its gateway, its courtyard and the plinth of the enclosure wall. The material used is blocks of stone of such dimensions as are generally found in the case of other temples of the period. The temple is sacred to Vishṇu. From the perusal of fragments of the Sanskrit inscription found engraved in the Çāradā script on some stones built perhaps in the cornice course of the gateway, it is evident that the construction is somehow connected with a certain Brāhman, son of Gaggha, and the architect is named Lakshmaṇa. The date is ascertainable from the reference given in the inscription to the reign of Māndadeva (Paramāndadeva) or Pārmānudeva (son of Jayasiṁha) of later chronicles.

"The temple as well as the outer enclosure is square in plan both externally and internally. It resembles all other temples of Kashmīr in point of massiveness of the stone material, simplicity of style and finish of the dressing." Kalhaṇa does not say anything about the construction of a temple by Pratāpāditya, when describing the foundation of the town Pratāpapura.—Note by Pandit Madhusūdan Kaul, Supdt., Archaeology, Srīnagar].

**Yuan-Chwang's Travels in India* (629-645 A.C.) by Thomas Watters, edited by Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushel—Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1904, page 264.

Chandrāpīḍa, 713 –721 *A.C.*

Durlabhaka's son, Chandrāpīḍa, who came to the throne in 713 A.C., sent an embassy to the emperor of China, from whom he received the investiture of kingship, becoming a feudatory of the emperor.

Tārāpīḍa, 721—725 *A.C.*

He was succeeded in 721 A.C., by his younger brother, Tārāpīḍa, who ended his days in 725 A.C., after a cruel rule of 4 years.

Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa, 725—753 *A.C.*

Then came the glorious rule of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa, the youngest son of Pratāpāditya. He is the hero of vast conquests. Kalhaṇa shows him to be the universal monarch, moving round the earth like the sun. He certainly subjugated parts of the Punjāb and defeated and dethroned Yaçovarman of Kānyakubja (Qannauj)[1] in 740 A.C. He also brought the well-known poet Bhavabhūti, who hailed from Vidarbha (Berār) to his court.[2] Before this, he had led a successful expedition against the Bhauṭṭas of Baltistān, whom he defeated on the banks of the Indus. In 733 A.C., he sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor, Hüsan-tsuang (713-755 A.C.), to report his victories over the Tibetans, and also to solicit the establishment of a camp of Chinese troops by the banks of the Volur (Wular) Lake. Muktāpīḍa also applied to the Chinese emperor for aid against the Arabs[3] who were advancing from their base in Sind and Multān and of whom we hear for the first time in connexion with the history of Kashmīr. [733 of the Christian era is 115 of the Hijra.] But the "Divine Khān" contented himself with merely ordering a sumptuous entertainment for the ambassador and with investing Muktāpīḍa with the title of king. The chiefs of Jullundur, Kāngrā and Pūnch were among Muktāpīḍa's feudatories. He is the most conspicuous figure in Kashmīr history. He raised his country to a pitch of glory it had never reached before. The ruins of the temple of Mārtaṇḍa, about 5 miles from Anantnāg or Islāmābād, and of his city, Parihāsapura, fourteen miles from Srīnagar, bear eloquent testimony to his greatness.

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1. *Early History of India* by V. A. Smith, 3rd Edition, 1914, p. 372.
2. *Ancient India* by R. C. Dutt, pages 149-150.
3. *The Ancient Geography of India* by Major-General Alexander Cunningham, Trübner & Co., London, 1871, page 90.



Mārtaṇḍa, the Temple of the Sun, situated 5 miles distant from Anantnāg or Islāmābād, is the grandest and most impressive and earliest of the ruins of Kashmir, originally built during the period of 370 to 500 A.C. in honour of Viṣṇu-Sūrya, added to by more than one ruler, principally Lalitāditya-Muktāpiḍa who ruled in the 8th century A.C. Maṭan is the other form of Mārtaṇḍa.

The celebrated temple of Mārtaṇḍa possesses far more imposing dimensions than any other existing temple, being 63 feet long. The pillared quadrangle round the temple is 220 feet by 142 feet. The stone carving is very fine indeed. G. T. Vigne, the traveller, says: "As an isolated ruin this deserves on account of its solitary and massive grandeur to be ranked, not only as the first ruin of the kind in Kashmīr but as one of the noblest amongst the architectural relics of antiquity that are to be seen in any country." Another view* is that there is something of the rigidity and strength of the Egyptian temple and something of the grace of Greece. Though Hindu, it differs from the usual Hindu types, and is known distinctively as Kashmīrian and owes much to the influence of Gandhāra. It is, however, decidedly Hindu and not either Buddhist or Jain, while, the sculptures show, according to Marshall, a close connexion with the typical Hindu work of the late Gupta period. This great temple of the sun at Mārtaṇḍa became the model for all subsequent Brāhmanical temples in Kashmīr.

Extensive drainage works were also carried out under Muktāpīḍa's orders, and vast areas were reclaimed and made fit for cultivation. Muktāpīḍa raised the number of court offices from 18—under Jalauka—to 23, the five new offices being those of High Chamberlain, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Master of the Horse, Keeper of the Treasury, and Chief Executive Officer. His end is enveloped in mystery. He died probably during an expedition towards the north.

When engaged in his last expedition, Muktāpīḍa sent out a sort of instrument of instruction on the art of governance. He warned his Kashmīrī subjects against internal dissension, and against neglecting the forts in respect of repair and provisions. Dwellers in mountains, he said, should be occasionally punished to prevent their becoming strong and troublesome. "Every care should be taken that there should not be left with the villagers more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than were wanted for the tillage of their fields. Because if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Ḍāmaras or feudal lords and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king." The cultivator's style of living must be lower than that of the city

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* *Kashmir* by Sir Francis Younghusband, 1917, page 115.

people. Offices should not be held by family cliques, and troops should not be raised from a single district.[1] Lalitāditya's rule ended in 753 A.C., and was followed by four short reigns.

Vajrāditya.

The history of Kashmīr mentions Muslims a second time when Kalhaṇa[2] represents the younger son and the second successor of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa, *viz.*, Vajrāditya —also known by the name of Bappiyaka—as selling many men to the *Mlechhas* or Muslims and introducing into the country practices which befitted *Mlechhas* or Muslims.

[The term Ḍāmara is one of common occurrence in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle, and the persons whom it designated play a prominent part in the latter portions of the narrative, says Stein.[3] The word Ḍāmara, in the sense in which it is used in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the later Chronicles has not yet been traced outside Kashmīr. In the Hindu period of the history of Kashmīr, Ḍāmara means the well-tō-do landed gentry or feudal barons. Ranjīt S. Pandit[4] adds: The barons or the rustic aristocracy of Kashmīr were not equal to the Rājputras in the social scale, yet Kalhaṇa mentions instances of inter-marriage between them and between the Ḍāmaras and the ruling family of Kashmīr. Any one could become a Ḍāmara who apparently began as a prosperous cultivator. He could wax strong in course of time as a powerful feudal baron capable of being "a thorn in the side of the king." Kalhaṇa also uses the term Lavanya to designate them. Harsha's efforts to suppress the Ḍāmaras ended in his own rule and life. In present-day Kashmīr, Ḍārs claim their decent from the Ḍāmaras.]

Jayāpīḍa, 751—782 *A.C.*

Here follows the 31 years' powerful rule of Jayāpīḍa, a grandson of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa, who came to the throne in 751 A.C. He went on a conquering expedition to the valley of the Ganges where he defeated the king of Qannauj. He had, however, to return soon as his throne had been usurped in his absence by his brother-in-law. The king was a liberal patron of learning, and many poets and scholars flocked to his court. He founded the town of Jayapura-Andarkōṭh near modern Sumbal. Towards the

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1. Stein's English Translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Book IV, verses 345-52, Volume I, page 154.
2. *Ibid.*, Book IV, verse 397, page 158.
3. *Ibid.*, Volume II, pages 304-8.
4. R. S. Pandit's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, page 127, footnote No. 348.

end of his reign, he became a cruel and rapacious tyrant. The reason for this is not given by Stein, but Pandit Bīrbal Kāchru's account[1] of the Rānī's love for a Brāhman youth and the meeting and ultimate immolation for fear of sin in the absence of her lord, and of Jayāpīḍa's rage which impelled him to avenge his Rānī's tragedy by killing Brāhmans, fits in with the gap unexplained by Sir Aurel. Jayāpīḍa was followed in 795 A.C., by an indolent and extravagant prince who, in a twelve years' rule, squandered away the riches amassed by his father.

Avantivarman, 855—883 *A.C.*

The history of the next half century is a record of the installation and dethronement of puppet kings, and of the jealousies and intrigues of rival factions at the court till we come to the reign of Avantivarman (855-883 A.C.) the founder of the Utpala dynasty. During the concluding years of the Kārkoṭa dynasty, the country towards the south of the Panjāl range had thrown off its allegiance to the Kashmīr throne, and small independent principalities had sprung up at Rajaurī and other places. The kingdom of Kashmīr was restricted to its natural boundaries, extending only to four marches below Bārāmūla. Avantivarman wisely refrained from undertaking foreign conquest, and bestowed his whole attention on the internal consolidation and development of the country which had greatly suffered —economically and politically—from the disorders of the preceding reigns, from the feuds of powerful barons and the rapacious administration of the Kāyasthas or clerks.

The country had been liable to heavy floods and famines. The Kashmīr Valley was in a water-logged condition. Cultivation was poor. Avantivarman's able engineer, Suyya, undertook to drain the Valley. He saw, as have modern engineers in our own day, that floods in the Valley were due to the fact that the passage of the Jhelum through the Bārāmūla gorge had been blocked by silt and boulders brought down into it from a neighbouring *nullah* or stream.[2] This obstruction was removed by Suyya, and the result was a large increase of land available for cultivation and increased protection against floods. He then carried out other extensive drainage and irrigation

1. The *Mukhtasar-ut-Tawārīkh* by Pandit Bīrbal Kāchru, written in the time of Colonel Mehān Singh, a Sikh Governor of Kashmīr, MS. folios 42-44.

2. *The Pulse of Asia* by E. Huntington, pages 39-40.

works under the orders of the king; and it is no wonder that the native historian exults over the economic prosperity of the land which was the direct result of these engineering schemes. The modern village Sopōr (old Suyyapura)[1] commemorates the name of this great engineer. It was founded by him at the point where the Jhelum leaves the Wular Lake. The memory of the king is also preserved to this day in the village of Avantipura (Väntipōr)[2] which lies one march above Srīnagar. The ruins of the ancient temples at Avantipura are, according to Stein, among the most imposing monuments of ancient Kashmīrī architecture and sufficiently testify to the resources of the builder. Of the two temples dedicated to Vishṇu and Çiva respectively—Avanti Swāmin and Avantīçvara—the first was built before his accession and the second subsequently by Avantivarman.

The medieval development of Brahmanical architecture[3] in Kashmīr is represented by two golden periods, or, to be more precise, rose to its greatest heights under two prominent building rulers, Lalitāditya who brought the style into being in the middle of the eighth century and Avantivarman under whom it attained its most refined form in the latter half of the ninth century.

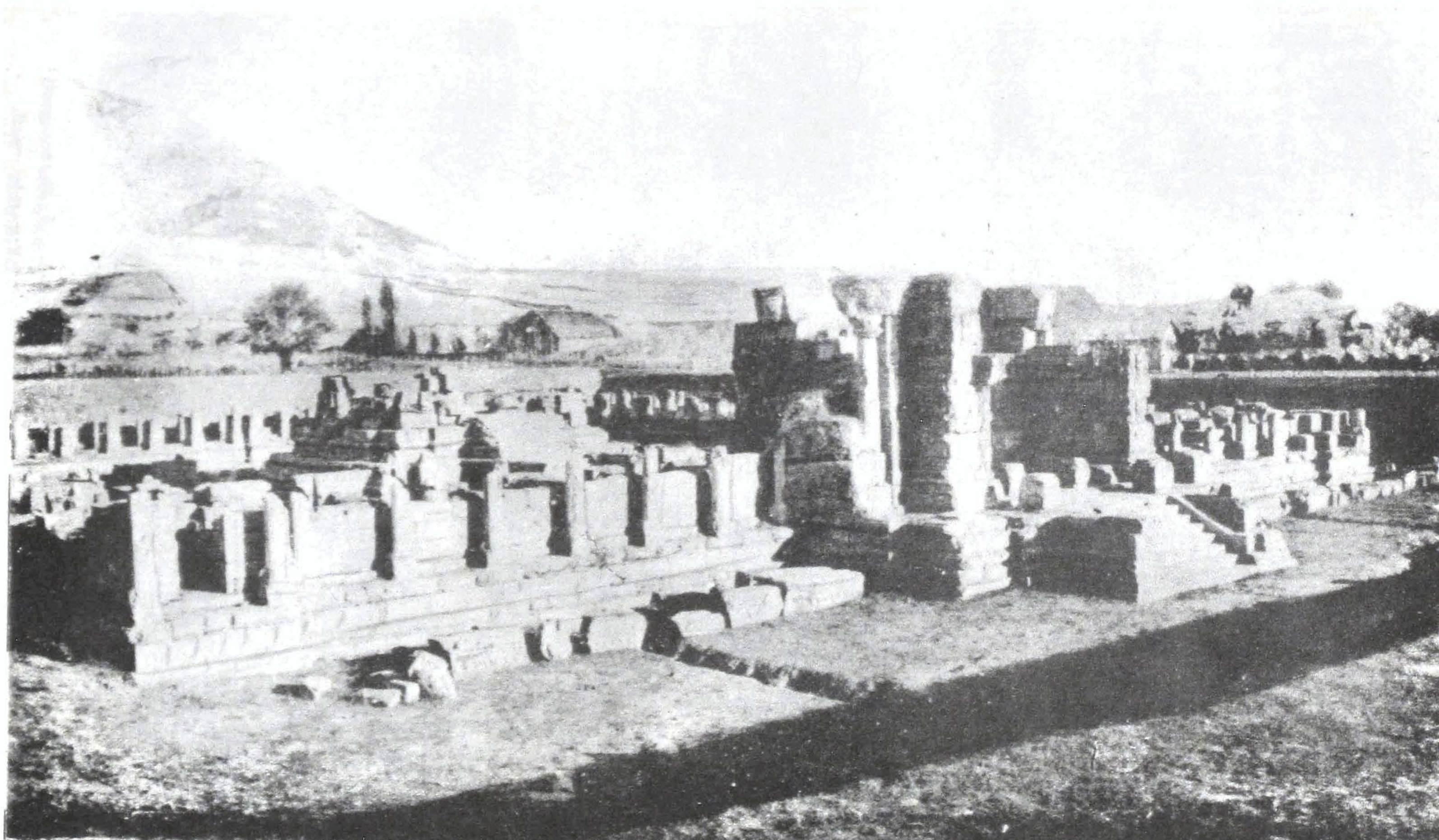
The reign of Avantivarman also witnessed a remarkable revival of Sanskrit learning in Kashmīr. Çivasvāmin was one of the gems of Avantivarman's court. Some of the others were: (*i*) Ratnākara, who wrote the *Haravijaya* in fifty cantos and lived under two kings, *viz.*, Jayāpīḍa and Avantivarman; (*ii*) Ānandavardhana, the author of *Dhvanyāloka* (*iii*) Kallaṭa, the great pupil of Vasugupta, the originator of the Spandaçāstra division of Kashmīr. Çiva-

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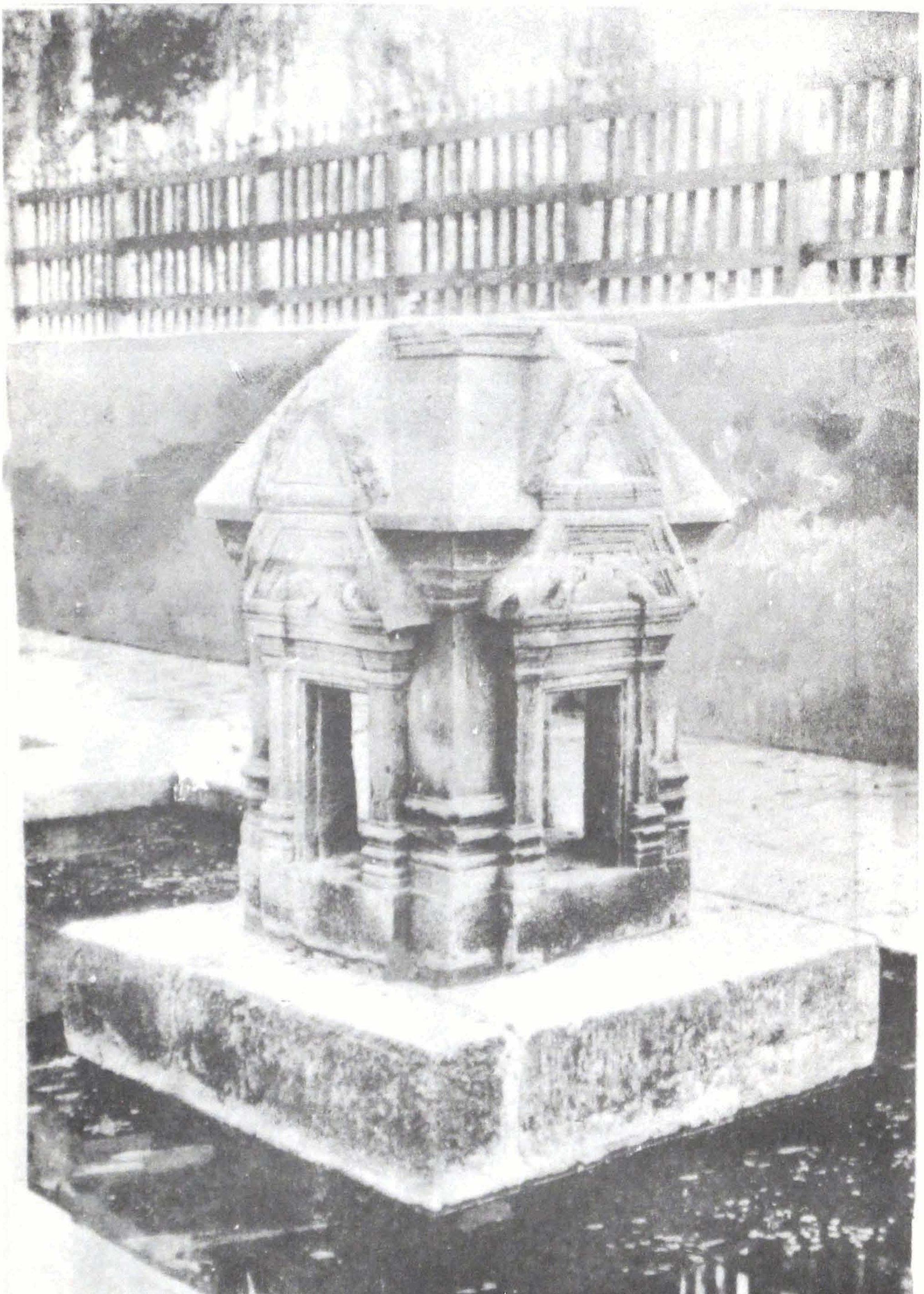
1. Sōpur (Sopōr) had a population of 10,982 in 1931, 11,770 in 1941. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn here built a bridge over the Jhelum in 1460 A.C. Çrīvara refers to the building of a new royal residence at Suyyapura by Sultān Hasan Shāh. The present town which stands on both banks of the river, is one day's journey by boat from Srīnagar. It is a great centre of trade, but not a Municipality, having a Town Area Committee only.

2. Avantipur is now a village situated at a distance of 18 miles from Srīnagar. It has the ruins of several temples two of which are conspicuous and have been described in detail by Rāi Bahādur Rām Chandra Kāk, B.A., in his *Ancient Monuments of Kashmīr*, 1933. The population in 1941 was 1,487.

3. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Tārāporevāla, Bombay, 1942, page 180.



The ruins of the Temple at Vāntipōr or Avantipura on the Srinagar-Islāmābad road,



King Cankaravarman's (883—902 A.C.) minister, Ratnavardhana, built this miniature temple at Patan on the Srinagar-Bārāmūla road.

svāmin is credited with the authorship of seven Mahākāvyas, several dramas, prose works and other writings. But the *Kapphinābhyudaya* and a few stray verses make up all that is left to the student to read and admire. Çivasvāmin's work "assumes an importance in the history of Sanskrit literature in general and the literary history of Kashmīr in particular, inasmuch as it helps to show the development of Kāvya in Kashmīr and the influence of Ratnākara on his contemporaries." Its theme is neither Paurānic, nor epic, nor historical, but it deals with the Buddhistic legend of King Kapphina, one of the twelve great disciples of the Buddha. The *Kapphinābhyudaya*, which remained in obscurity for the last millennium or so, is now made available by the University of the Panjāb; it has been, for the first time, critically edited by Pandit Gaurī Shankar.*

Çaṁkaravarman, 883—902 *A.C.*

Avantivarman's son and successor, Çaṁkaravarman (883-902 A.C.), scandalized his subjects by introducing an ingenious scheme of fiscal oppression. He plundered the treasures of temples and was guilty of unlimited and ruthless extortion. To perpetuate his memory, he built the town of Çaṁkarapura, the present Paṭan (now having a population of 3,032) and its temples, from the materials he had obtained by the plunder of the town and temples of Parihāsapura. But the town did not flourish. The ruins of two temples still stand today at Paṭan, 17 miles from Srīnagar, on the Bārāmūla road. One was erected by the king and the other by his queen, Sugandhā. Çaṁkaravarman invaded the territories of Rajaurī, Gujrāt, Kāngra, and Hazāra, but without any permanent effect, as his kingdom, after all, remained restricted within its natural boundaries. He died during his expedition to Hazāra.

"From this reign onward, the record is one long succession of struggles between the rulers and usurping uncles, cousins, brothers, ministers, nobles and soldiers." During the century following 902 A.C., the rulership of the kingdom changed hands as many as eighteen times. One claimant dethroned another several times like Pārtha and Chakravarman. Chakravarman was assassinated in the chamber

*Çivasvāmin's *Kapphinābhyudaya* or Exaltation of King Kapphina by Pandit Gaurī Shankar, M.A., B. Litt. (Oxon.), Lecturer, Government College, Lahore, 1937.

of a Ḍomba girl, and such was the degradation of court morality that the murderers were freely urged on by the king's own wives to crush his knees with a large stone as he lay dying in the embrace of the Ḍomba girl (937 A.C.).[1]

Yaçaskara, 939—948 *A.C.*

The country was harrassed by the oppressions of the nobles and ministers, and save for a short respite that the country enjoyed under Yaçaskara's mild rule of nine years (939-948), utter confusion and anarchy prevailed. Two Kings then come and go in two years.

(i) The First Lohara Dynasty.

Kshemagupta, 950 – 958 *A.C.*

Kshemagupta's rule lasted from 950 to 958 A.C. He married Diddā who belonged, on her mother's side, to the Çāhis of Udabhāṇḍa (Ohind).

Abhimanyu II, 958—972 *A.C.*

Queen Diddā (980—1003 A.C.) was a woman of unscrupulous but forceful character. She misgoverned the unhappy country for half a century. She was Queen Consort from 950 to 958. She was Regent from 959 to 980 for Abhimanyu, the infant son of Kshemagupta. Abhimanyu's reign is shown as from 958 A.C. to 972 A.C., during which time[2] a terrible conflagration destroyed a great many buildings from the market-place to the shrine of Vishṇu.

Diddā, 980 –1003 *A.C.*

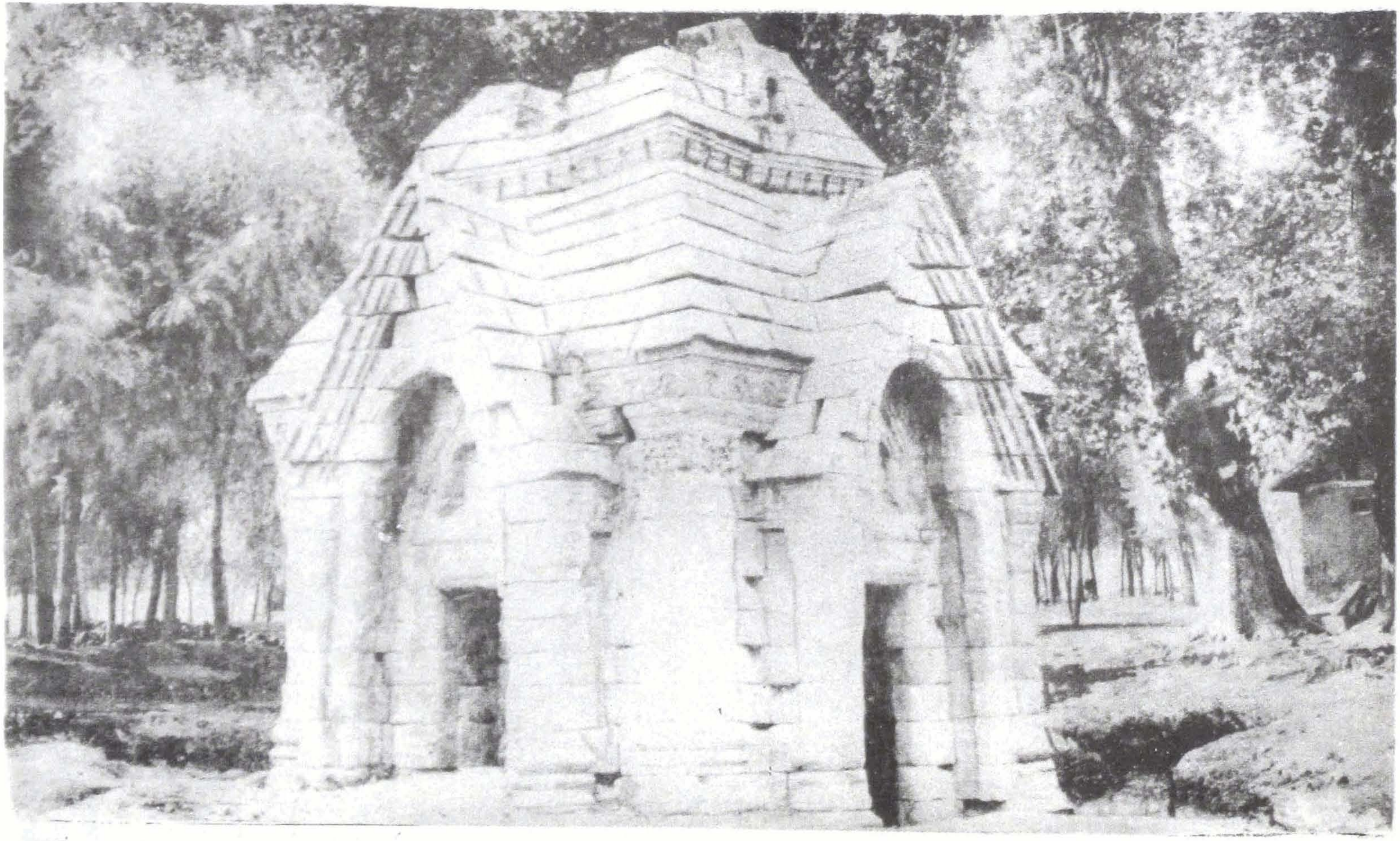
Diddā ultimately reigned as sovereign for 23 years. She ruthlessly put down all rival parties executing captured rebels and exterminating their families. The result was that the throne passed without opposition to Samgrāmarāja (1003-28), a nephew of Diddā, whom she had nominated in her own lifetime and who became the founder of the Lohara dynasty.[3] He was, however, a weak ruler.

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1. *Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilization* by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, 1927, pages 438-39.

2. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, verses 190-91, Book VI, Stein's Volume I, pages 251-52.

3. Modern Loharin is a valley in Pūnch. Queen Diddā was on her mother's side a granddaughter of King Bhīma Çāhi of Udabhāṇḍa, who is mentioned in al-Bīrūnī's list of the Hindu Çāhiyas of Kābul. The Çāhi kingdom was destroyed by Mahmūd of Ghazna—Stein's Introduction to his English Translation of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 104.



This temple of Meruvardhanasvāmin at Pāndrēṭhan, dedicated to Vishnu, was built by Meruvardhana, the prime mini ter of King Pārtha (906—921 A.C.). The village Pāndrēṭhan lies 3¾ miles to the south-east of Srīnagar on the road to Islāmābād or Anantnāg. The name Pāndrēṭhan is derived from the appellation Purānādhisṭhāna which means "The Old Capital," and so it was at one time in the history of Kashmir.

Sultān Mahmūd's invasion.

The Rājā's reign is noticeable only for an invasion of Kashmīr by Hammīra (Kalhaṇa's name for Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna, apparently an adaptation of the title of *Amīr-ul-Mumīnīn*) in 1015. The Kashmīrī troops were defeated by the invader, but Hammīra had to retire owing to inclement weather and the inaccessibility of the mountain barriers. Though Mahmūd never entered Kashmīr, perhaps Abu'l Hasan 'Alī *Farrukhī* (d. 429 A.H.=1037 A.C.) his contemporary, who accompanied him in his expeditions to Qannauj, Somanātha and probably to Kashmīr, gives expression to Mahmūd's desire disappointed:

ما را رهِ کشمیر همی آرزو آید   ما ز آرزوے خویش نیابم یك موُے

گاه است که یکباره به کشمیر خرامیم   از دستِ بُتان پهنه کُنیم از سرِبُت گو

To Amīr Muhammad, Mahmūd's son, and the twin brother of Mas'ūd, Farrukhī says:

باش تا با پدرِ خویش بکشمیر شوی   لشکرِ ساختهٔ خویش بکشمیر بری

Harirāja, 1028 *A.C.*; *Ananta*, 1028—1063 *A.C.*; ***Kalaça***, 1063—1089 *A.C.*

Samgrāmarāja was succeeded by Harirāja who, after a reign of 22 days, was succeeded by Ananta. A rebellion of the Ḍāmaras, or feudal lords, was bravely put down by the king. He scored a victory over the Rājā of Chamba, but his expedition against the hill state of Hazāra proved an ignominious failure. He was personally weak; and much of his success in government was due to his pious and vigorous queen, Sūryamatī. She wanted the government of the country to be in stronger hands. So, on her advice, Ananta abdicated in favour of his son Kalaça. But Kalaça (1063-1089) was given to the company of depraved and dissolute associates. Although the people suffered much from his cruelty, he was able to make his power felt by the surrounding states from Hazāra to Chamba. His successor enjoyed the regal state only for 22 days, and was succeeded by Harsha (1089—1101).

Abhinavagupta, the Çaiva Philosopher.

The great Abhinavagupta, the Kashmīr Çaiva philosopher and literary critic, was born between 950 and 960 A.C. in a Brāhman family that had migrated from Qannauj to

Kashmīr during the reign of King Lalitāditya. Abhinavagupta was a voluminous writer on several subjects—Dramaturgy, Rhetoric, Philosophy and the Philosophy of Poetry. His contribution to Çaiva philosophy is indeed very great both in volume and importance. Dr. Kānti Chandra Pāndey[1] says that, according to the tradition current in certain old Pandit families and some old Muslim houses, Abhinavagupta walked with twelve hundred disciples into the Bhairava cave, about five miles from Māgām, midway between Srīnagar and Gulmarg, and was never seen again.

[*Note.*—Dr. V. Raghavan details A.'s works in the Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras, October—December, 1940].

Kshemendra.

Kshemendra,[2] the ornament of the Sanskrit poets of Kashmīr, was born on the Ḍal in the locality where the Nishāt Bāgh now stands, in the days of Ananta. Kshemendra's father was Prakāçendra, a rich, charitably disposed and learned Brāhman. The exact date of Kshemendra's birth is not known, but his literary career runs from 1037 to 1066 A.C. He was one of the three sons of his father. Kshemendra studied under several teachers, but the most noted was Gaṅgaka. Kshemendra's studies were wide extending to Hindu law, Sanskrit grammar, Āyurveda, politics, music and painting. He underwent a course of manual training, too, and knew carpentry and smithy as well, by the time he was 25 years of age. Then Kshemendra married and had a son called Somendra. Ananta engaged him to teach his son Kalaça.

Kshemendra was noted for his learning and wealth, his sagacity and generosity in maintaining boarding schools and for his humility. He enjoyed life, too. His book *Darpadalana* (Pride has a fall) *Desha Upadesha* (Advice about the country for foreign students) are well known. He is reputed to be the author of many books, of which thirty-four believed to be obtainable have mostly been printed at the Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay. Kalhaṇa has criticized his *Nṛpāvali* for his classical error. He also charges him with "consistent carelessness."[3] Keith has discussed Kshemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and other works at some length.

1. Author of a Ph.D. dissertation on Abhinavagupta at the University of Lucknow in 1935, page 18.

2. The *Hamdard*, Srīnagar, 19th, 26th October, and 2nd November, 1941—Pandit Kavirāja's contribution.

3. *The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir*, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, September 1942, page 198.

Bilhaña.

Bilhaña,[1] a great poet, senior to Kalhaña in point of age, was born in Khunamūsh or Khunamuh, 6 miles from Srīnagar. His father was Jyeshṭha Kalasha, a learned Brāhman noted specially for his studies in Sanskrit grammar. Bilhaña was the third son of Jyeshṭha. On completing his education and finding no scope for his talents, on account of the oppressive rule of Kalaça, Bilhaña, at the age of 16, is stated to have left Kashmīr by way of Pūnch and entered the Punjāb, visited Lāhore and Jullundur. Then he moved to Mathurā, Qannauj, and halted at Kāshī, where his fame as a grammarian attracted notice. He also appears to have been to Chhattrakoṭa, Prayāg, Aṇhilvād and Nāsik. At Kalyāña, in the Deccan, there seems to have been a little romance[2] with the Rājā's daughter whom Bilhaña had been engaged to teach. A Kashmīrī Pandit and, as such, no doubt, a handsome youth, accomplished, scholarly, he could not fail to win the heart of the princess, and the assent of the Rājā, and thus Bilhaña's marriage took place. Ultimately Bilhaña succeeded to the *gaddi*. But Keith is silent on this romance.

Bilhaña is the author of (1) *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*. (2) *Karna-Sundari Mālā* (3) *Chaurapanchāsikā*. General Cunningham traced the first and Dr. Bühler the second of these works.

When Bilhaña revived his desire to return to Kashmīr, Harsha deposed Kalaça. Tradition has it that he returned to his village Khunamūsh and died there at the age of 80. But there is no effective evidence to substantiate this claim.

Bilhaña is not much good at history. He is a poet whose language is simple and clear. He gives a beautiful glimpse of the Srīnagar of his days in the çlokās of the 8th chapter of his *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* on the adventures of Vikramā.

Harsha, 1089—1101 *A.C.*

In person, Harsha was of powerful frame, great personal beauty, courageous and fond of display. He was well-versed in various sciences and a lover of music and art. But his mind was rather demented and his character was a jumble of contrasts. "Cruelty and kind-heartedness,

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1. The *Hamdard*, Srīnagar, 14th and 21st September, 1941. Also Keith's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1928, pages 153—158.

2. The theme has been treated by Sir Edwin Arnold in his *Chaurapanchasika* and retold by Professor P. Seshadri in his narrative poem, of about 800 lines, entitled *Bilhaña*.

liberality and greed, violent self-will and reckless supineness, cunning and want of thought—these and other apparently irreconcilable features in turn display themselves in Harsha's chequered life."[1] His early rule, however, was characterized by prudence, and his munificence towards men of learning attracted many scholars from other countries. From Kalhaṇa's account it appears that Harsha supported Turushka (Muslim) captains of hundreds with money, or in the words of Sir Aurel Stein,[2] Harsha had "Muhammadan troop leaders" in his service. Harsha's elaborate fashions in dress and ornaments and his multifarious extravagances, however, soon involved him heavily in debt, to rescue himself from which he took to the spoliation of temples.[3] He robbed them of their treasures. But he did not stop there. His tendencies led him on to the confiscation of cult images in order to possess himself of the valuable metal of which they were made. He was further reduced to the necessity of levying new and oppressive imposts. Even night-soil became the object of taxation. Harsha abandoned himself more and more to excesses and follies of all kinds. The country was visited by many calamities. Plague reduced the population, robber bands infested the roads, and floods occurred which brought famine and universal distress. But the fiscal exactions of the king continued unabated. The result was that his armies were humiliated abroad, and he was surrounded by conspiracies at home. When Harsha's nephews, Ucchala and Sussala, raised the standard of revolt, all flocked to it. The palace was given to flames. The queens were burnt to death, the heir-apparent was killed. The king was hunted down and mercilessly slain in 1101. And his body, "naked like that of a pauper," was cremated by a compassionate wood-dealer.

(j) The Second Lohara Dynasty.

Ucchala, 1101—1111 *A.C.*

Ucchala, Harsha's eldest nephew, succeeded him. He broke down the power of the Ḍāmaras or feudal lords by turning one against the other, and finally crushed them one by one. There was again a conspiracy against the king, and he was killed in 1111.

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1. Stein's English Translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, Introduction, page 112.
2. *Ibid.*, verse 1149, Book VII, and footnote No. 1149, Volume I, page 357.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Introduction, page 113.

Two Centuries of Misrule.

The history of the two succeeding centuries is a sordid record of short reigns, murders, suicides, plots, conspiracies, rebellions, oppressions and fiscal exactions. To quote Sir Francis Younghusband, " we may accept, then, as authentic that the normal state of Kashmīr for many centuries, except in the intervals when a strong, firm ruler came to the front, was a state of perpetual intrigue and assassination, of struggles with brothers, cousins, uncles, before a chief even came to the throne ; of fights for power with ministers, with the military, with the 'nobles' when he was on it ; of constant fear of poisoning and assassination ; of wearying, petty internecine 'wars,' of general discomfort, uncertainty and unrest." Ucchala's successor reigned only for a night, and his half-brother for four months.

Sussala, 1112--20 *A.C.* Restoration, 1121—28 *A.C.*

The rule of his brother, Sussala (1112-20), was a succession of internal troubles caused by rebellious feudal lords, the Ḍāmaras. In 1120, he had to flee to Pūnch in the face of a rebellion. He was, however, restored to the throne and power by pretenders and nobles in 1121, and reigned till he was murdered in 1128. The king tried hard to break the power of the Ḍāmaras by cunning diplomacy but without much effect.

Jayasiṁha, 1128—1155 *A.C.*

Jayasiṁha, his eldest son, succeeded Sussala. Jayasiṁha reigned from 1128 to 1155. In this reign we read of Sanjapāla, the Senāpati (Commander-in-chief), " going into camp with Yavanas (Muslims) " [Stein, Vol. 2, p. 175] who have already been referred to in Harsha's reign as "captains of hundreds."

Mammaṭa and other Poets of the Period.

Mammaṭa and his two brothers occupy a high position in the literary firmament of Kashmīr during the beginning of the 12th century A.C. Mammaṭa, the second son of the scholar Jaiyaṭa Bhaṭṭa, hails from Gālandar, near Pāmpar noted for saffron. Jaiyaṭa is the elder and Uvvaṭa the younger brother of Mammaṭa. Although all the three were noted littérateurs, Mammaṭa was the most distinguished of all. His book *Kāvya-Prakāça* on prosody

is often set for the higher examinations of the Sanskrit language. Eighty-seven commentaries are known to have been written on the *Kāvya-Prakāça* of which 25 are available. Mammaṭa is supposed to be the maternal uncle of Harsha, the great poet-king of Qannauj. The *Çabda-Vyāpāra-Vichāra* in which the usage of words has been discussed is another well-known book of Mammaṭa. Māmalladevī was the mother of Harsha. Thus Harsha naturally visited Kashmīr for contact with Sanskrit scholars of Srīnagar.

Maṅkha.

Maṅkha* was another poet of this age. He was the fourth son of his father, Veshovrata, the son of Pandit Mammaṭa. Maṅkha was a pupil of Ruyyaka, the celebrated author of *Alankārasarvasva.* Maṅkha rose to the post of Director of Dharmārtha and Foreign Minister. Rājā Sussala looked upon him as a philosopher. Maṅkha wrote his first book *Çrīkaṇṭhacharita* when 25 years of age, probably in 1039 A.C. It consists of fourteen chapters, and has 2,500 couplets. In Jayasimha's time Maṅkha was the head of a college. Like Mullā Tāhir Ghanī he hated flattering others and had quite an independent mind.

Kalhaṇa

Kalhaṇa Pandit, the author of the celebrated saga of Kashmīr called the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* was the contemporary of Rājā Jayasiṁha. This was the time when, in England, Matilda was a fugitive, and the barons were at war with one another. Kalhaṇa's metrical history of the rājās of Kashmīr, written in Çaka 1070 or 1148-49 A.C. or 543-44 A.H., is a well-known work in the Sanskrit language. Kalhaṇa was the son of Chaṇpaka, the minister of King Harsha of Kashmīr (1079—1101 A.C.). Kalhaṇa claimed to be a poet and historian and was, no doubt, skilled in both capacities. He attempted to give his readers a complete history of Kashmīr, and, though, like most of the mediæval historians, he combined fact with fiction, he "sincerely endeavoured to consult the varied sources of history." He was well-versed in the literary and historical traditions of ancient India, and was likewise an erudite scholar. Kalhaṇa's earlier chapters are "a medley of confused traditions and fanciful imaginations," but he exercised "independence of

*The *Hamdard,* 28th September, 1941, Pandit Kavirāja's contribution.

judgment combined with strict impartiality and unsparing criticism in regard to contemporary events and persons including kings, officials and priests." In spite of all this, says Sir Aurel Stein, Kalhaṇa must be treated with critical caution, as "his chronology is unreliable, his sources of information discrepant, and his frame of mind didactic." To sum up, though the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* avowedly belongs both in form and in substance to the literature of artificial poetry, its merits as an historical composition are many and undoubted, says Dr. Ghoshal.* Kalhaṇa was a Brāhman by caste. He was a worshipper of Çiva and an admirer of Buddha. The name *Kalhaṇa* is derived through Prakrit *Kallāṇa* from Sanskrit Kalyāṇa, meaning 'happiness,' 'blessedness.'

The Rājataraṅgiṇī.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* was begun by Pandit Kalhaṇa in **1148-49** A.C., and completed sometime in the following year. As R. S. Pandit says it was written about half a century before the defeat of Prithvī Rāj Chauhān and nearly two centuries before the advent of the Shāh Mīrīs. It comprises eight cantos. Each canto is called a *Taraṅga* or Wave. The number of verses in each canto or *Taraṅga* is—(*i*) 373, (*ii*) 171, (*iii*) 530, (*iv*) 720, (*v*) 483, (*vi*) 368, (*vii*) 1,732, (*viii*) 3,449.

The first translation of a portion of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* was in Persian, made by order of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn who named the version *Bahr-ul-Asmār*, or "The Sea of Tales." Akbar ordered Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāōnī to revise this version and to complete the translation. An abridged edition of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, in Persian, was brought out by Haidar Malik Chāḍura during the reign of Jahāngīr. In 1835 A.C., an edition of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* was published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta. This edition was based on the transcript obtained by William Moorcroft, a noted traveller of whom we sh ll hear later and who reached Srīnagar in 1823, by permission of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, a part of whose dominion Kashmīr then was. The first complete translation from the original Sanskrit appeared in French in 1852, under the auspices of Société Asiatique at Paris. This translation by Captain A. Troyer, then Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, was made from the 1835 text in Sanskrit. The 1835 text is stated to

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**The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir, The Indian Historical Quarterly*, September 1942, page 201.

be defective. The late Sir Aurel Stein, accordingly published, at Bombay, a critical edition of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in 1892.

Sir Aurel Stein's English translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* was published in 1904, though he completed it on the 18th May, 1900. Sir Aurel Stein's method of translation, says the Mahārāshṭ Brāhman scholar, the late Ranjīt Sītārām Pandit, does not give an adequate conception of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as a literary composition to readers unable to study the original. Sir Aurel Stein also omitted to translate verses which he thought to be in "Kāvya style," and others which are "unconnected with the narrative proper." Ranjīt Pandit, therefore, brought out a complete translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in October, 1935, following Sir Aurel's critical Bombay edition of 1892. This translation of Ranjīt Pandit is an attempt to represent poetry in prose, is literal, and claims to preserve the original construction, as far as possible. It is, above all, a tremendous labour of love performed, by an irony of fate, in a jail during a sentence of imprisonment, courted under a burning sense of nationalism. No non-Kashmīrī son-in-law has ever made to his Kashmīrī father-in-law a more affectionate, a more beautiful, a more appropriate, and a more enduring present than the late Ranjīt Pandit to the late Pandit Motīlāl Nehru. But it is sad, indeed poignant, that Motīlāl should not have lived to read Ranjīt's English rendering of Kalhaṇa's cantos of the *River of Kings*, the great saga of Motīlāl's own motherland !

Jayasiṁha's Successors.

The six reigns following Jayasiṁha cover a period of about a century and a half. It was a period of decay, and the power of Kashmīr steadily declined owing to political confusion, internecine strife, civil war and the depredations of robber bands. The century and a half which passed from the accession of the Lohara dynasty to the date of Kalhaṇa's *Chronicle* (Books VII, 1003-1150 A.C.), says Stein, represents a period filled for the greatest part by a succession of rebellions and internal disturbances of all kinds.

Jonarājā's record shows that, for nearly two centuries after Kalhaṇa's time, Hindu rule maintained itself in Kashmīr. The princes were weak and helpless. Rājadeva (1213-1236 A.C.), he says, insulted the Brāhmans, plundered them and made them cry : 'I am not a Brāhman,' 'I am not a Brāhman.' The material prosperity of the Valley was fading.

Sahadeva, 1300-1—1319-20 *A.C.*

In the time of Siṁhadeva (1286-1300 A.C.) and his brother Sahadeva (1300-1 to 1319-20 A.C.), Kashmīr was a country of "drunkards, gamblers and profligate women." In the last reign Dulcha—written in Persian histories of Kashmīr as Zulchu—the commander of the army of the great King Karmasena invaded the country. Instead of facing him manfully, the Rājā fled to Kashṭavār (Kīshtwār).

[The Valley of Kāṣṭhavāṭā, the present Kashṭavār or more commonly Kishtwār, lies on the Upper Chenāb river, between Kashmīr and Chamba on the way to Simla. It is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a separate hill-state. Possibly it was founded in the beginning of the 10th century A.C. Its rājās were Hindus till Aurangzīb's time, and embraced Islam through the influence of Sayyid Farīd-ud-Dīn who came to Kishtwār from Baghdād in the reign of Shāh Jahān. The rājās retained their independence until the conquest of their territory by Mahārājā Gulāb Singh. Ya'qūb Shāh Chak, the last ruler of the Chak dynasty of Kashmīr, came to Kishtwār for shelter when harrassed by Akbar's forces in 1586 A.C., and lies buried at Sirkōt on the Chaugān, the heath of Kishtwār.

The scenery of Kishtwār is almost unique, its inhabitants are peculiar; its remains are undeciphered and its sport is exceptional, says Mr. Otto Rothfeld.*

The flat plateau of Kishtwār is rather oval in shape than circular, resembling Bārāmūla. The plain is surrounded by towering mountains covered with oaks and hollies, the summits white with snow and densely wooded with pine trees:

خوشا دلکش دیار کشتوار است   بهر ماه نوش صد بهار است

The surface of the plateau extends to six miles from east to west and from north to south. Its soil is fertile and its tiilage is rich. The plain is dotted with villages each hidden in its own grove of chinārs and poplars.

The Wardwan river flows through the Wardwan valley into the Chandrabhāgā which passing by Multān empties itself into the Indus.

In Kishtwar and down Wardwan way,
Each mountain in wintry grandeur towers,
And whitens with eternal sleet,
While summer in a vale of flowers,

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*_With Pen and Rifle in Kishtwar_ by Otto Rothfeld, F.R.G.S., Indian Civil Service, D.B. Tārāporevāla Sons and Co., *The Times of India* Press, Bombay, 1918.

Is sleeping rosy at its feet.

—Mary Petrie: *In the Land of Lalla Rookh*, page 196.

Was it, perhaps, therefore, that Jahāngīr considered the saffron of Kishtwār superior to that of Kashmīr? (Beveridge, English Translation of Jahāngīr's *Memoirs*, Vol. 2, page 138).

The biggest of the villages, just referred to above, is the small town of Kishtwār, 5,100 feet above the sea level and having a population of 3,235. It is about 74 miles south-east of Islāmābād by way of the Mārbal pass.

There are two *ziyārāt* or shrines: one of the saint Sayyid Farīd-ud-Dīn of Baghdād and the other that of his son Sayyid Isrār-ud-Dīn, and hence the poet calls it the second Baghdād—

ثانی بغداد یا خُلدِ برِیں یا کِشتوار
جانفزا چُوگان دِلکش جنّت الماوی است این

In the following hill distich, the Köshur ridicules the poverty of Kishtwār :—

کِشتوار، کشت کا بنڈا—دن کو بھُوکا رات کو ٹھنڈا
جو کہ آئے پھر کے جائے—وہی گُوسائیں کا جھنڈا

[Kishtwār is the causeway of distress, where people are hungry by day and cold by night.

Whoever comes there, when he goes away is as meagre as the flagstaff of a *gosā'īn* or a recluse.]

A sketch of the history of Kishtwār will be found in the *Panjāb Historical Journal*, Vol. IV, No. 1.]

Dulcha plundered the people, took slaves and set fire to the city of Srīnagar. After impoverishing the Valley, during a stay of eight months, the invaders, when they found that provisions were scarce, tried to get out by the southern passes; but snow overtook them and the whole army perished along with their leader. Then, Gaddis (Hindu Bakarwāns) from Kishtwār entered the Valley on a raiding expedition, but were driven back by Rāmachandra, Sahadeva's commander-in-chief. Henceforth Sahadeva disappears. Bhoṭṭa or Bahuṭṭa Riñchana or Rīnchan—or, to give his full name, Lhachen rGyalbu Rinchen or Prince Rinchen, the Great God, the son of Lha-chen dNgos-grub's [or, according to Jonarāja—Vakatanya, Tibetan Vaka (?)], king of Western Tibet or Ladākh comes to the

scene. Riñchana fell out with Rāmachandra and killed him. He then married Koṭā Rānī, Rāmachandra's daughter, and proclaimed himself king in 1320 A.C., with Shāh Mīr who had been loyal to him, as his vazīr or minister.

Rinchen or *Riñchana* or *Rīnchan*, 1320-23 *A.C.*

Riñchana eventually became a convert to Islam and assumed the title of Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn.

Udyānadeva, 1323—1338 *A.C.*

After a short period of two years and a half, this Musalmān king died on Friday, 25th November, 1323, A.C., when Udyānadeva, brother of Siṁhadeva, succeeded him, and married his widow. At that time, Kashmīr was invaded by Achala whom to use Jonarāja's words "the lord of Magadhapura had supplied with soldiers." The king, Udyānadeva, like his brother, fled away before this invasion. Shāh Mīr, his vazīr, defended the kingdom successfully in his absence. The Rājā returned and reigned in Kashmīr but as a mere cypher, Shāh Mīr being all powerful.

Lalla, the noted hermitess, was born in 735 A.H. or 1335 A.C., during Udyāna's rule.

Koṭa Rānī, 1338-39. *A.C.*

On Udyāna's death in 1338 A.C., Koṭa Rānī, the queen, assumed power, but only for over five months.

Shams-ud-Dīn Shāh Mīr or Mīrzā, 1339—1392 *A.C.*

The vazīr, Shāh Mīr or Mīrzā deposed the Rānī and himself ascended the throne with the title of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn in 1339 A.C.

Causes of the ruin of Hindu rule in Kashmīr.

It will be appropriate, here, to sum up the causes that made for the ruin of Hindu rule in Kashmīr. The clashes between Buddhism and Brāhmanism, wicked rājās and vicious rānīs, and the lack of character among officials appear to be the most noticeable. The disruptive factors of debauchery and intrigue were paramount. To these have to be added the neglect of the army owing to a sense of security from the natural barriers of the country. Intrigues and rebellions were common and rulers were puppets in the hands of powerful ministers who thought of self rather than the weal and welfare of the land of their birth.

Brāhman's cultural contribution summarized.

Though Hindu rule came to an end through causes discussed above, we must not fail to pay tribute to the learning and culture that Kashmīr enjoyed during the period covered in this chapter. Kashmīrī Brāhmans acquired great proficiency in Persian under Muslim rule, as we shall see later, and distinguished themselves as great poets and prose-writers. Such people naturally did great service to Sanskrit literature, and Kashmīr was one of the most notable seats of learning in ancient India. Scholars came from far and near to complete their studies. We have already referred to the great names of Nāgārjuna, Kālidāsa, Kshemendra, Bilhaṇa, Mammaṭa and his brothers, and Maṅkha and Kalhaṇa. The philosophy of poetry has, in fact, originated in Kashmīr. As a matter of fact, Bilhaṇa asserts that saffron is the seed of poetry and, as no other province of India produced saffron, Kashmīr alone is the true home of poetry. Apart from Sanskrit poetry and prose, the branches of learning that received most valuable contributions from the early forefathers of the Kashmīrīs were prosody, grammar, Çaiva philosophy, Buddhist philosophy, history, fairy tales, biographies, *tantras* or scriptures of Çaivism, Āyurveda or medical science and commentaries.

Out of the sixteen most famous rhetoricians of India, Kashmīr has produced fourteen and the rest of India only two. Vāmana (750—800 A.C.) the founder of the Rīti School, Udbhaṭa (774—813) the teacher of the theory of three Vṛittis, Abhinavagupta the great expounder of the theory of Rasadhvani, and Mammaṭa (1100 A.C.) the upholder of the Rasa theory were all Kashmīrians.

In fact, Bhaṭṭa in modern Kashmīrī is Baṭa, a Brāhman, or a Kashmīrī Pandit. Bhaṭṭa is derived from the Sanskrit word *bhartar* which in Prakrit form gave Bhaṭṭa which has been retained by Sanskritists and appended to proper names at the beginning or at the end. It was used in the sense of *learned,* and signifies a learned Brāhman or a great teacher.

Prince Guṇavarman, a painter-missionary from Kashmīr, was probably a pioneer* in the Southern Asiatic route to China, Korea and Japan. The Kashmīr of his age (400 B.C.) was also the seat of the University of the Buddhist

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**India and the Pacific World* by Dr. Kālidās Nāg—Book Company Limited, College Square, Calcutta, 1941, p. 173.

Kumārajīva, who came all the way from Tukhāristān of Kucha (near Khutan),—which corresponds roughly to the present Badakhshān,—to Kashmīr to learn Sanskrit and various Indian sciences which he later took over to China.

Tradition has it that the great Çaṅkarāchārya (788—820 A.C.), visited Kashmīr early in the 9th century A.C., after his blows to Buddhism in the rest of India, and that he was forced to accept the superiority of Kashmīr Çaivism over his Vedāntic thought although there exists no internal evidence in any of his main works to this effect. Possibly it was someone else, his namesake.

[Shaṅkara, who—there are reasons to hold—was influenced by contact with early preachers of Islam in the South, gives definite indication of such influence in his emphasis on monism, his insistence on action rather than mere devotion, on purity of purpose rather than mere rituals. It may be that each element in Shaṅkara's thought was separately derived from Upanishadic sources but the peculiar composition of these elements and the shifts in emphasis of thought and action can be most easily explained by these new contacts with Islamic preachers down South where in Kaladi or Kelatī in Kerala the birth-place of Shaṅkara, the ruler had embraced Islam.[1]]

Kashmir Shaivism.

Kashmīr Shaivism, known as Trika-Shâsana, Trika-Shāstra or simply Trika, is a type of idealistic monism (advaita). It made its first appearance in Kashmīr at the beginning of the ninth or perhaps towards the end of the eight century of the Christian era, says Mr. Jagadīsh Chandra Chatterji in his *Kashmir Shaivaism* (Part 1, Srīnagar, 1914, page 3).

Kashmīr Shaivism has two branches—(*i*) the Spandaçāstra and (*ii*) the Pratyabhijñāçāstra. The authorship of the first, says Sir Rāmakrishṇa G. Bhandārkar[2] is attributed to Vasugupta and his pupil Kallaṭa who lived in the reign of Avantivarman (855-883 A.C.). The two principal works of this system are the *Shivasūtram* or *Shivasūtrāṇi* and the *Spandakārikās*, which are fifty-one verses only. The founder of the Pratyabhijñā school of Kashmīr Shaivism was Somānanda, who also wrote the work called *Shivadṛṣṭi*. But the principal treatise of the school was composed by his pupil Udayākara, and contains verses which are called Sūtras. The pupil of the pupil of Somānanda was the well-known Abhinavagupta whom we have

1. *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, by Dr. Tara Chand, Indian Press, Allahabad, 1936, pp. 107-111.

2. *Vaishṇavism, Shaivism and Minor Religious Systems.* Publisher: Karl J. Trübner, Strassburg, 1913, page 129.

mentioned on pages 59-60. The followers of the Spandaçāstra branch deny the necessity of God's having a prompting cause or a material cause for the creation of the world. Neither do they admit that he is himself the material cause, nor do they think some principle of allusion generates appearances which are false. God is, according to them, independent and creates merely by the force of his will all that comes into existence. He makes the world appear in himself, as if it were distinct from himself, though not so really, as houses or even towns appear in a mirror, and is as unaffected in it as the mirror is by the images reflected in it. Nor does he exist only as realized in the world which is the conclusion that follows from the doctrine that he is the material cause.

The Pratyabhijñā school of Kashmīr Shaivism accepts the doctrines of the creation of the world and of the relations between the individual and the supreme soul,as set forth by the Spandaçāstra school. But the way of the perception of the identity is *recognition* according to this Pratyabhijñā system. The Spanda school mentions the dawning of the form or vision of God on the mind in the course of meditation and thereby the clearing away of the impurities as the way to realization of identity with God. The Pratyabhijñā school maintains that recognition of oneself as God is the way.

These two systems do not enjoin restraint of the breath, concentration, and in the words of Sir Rāmakrishṇa Bhandārkar, all that "course of fantastic external and internal conduct or discipline" which the schools of Shaivism in India "prescribe as essential." (page 131). In this respect, Kashmīr Shaivism is very near to Islam, as Islam condemns self-mortification as a way to Realization. The Islamic way to Realization is simple, virtuous living, communion with God and service to humanity by sacrifice of one's self for others, if need be by shedding his blood.

Kashmīr Shaivism has another similarity. As an instance, the case of the celebrated Muslim mystic Abu'l Mughīth al-Husain Mansūr al-Hallāj (244 A.H.=858 A.C. to 309 A.H.=922 A.C.) may be cited. He said *An'l-Haqq*, "I am Creative Truth." Sir Muhammad Iqbāl also has repeatedly emphasized understanding the secrets of the self for Realization.

Sir Mark Aurel Stein.

In closing this brief narrative of the Hindu period, it is fitting that a brief sketch should be given of the life of the late Sir Mark Aurel Stein who translated the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and to whom we are indebted in more than one way.

The late Sir Mark Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., F. B. A., Correspondant de L'Institut de France; Ph.D.; D. Litt. (Hon. Oxon.); D. Sc. (Hon. Camb.), D.O.L. (Hon. Panjāb), retired as officer on special duty to the Indian Archaeological Survey, in 1929. He was born at Budapest on 26th November, 1862. Sir Aurel was educated in

Budapest and Dresden public schools and studied Oriental languages and antiquities in Vienna and Tubingen Universities and in England. While Principal, Oriental College, Lahore, and Registrar of the Panjāb University (1888-99), Sir Aurel carried on antiquarian researches in Kashmīr and edited and translated Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which he recently revised. The new edition will contain "but a small number of additional notes." But it is not yet printed. Sir Aurel was appointed to the Indian Educational Service as Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah in 1899. He carried out archæological explorations for the Government of India in Chinese Turkistān in 1900-1. After administrative work in the Punjāb and as Inspector-General of Education, N.-W.F.P. and Baluchistān, Sir Aurel was engaged during 1906–8 in archæological and geographical explorations in Central Asia and W. China when he was awarded the Royal Geographical Society's Gold Medal (1909). Sir Aurel was transferred to the Archæological Survey in 1910, and carried out geographical and archæological explorations in Central Asia and Īrān during 1913-16, and was awarded the Gold Medals of the Geographical Societies of France and Sweden. For explorations in Upper Swāt, Baluchistān, Makrān during 1926-28, he was awarded the Petrie Medal in 1928. He died in Kābul in October, 1943. Sir Aurel Stein was created K.C.I.E. in 1912. As a reviewer remarks, Sir Aurel has written more than his size, that is to say, his works, if piled one upon another, would exceed his stature. Mohand Marg, above Gāndarbal, was his favourite resort. Here most of his writing was done.

See the Addenda to Chapter I on the following page.

Addenda to Chapter I

In Chapter I, on page 2 (1st para.), Piedmont is mentioned. Here is a short note on it. Piedmont is a territorial division of North Italy, enclosed on all sides, except towards the Lombard plain, by the vast semicircle of the Pennine, Graian, Cottian, Maritime and Ligurian Alps. The population of Piedmont in 1921 was 3,527,847. It has an area of 11,340 square miles. Reeling and throwing of silk, manufacture of cotton, woollens and clothing occupy a large part of the population. The Piedmontese dialect has been rather strongly influenced by French.—*Extracted from the Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 17, p. 915.

In the top para. on page 6, in Chapter I, there is a reference to Matterhorn. Here is a short note on it. Matterhorn is the famous peak, 14,782 feet high, in the mountaineering centre of Zermatt, in the Swiss Alps on the frontier between Switzerland and Italy. Many intrepid pilots have lost their lives in attempts to circle this peak, although more than one successful attempt has been recorded, the first one on July 14, 1865, the second three days later, both on the Italian side. Nowadays it is frequently ascended in summer, especially from Zermatt.—*Extracted from the Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 15, pages 94-5.

To face page 75 of Dr. Sufi's "Kashir."



CHAPTER III

THE SPREAD OF ISLAM IN KASHMĪR

In the preceding Chapter, we came across references to Arabs at the time of Muktāpīḍa, and to the employment of Muslim captains of troops under Harsha. Later, we met Riñchana and noted his conversion to Islam to become Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn. We saw the appointment of Shāh Mīr as Vazīr, and also saw him as sovereign of Kashmīr on the discomfiture of Koṭā Rānī. Before we take up Shāh Mīr as Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, and deal with the Shāh Mīrī dynasty he founded, it is necessary for us to know how Islam entered the Valley of Kashmīr, and spread itself to an extent only second to Egypt, Īrān, Afghānistān or Central Asia.

Islam made its way into Kashmīr, says Stein,[1] not by forcible conquest but by gradual conversion, for which the influx of foreign adventurers both from the south and from Central Asia had prepared the ground. The adoption of Islam by the great mass of the population began towards the close of Hindu rule, and became an accomplished fact during the latter half of the fourteenth century.

Earliest Contact with Sind.

Let us now turn to Sind for a moment, as it is Sind that received the first Muslims from Arabia. According to the *Chach-nāma*,[2] which, in Mountstuart Elphinstone's estimate, " contains a minute and consistent account of the transactions " during the invasion of 'Imād-ud-Dīn Muhammad bin Qāsim bin Abī 'Aqīl Saqafī and " some of the preceding Hindu reigns." Chach Brāhman, the son of Silāij, and the father of Rāja Dāhir, usurped the kingdom of Sāhasī, the son of Sīharas who was the son of Dīwāīj. The boundaries of the dominions of Sāhasī extended on the east to Kashmīr, on the west to Makrān, on the south to the shores of the ocean and to Daibal, and on the north to the mountains of Kardān or Karwān and to Qaiqān. He had established

1. Stein's Introduction to his English Translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, page 130.

2. The *Chach-nāma* is the Persian translation of the extinct Arabic *Futūh-us-Sind* by 'Alī bin Hāmid bin Abū Bakr Kūfī. The Persian translation was made in 613 A.H. = 1216 A.C., during the time of the ruler of Sind, Amīr Qubācha, the rival and contemporary of Iltutmish of Delhi.

four *maliks*, or governors, in his territory. The fourth of these governors was "at the great city of Multān and Sikka, and Brahmapūr, and Karūr, and Ashahār and Kumba, as far as the borders of Kashmīr, were under his government." Sāhasī Rāi, the sovereign of all this dominion, died and was succeeded by Chach Brāhman who had entered service as a chamberlain to this sovereign. Dāhir ultimately succeeded Chach.

Dāhir was slain by Muhammad bin Qāsim on Thursday, the 10th of Ramazān in the year 93 A.H., or June 712 A.C. Dāhir's son, Jaisiya, went to wait on the Rāi of Kashmīr. A person bearing the name Hamīm, the son of Sāma, a Syrian, accompanied Jaisiya to Kashmīr. The Rāi of Kashmīr ordered that, from among the dependencies of Kashmīr, a place called Shākalhā should be assigned to Jaisiya. According to General Cunningham, this place may possibly be Kuller-Kahar in the Salt range which, at that time, belonged to Kashmīr. Jaisiya died in Shākalhā and was succeeded by Hamīm son of Sāma. Hamīm "founded masjids there, and obtained great honour and regard. He was much respected by the king of Kashmīr."

No light is thrown on the origin and mission to India of Hamīm the Syrian. But we read, in another place, of Muhammad 'Allāfī or 'Allānī, called an Arab mercenary. He was an "Arab of the Banu Usāma, who had killed 'Abdur Rahmān son of Ash'ab, for having run away from battle, and came to join Dāhir, with five hundred Arabs." Subsequently 'Allāfī was dismissed by Dāhir, and Muhammad bin Qāsim granted 'Allāfī a safe passage. It is not improbable that Hamīm was one of the attendants of 'Allāfī. This Hamīm, the Syrian, is ostensibly the first Muslim to enter Kashmīr.

We have also to note that Muhammad bin Qāsim, after the conquest of Sind, came to Multān. Here "he erected a Jāmi' Masjid and minarets." He appointed Amīr Dā'ūd Nasr, son of Walīd 'Ummānī, its governor. Then ibn Qāsim proceeded to the boundary of Kashmīr called the Panj Māhiyāt, at the upper course of the Jhelum, just after it debouches into the plains. This is about the time of the caliphate of Walīd I* (86-96 A.H.=705-715 A.C.).

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*The *Chach-nāma* or *Ta'rīkh-i-Hind wa Sind*. See *History of India as told by its own Historians*. The Muhammadan Period. Edited by Sir H. M. Elliott, K.C.B., and Professor John Dowson, Vol. I, London, 1867, A.C., pages 131-207.

In the course of our brief outline of the pre-Islamic period of the history of Kashmīr, we meet with Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa, who ruled from 725 to 753 A.C., applying to the Chinese Emperor for aid against the Arabs who were advancing from their bases in Sind and Multān, and of whom we hear for the first time in connexion with the history of Kashmīr from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa, as Stein[1] says, is misspelt in the Arabic characters as *Muttapir*. His reign according to the Islamic era dated from 107 to 136 A.H. We may in passing note that the Arabs won a victory over the Chinese in 751 A.C. or 134 A.H., and acquired Gilgit and other possessions.[2] Muktāpīḍa's younger son and second successor, Vajrāditya-Bappiyaka, ruled between 754 to 761 A.C. During his reign, *viz.* 137 to 144 A.H., we note that this ruler "sold many men to the Mlechhas" (or Muslims), and "introduced into Kashmīr practices which befitted Mlechhas" (or Muslims). In Harsha's time, thereafter, we hear of Turushkas, or Muslims, as troop-leaders in Kashmīr or in Kalhaṇa's words "as captains of hundreds." Harsha's rule lasted from 1089 to 1101 A.C., or 482 to 495 A.H. Marco Polo,[3] the Venetian traveller, also refers to the presence of Muslims in Kashmīr about 1277 A.C. or 676 A.H. Following Kalhaṇa and Jonarāja in their chronology, we reach Rīnchan or Riñchana during 1320-1323 A.C., or 720 to 724 A.H., which is the *terra firma* of the advent of Islam as a state religion in Kashmīr. In the twelfth century of the Christian era, Stein[4] tells us, the conversion of the Dard tribes on the Indus from Buddhism to Islam had already made great progress. This is about two centuries before Rīnchan who becomes Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn and the first Muslim ruler of Kashmīr.

Islam neither affected the independence of Kashmīr nor, at first, materially changed its political and cultural conditions. The administration, to resume quotation from Stein, remained, as before, in the hands of the traditional official class, the Brāhmans, for whom a change of religion presented no advantage, and the retention of their old creed apparently involved no loss of inherited status. This appears from the frequent references, made in Jonarāja's

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1. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I., Introduction, page 91.
2. The *Indian Antiquary*, July 1908, page 181.
3. *The Travels of Marco Polo*, the Venetian, edited by Manuel Komroff, New York, U.S.A., 1939, page 64.
4. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, page 217, footnote 2762-64.

and Çrīvara's *Chronicles*, to Brāhmans holding high official posts under the early Sultāns. Sanskrit continued to be, for a considerable period, the language of official communication and record in Kashmīr even after the end of Hindu rule. The various forms of official documents, reports, etc., which are contained in the *Lokaprakāsha*, a handbook of Kashmīrian administrative routine, are drawn up "in a curious Sanskrit jargon, full of Persian and Arabic words which must have become current in Kashmīr soon after the introduction of Islām." The use of Sanskrit, even among Musalmāns, is borne out by the Sanskrit inscription on a tomb in the cemetery of Hazrat Bahā-ud-Dīn Ganj Bakhsh, at the foot of the Harī-parbat in Srīnagar. This inscription was put up in the reign of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, sometime in 1484 A.C. or 889 A.H. Brief Sanskrit inscriptions, without dates, have been found by Stein[1] on a number of old Muslim tombs at Srīnagar, near Mārtaṇḍ and elsewhere. Even in certain proper names the reader will notice non-Muslim influences.

Islam and Hinduism.

"Islam is a force of volcanic sort, a burning and integrating force, which, under favourable conditions may even make a nation," wrote the late Sir Herbert Risley.[2] "It melts and fuses together a whole series of tribes, and reduces their internal structure to one uniform pattern, in which no survivals of pre-existing usages can be detected. The separate strata disappear; their characteristic fossils are crushed out of recognition; and a solid mass of law and tradition occupies their place. Hinduism, transfused as it is by mysticism and ecstatic devotion, and resting ultimately on the esoteric teachings of transcendental philosophy, knows nothing of open proselytism or forcible conversion, and attains its ends in a different and more subtle fashion, for which no precise analogue can be found in the physical world. It leaves existing aggregates very much as they were, and so far from welding them together, after the manner of Islam, into larger cohesive aggregates tends rather to create an indefinite number of fresh groups; but every tribe that passes within the charmed circle of Hinduism inclines sooner or later to abandon its more primitive usages or to clothe them in some Brahmanical disguise.

1. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. 1, page 131 footnote.
2. *The People of India*, second edition, 1915, page 217.

Infant marriag. with all its attendant horrors is introduced: widows are forbidden to marry again : and divorce, which plays a great, and on the whole, a useful part in tribal society, is summarily abolished."

Sir Herbert discusses the motives assigned in various cases of conversion to Islam and suggests : "(1) Genuine religious conviction of the purity and simplicity of Islam, derived from the study of the Muhammadan scriptures or from the preaching of the Maulavis who go round the villages. The conversion of high-caste Hindus, Brahmans, Rajputs, Kayasths and the like is commonly ascribed to this cause. (2) The growing desire on the part of the lower Hindu castes to improve their social position leads individuals among them to embrace a creed which seems to offer them a fair chance in life. (3) The proverb "Love laughs at caste" accounts for a large number of conversions. (4) Causes connected with taboos on food and drink and with various caste misdemeanours have also to be taken into account. Hindus in sickness or distress are tended by Muhammadans and take food and water from their hands ; the caste excommunicates them and they join the ranks of a more merciful faith."[1]

In Kashmīr there is not much difference in food between the Muslim and the Hindu, for both enjoy mutton, fish and flying birds, though certain restrictions among the latter are, at times, vexatious. The orthodox Pandit, for instance, would not take tomato, onion, egg and fowl, reminding us of the tradition which allows a dog to be starved or beaten but never to be kicked as it accompanied *Yudhiṣṭhira* to heaven!

Another Contrast.

A piquant contrast between Hinduism and Islam, not by a Hindu, nor by a Muslim, but by a Christian from the West, is not quite irrelevant to the subject under discussion. Writes Mr. Guy Wint[2] in *India and Democracy* : " Breathing from infancy the axioms of caste, Hindus accepted human inequality as a permanent and inexpugnable fact ; Islam was a levelling religion with a passion for equality by which even its monarchs were periodically humbled. Hinduism,

1. *The People of India*, pages 247-248.
2. *India and Democracy* by Sir George Schuster, ex-Finance Member, Government of India, and Guy Wint, Secretary of the League of Nations Economic Mission to China, Macmillan & Co., London, 1941, pages 54-55.

if in its purest form neither idolatrous nor polytheist, permitted among its rank and file the crudest forms of worship; Islam has always been iconoclast. In spite of the worldly display of India, Hinduism honoured the ascetic and was awed by the other-worldly; Islam, in spite of its puritan sects, was a voluptuous religion. The emotional impulse of Hinduism was the quest for tranquillity; of Islam (in spite of *Kismet*) the lust for action. Hinduism was subtle, elaborate, luxuriant; Islam plain and unadorned.

"That the two cultures interacted and modified one another goes without saying. For example, where Islam flourished, the caste system weakened; and under Hindu influence Islam lost something of its asperity. In the centuries when Turks, Afghans and Moghuls dominated North India the upper classes of both communities came closer together, and from their fraternization emerged for a brief period what may be termed the Urdu culture, a civilization of the court circles which was a genuine blend of the best in the life of both peoples and by means of which it appeared that they might be reconciled. Among the masses the contact was even closer, since the great bulk of Moslems of the lower class were converts from the depressed castes of Hindus, and these at least in part retained caste observance, conserved something of the Hindu ritualism which in theory was so abhorrent to their new faith, and refused to be turned from the age-old superstitions of their race." This last remark is particularly fitly applicable to the Kashmīrī Muslim. Five hundred years of Muslim rule were not sufficient to root out the superstitions of about fifteen hundred years of Buddhist and Brāhmanical permeation. Mr. Wint closes with this last sentence: "On both sides there remained solid blocks of the orthodox—ultra-montane uninfluenced, intransigent, and capable of developing within themselves fierce proselytising movements in favour of a return to the strictest exclusiveness." This is the bigoted Kashmīrī Pandit and the antiquated Mullā in the case of Kashmīr.

Beginning of Islam by Friars and Darvishes.

The population of the Valley of Kashmīr in 1931 was over thirteen lakhs, of which over twelve and a half lakhs were Muslims. In the census of 1941 the Muslims numbered 13,69,620 out of 14,64,034. One must deplore, with the late Sir Thomas Arnold, that definite historical facts which might help us in clearly accounting

for the existence of such an extraordinarily overwhelming majority of Musalmāns among the population of Kashmīr are somewhat scanty. The same view was expressed to me by Sir Aurel Stein once. Whatever evidence is available leads us, however, to attribute the spread of Islam in the Valley, on the whole, to a long continued missionary movement inaugurated and carried out mainly by *faqīrs* or friars or *darvishes* and the '*ulamā*' or theologians, among whom were Ismā'īlian preachers from Alamūt,[1] a hill fort in the province of Dailam in Īrān. In addition to this, (*i*) the compactness of the area of the Valley and (*ii*) the unusually imitative habits of its people were also reasons for this mass conversion.

Islam is essentially a missionary religion like Buddhism and Christianity, and the Muslim missionary, be he a *pīr*, *i.e.*, a spiritual guide, or a preacher, carries with him the message of Islam to the people of the land into which he penetrates. " The spirit of truth in the heart of the missionary cannot rest till it manifests itself in thought, word and deed." It is in this spirit that the Muslim missionary entered the Valley of Kashmīr to influence its people by his example, his personal methods of preaching and persuasion at a time when, in the words of Lawrence,[2] Kashmīr in the reign of Sūhadeva (1300—1319-20 A.C.)—that is, previous to the advent of Islam—" was a country of drunkards and gamblers," and where " women were no better than they should be."

Bilāl or Bulbul Shāh's Conversion of Rīnchan.

Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn, Rīnchan or Riñchana, the first Muslim ruler of Kashmīr, a contemporary of Edward III of England, was originally a Ladākhī, also called a Tibetan, from Western Tibet. He was well-disposed towards Islam on account of his contact with Shāh Mīr, then in the Kashmīr state service. Rīnchan is believed to have actually owed his conversion to Sayyid Bilāl (popularized to Bulbul) in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

آنکه در راهِ الٰهی روشن از بدر و هِلال
بُلبلِ باغِ ولایت شاهبازِ لا مثال

1. Sir Thomas Arnold's *Preaching of Islam*, second edition, page 291.
2. *The Valley of Kashmīr*, page 189.

شُد بہ کشمیر اوّل از دستش درخت دین نہال
شیخ و مُرشد عارفِ حقّ، حضرت بابا بِلال
اسرارالابرار، بابا داؤد مِشکوتی—

Bilāl Shāh or Bulbul Shāh is stated to have visited Kashmīr first in the time of Rājā Sūhadeva, the predecessor of Rīnchan. The original name of Bulbul Shāh is said to have been Sayyid 'Abdur Rahmān, though some believe it to be Sayyid Sharaf-ud-Dīn, while others call him Sharaf-ud-Dīn Sayyid 'Abdur Rahmān Turkistānī. This much is certain that he was a widely travelled Mūsavī Sayyid from Turkistān having enjoyed a long stay at Baghdād. Bulbul Shāh was the spiritual disciple of Shāh Ni'matullāh Walī Fārsī, a Khalīfa of the Suhrawardī *tarīq* or school of Sūfīs founded by Shaikh-ush-Shuyūkh Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn Suhrawardī.[1] Khwāja Muhammad A'zam in his *History* has copied the following about Kashmīr from the great Shaikh, but the couplet is from Shihāb-ud-Dīn Sindī of Kashmīr, according to Hasan:—

كان الكشمير لسكّانها جنّتُ عدنٍ هى للمؤمنين
قد كتب الله على بابها من دخلها كان من الامنين

Hājī Miskīn[2] is of the opinion that Bulbul Shāh was a disciple of Mullā Ahmad 'Allāma, who is stated to have accompanied Bulbul Shāh when he visited Kashmīr on the first occasion, in the time of Rājā Sūhadeva. The same writer mentions Mullā Ahmad 'Allāma as the Shaikh-ul-Islam in the reign of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn (740-743 A.H.). I am afraid, however, that this cannot be accepted, as it is very hard to believe that Bulbul Shāh should have taken the lead in the conversion of Rīnchan, in the presence of his own *pīr* or spiritual guide, who would thus be relegated to a secondary position on an occasion of such transcendent importance. Available evidence appears to establish that Bulbul Shāh was a spiritual disciple of Shāh Ni'matullāh

1. Suhraward with its Kurdish population was a large, walled, well-fortified town lying to the south of Zanjān, on the road to Hamadān, Irān, in the 4th century A.C. (10th A.H.). It was of some importance during the 8th century A.C. (14th A.H.). The site of the town cannot now be located with absolute certainty.

2. Hājī Muhyi'd Dīn Miskīn, the *Ta'rīkh-i-Kabīr*, page 289.

Walī Fārsī. Mullā Ahmad was a lieutenant of Bulbul Shāh,[1] died in the reign of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, and is buried next to Bulbul Shāh. The Mullā was made the first Shaikh-ul-Islam and was the author of two books, *Fatāwa-i-Shihābī* and *Shihāb-i-Sāqib*.

The circumstances that led to the conversion of Rīnchan appear to have been the impression created on him by the simplicity of Bulbul Shāh's faith coupled with his own dissatisfaction with what was then professed by the people around him. Different people have attributed different motives[2] to Rīnchan for adopting Islam, into the details of which motives we need not enter. Suffice it to say that Rīnchan embraced Islam at the hands of Bulbul Shāh and assumed the name of Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn, and claims our attention as the first Muslim ruler of Kashmīr. Muslim historians write his name as Rīnchan.

After the conversion of Rīnchan, his brother-in-law and commander-in-chief, and several others—according to one tradition ten thousand[3]—embraced the creed of Bulbul Shāh. A place of gathering for the new converts was set up on the bank of the Vitastā and is known as Bulbul Lānkar—(*Lānkar* is apparently a corruption of 'Langar' meaning a hospice) and also the first mosque in Kashmīr now unfortunately reduced to ruins. The Bulbul Lānkar is a three-storied decayed wooden building on the right bank of the Jhelum, about 200 yards below 'Alī Kadal, the fifth bridge, in Mahalla Bulbul Lānkar, Srīnagar. Bulbul Shāh died in 727 A.H., corresponding to 1327 A.C.[4]

سالِ تاریخِ وصلِ بلبُل شاه   بابِلِ قدس گفت، خاصِ اله [۷۲۷ھ]

This chronogram, it appears, was composed, for the first time, by Khwāja Muhammad A'zam.

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1. *Bulbul Shāh Sāhib* by Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat, pp. 36-37.

2. For instance, it is alleged by some, like Kirpā Rām and Nārāin Kaul, that Brāhmans rejected his offer of conversion to Hinduism, but this is not accepted by others like Malik Haidar and Khwāja A'zam.

3. *Bulbul Shāh Sāhib* by Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat, Srīnagar, (1360 A.H.=1941 A.C.) p. 23, on the authority of the *Panj Ganj* (Rīshī-nāma) by Mullā Bahā-ud-Dīn Muttu who died in 1248 A.H.= 1832 A.C.

4. Sir Wolseley Haig, in Chapter XII of the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 277, makes no reference to Bulbul Shāh and assigns 1346 A.C. as the date of the accession of Shams-ud-Dīn whom he calls Shāh Mīrzā instead of the better known form Shāh Mīr. Shams-ud-Dīn's accession took place in 1339 A.C. (740 A.H.)

Conversions to Islam by Sayyids.

The conversion of the people of Kashmīr to Islam was further encouraged by the arrival of a host of Sayyids. Prominent among these were : (1) Sayyid Jalāl-ud-Dīn of Bukhārā, who was known as Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jahāngasht, the disciple of Shaikh Rukn-ud-Dīn 'Ālam and arrived in 748 A.H., and left Kashmīr after a short stay. (2) Sayyid Tāj-ud-Dīn (the cousin of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī or Shāh Hamadān), who arrived in 760 A.H., in the reign of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn and was accompanied by Sayyid Mas'ūd and Sayyid Yūsuf, his disciples, who lie buried near his tomb in Mahalla Shihāmpōr, a quarter of Srīnagar. (3) Sayyid Husain Simnānī,* who was the younger brother of Sayyid Tāj-ud-Dīn, a disciple of Shaikh Rukn-ud-Dīn 'Ālam, and came in 773 A.H.

It appears that the two brothers Sayyid Tāj-ud-Dīn and Sayyid Husain Simnānī were sent to Kashmīr by Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī, revered for sanctity and eminent virtues, probably to survey the field for the propagation of Islam, and also to find means of escape from Tīmūr, who was suspected of contemplating, from political motives, the massacre of this powerful Sayyid family. Sayyid Husain lies buried in a beautiful shrine in Kulgām, a tahsīl of Islāmābād. The other brother is buried just close to the road to Islāmābād near Avantipōr.

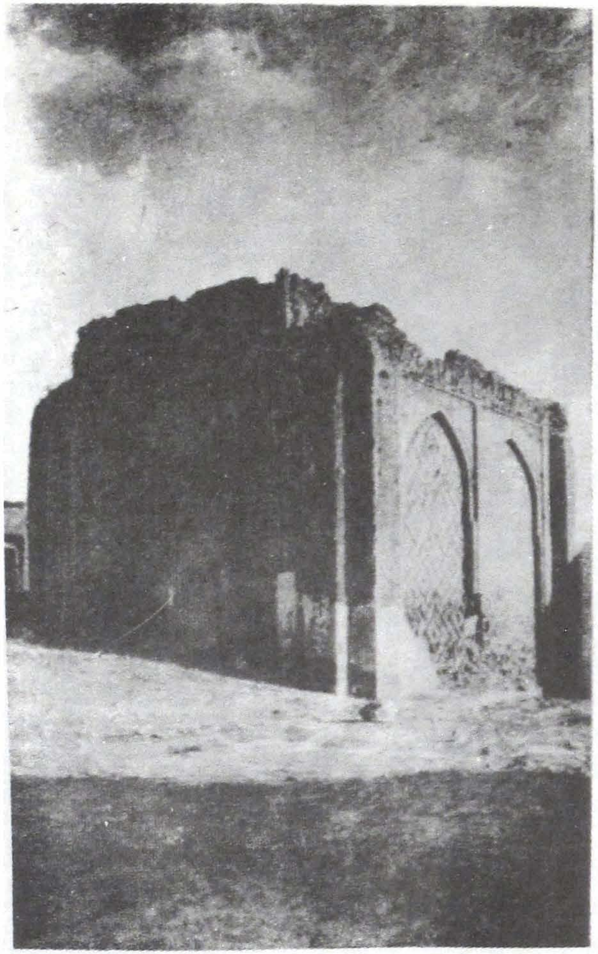
Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī.

In view of the extraordinary influence that his personality wielded in the spread of Islam in Kashmīr, I think a somewhat fuller notice of Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī, "the Apostle of Kashmīr" is needed. We shall call him "Shāh Hamadān" as he is best known in Kashmīr by that appellation. Sir Muhammad Iqbāl has an invocation to him beginning with—

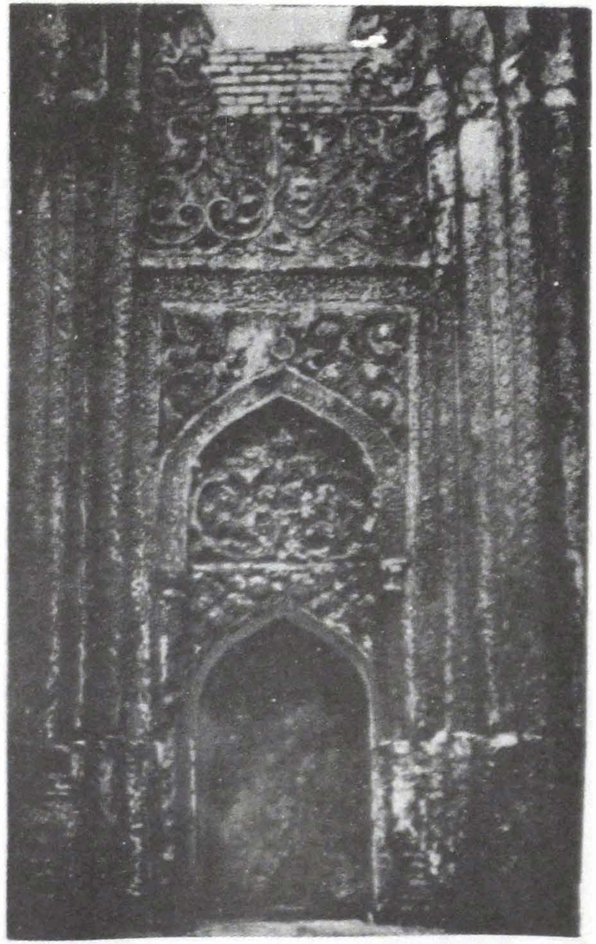
زیرِ گردُون آدم آدم را خُورد   ملّتے بر ملّتِ دیگر چرد
جان ز اهلِ خطّه سُوزد چُون سپند   خیزد از دِل، نالہائے دردمند

—جاوید نامہ

* In the centre of a wide plain, like an island, stands the village of Simnān, 145 miles east of Teherān, Īrān. It appears to be a conglomeration of deserted gardens : an uninhabited village within mud walls, with, here and there, a stream or a pool banked up with earth, and in the centre like a jewel, a tiny turquoise dome. The modern town had a weaving factory (*Kārkhāna i-Bāfindagī*) and a hospital (*Bīmāristān*), when I passed it towards the end of 1936.



The Gunbad-i-'Alav'yān (exterior), Hamadān, Irān, where Shāh Hamadān, his forbears and descendants meditated.



The Gunbad-i-'Alaviyān (interior), Hamadān, Irān.

The great Sayyid, 'Alī Hamadānī, or Shāh-i-Hamadān, also known as Amīr-i-Kabīr or the great Amīr, or 'Alī-i-Sānī, the second 'Alī, was born on Monday, 12th Rajab 714 A.H. (1314 A.C.) at Hamadān[1] in Īrān. The chronogram *Rahmatullāh* رحمة الله gives the date of his birth, *viz.* 714 A.H., and should be taken as his chronogrammatic name. His mother's name was Fātima and his father's was Sayyid Shihāb-ud-Dīn bin Mīr Sayyid Muhammad Husainī. His genealogy, according to the treatise *Khulāsat'ul Manāqib*, can be traced to Hazrat 'Alī through Imām Husain,[2] he being sixteenth in direct descent from 'Alī b. Abī Tālib. Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī became *Hāfiz-i-Qur'ān* (one who knows the Qur'ān by heart) in his very early boyhood. He studied Islamic theology, acquired knowledge, and learnt *tasawwuf* or the mysticism of the Sūfīs under the tuition of Sayyid 'Alā-ud-Dīn Simnānī, who was his maternal uncle. He became, in the first instance, a disciple of Shaikh Abu'l Barakāt Taqī-ud-Dīn 'Alī *Dūstī* and, after his death, of Shaikh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Mahmūd Muzdaqānī in Ray. The spiritual pedigree

1. In view of the importance of Shāh Hamadān in Kashmīr, a brief description of Hamadān, his native place, is perhaps necessary. Hamadān is the name of a town and of a province in Īrān. The town is 260 miles north-west of Isfahān. It is situated 188 miles south-west of Teherān, at an elevation of 5,930 feet, about 700 feet higher than Srīnagar, near the foot of Mount Alvand, whose peak rises west of it to an altitude of 11,900 feet. It has been a seat of Muslim learning and culture.

Hamadān is a busy trade centre with about 70,000 inhabitants, comprising 4,000 Jews and 300 Armenians, has extensive and well-stocked bāzārs, and a number of large and small caravanserais. Tanneries turn out leather which is much esteemed throughout the country and exported to other provinces in great quantities. Saddles, harnesses, trunks, and other leather goods are manufactured. Industries like carpets, woollens, cotton stuffs, felts and copper utensils flourish. This perhaps explains how Shāh Hamadān gave an impetus to arts and crafts in Kashmīr. The climate of Hamadān is pleasant but the winters are long and severe with heavy falls of snow.

Hamadān is supposed to stand on the site of the ancient Ecbatana. Among its tombs, the Jews still show the reputed burial places of Esther and Mordecai, a former Jewish Queen and Prince, in an insignificant looking domed building in the centre of the town. Hamadān has also the grave of Abū 'Alī bin Sīna (Avicenna), who died in 1036 A.C. Shāh Hamadān has written on questions relating to the name of Hamadān. In 1936, at Hamadān, I was shown the dilapidated Gunbad-i-'Alaviyān, associated with the meditations of Shāh Hamadān, his forbears and his descendants.

2. Dr. Hermann Ethé's *Catalogue of Manuscripts* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University Press, 1889, Part I, page 783.

of Shaikh Muzdaqānī has been recorded by Shāh Hamadān. Muzdaqānī desired him to complete his education by extensive travel in the world, which Shāh Hamadān undertook and consequently visited several countries. He journeyed for about twenty-one years, and thus came in contact with several Sūfīs (mystics) and 'ulamā' (divines) of the age, and profited by association with them. According to Amīn Ahmad Rāzī's *Haft Iqlīm*[1] [written in 1002 A.H.=1593-94 A.C., or according to another account 1028 A.H.=1619 A.C.], Shāh Hamadān travelled three times over the whole world and met 1,400 saints. After the completion of his travels, Shāh Hamadān returned to his native place. It was after his return that the rise of Tīmūr forced him to leave for Kashmīr. Seven hundred Sayyids are said to have accompanied him to the Valley in the reign of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn in 774 A.H.[2] (1372 A.C.). Shihāb-ud-Dīn, the reigning monarch of Kashmīr, had gone out on an expedition against the ruler of Ohind[3] (or Und, 16 miles above Attock). Qutb-ud-Dīn, the Sultān's brother, who subsequently succeeded him, was then acting for him. After four months' stay, Shāh Hamadān left for the scene of battle, and persuaded the belligerents to come to peace. Shāh Hamadān then proceeded to Mecca, and came back to the Valley in 781 A.H.[4] (1379 A.C.) in the time of Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn. After a stay of about two and a half years, he went to Ladākh in 783 A.H. en route for Turkistān. The third visit of Shāh Hamadān took place in 785 A.H. (1383 A.C.). But he had to leave Kashmīr on account of

1. Professor 'Abdul Qādir's *Catalogue* of MSS. in the Library of the University of Bombay, page 71. Amīn Ahmad was the first cousin of Nawwāb I'timād-ud-Daula, the father of Nūr Jahān.

2. And not 782 A.H., as stated by Beale in his *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, 1881 edition, page 238, because the following chronogram gives 774 A.H.—

سالِ تاریخ مقدمِ اُو را گُفت از مقدمِ شریف، بجُو

3. Some historians have mistaken Ohind for Hind, even Col. Haig (p. 278, Vol. III).

4. According to the chronogram—

هاتفِ غیب سالِ مقدمِ اُو آمد اینجا علی ثانی گُفت

This and the previous chronograms are by Sayyid Muhammad Khāwarī who was the contemporary of Sayyid Muhammad Hamadānī son of Shāh Hamadān, vide *Tārīkh-i-Kabīr*, page 12 and page 28.

ill-health, and stayed at Pakhlī[1] for ten days at the request of the ruler of that place whose name was Sultān Muhammad.

From Pakhlī, Shāh Hamadān repaired to the vicinity of Kūnār (or Kūnār-with-Nūr-gal in Kāfiristān) where, after a short stay, he had a relapse on the 1st of Zilhijja 786 A.H. (1384 A.C.) and ate nothing for five days. On Tuesday, the 5th of Zilhijja, he drank water several times, and on the night of the same day he breathed his last at the age of 72. On his death-bed *Bismillāh-ir-Rahmān-ir-Rahīm* was on his lips, and this, strangely enough, gives the date of his demise.

تاریخ وفاتِ شاه همدان

چُو شُد از گاهِ احمد خاتمِ دین　　ز هجرت هفتصد و ستّ و ثمانین

برفت از عالمِ فانی به باقی　　امیرِ هر دُو عالم آلِ یٰسین

[In the year 786 from the time of Ahmad, the last of the Prophets (that is), from the Hijra,

There went from the transitory to the eternal world the prince of both the worlds, the descendant of Yāsīn.]

Shāh Hamadān was buried in Khuttalān.[2]

1. Pakhlī was an ancient district of the Punjāb, now included in the Hazāra District of the North-West Frontier Province. In Bābur's time, the tract was held by the Khakha and Bamba tribes, whose chiefs had been rulers of the country to the east of the Indus, but had been driven out by the Gibari Sultāns of Bājaur and Swāt. Its inhabitants still speak Pushtū—King's Edition of *Bābur's Memoirs*, Vol. II, note on page 201.

The Sarkār of Swāt or Swād, according to Abu'l Fazl (Jarrett's *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 391), comprised of three districts of Bhimbar, Swāt, and Bājaur. Swāt is 40 *kōs* in length, and 5 to 15 in breadth. Kāshghar is to its north. Swāt was the residence of the Governor.

After crossing the Sind river (eastwards), there are countries, in the northern mountains . . . appertaining to Kashmīr and once included in it, although most of them, as for example, Paklī . . . do not now obey it.—Beveridge's *Bābur-nāma*, 1921, Vol. II, p. 484.

Paklī, according to Abu'l Fazl, was a *Sarkār* in Akbar's time, its length being 35 and breadth 25 *kōs*. Tīmūr left a few troops to hold this tract and their descendants remain there to this day. The rulers of this district pay tribute to Kashmīr.—Colonel Jarrett's Translation of the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, 1891, Vol. II, pages 390-1.

2. The state or province of Khatlān, Khutlān or Khotl was located in 1872 by Sir H. Yule, somewhat north of the present Kolāb and west of Darwāz (in Turkistān immediately beyond the north-eastern border of Afghānistān), but Mr. Mayef who travelled in this region three years later, believes Kurgān-Tube (*i.e.*, Kurghān Tipa) on the lower Surkhāb (or Wakhsh) and a short distance west of Kolāb, to have been the centre of the ancient Khatlān . . . . Khatlān existed at least down to the end of the fifteenth century, for, in 1498, we find Khusru Shāh of Qunduz, bestowing the governorship of it on his brother Walī.

The *Khazīnatu'l Asfiyā* (ii, 293) explains how it came about that Shāh Hamadān was buried in Khutlān: "He died in Hazāra (Paklī) and there the Paklī Sultān wished to have him buried, but his disciples, for some unspecified reason, wished to bury him in Khutlān. In order to decide the matter they invited the Sultān to remove the bier with the corpse upon it. It could not be stirred from its place. When, however, a single one of the disciples tried to move it, he alone was able to lift it, and to bear it away on his head. Hence the burial in Khutlān. The death occurred in 786 A.H." (1384 A.C.). A monument to the Sayyid stands at Pakhlī, which is now a part of Tahsīl Mansihra, District Hazāra, N. W. F. Province.

Abu'l Fazl says (The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, Jarrett, Vol. II. p. 392) that "Amīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī died here (Bājaur near Swāt) and his dead body was conveyed to Khatlān by his last testament." But Bābur writes: "Mīr Sayyīd 'Alī Hamadānī (God's mercy on him!) coming here (Kūnār-with-Nūr-gal in Kāfiristān) as he journeyed, died two miles (*one shar'ī*) above Kūnār. His disciples carried his body to Khutlān. A shrine was erected at the honoured place of his death of which I made the circuit (*tawāf*) when I came and took Chaghān-Sarāī in 920 A.H." (1514 A.C.)—The *Bābur-nāma*, A.S. Beveridge's English Translation, Vol. I, p. 211.

Both the state and name have since disappeared.—English Translation of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* by Elias and Ross, 1895, page 21, footnote.

The name Khutl or Khutlān was applied in the time of Bābur, and as far back as the age of Ibn Hauqal, to the country lying between the upper branch of the Amu, called Harat or Panj, which divided it from Badakhshān on the south—*Bābur's Memoirs*, King's Edition, 1921, Vol. I, pages lxviii and lxix.

The great mountainous tract lying in the angle between the Wakhsh-āb (the largest affluent of the Oxus) and the Oxus was known as Khuttal, a name that was also vaguely applied to all the infidel lands east and north of Khurāsān. Khuttal was included in the country along the Wakhsh, lying in its north, where the Wakhsh-āb took its rise. It was, Istakhrī writes, very fertile, and famous for its fine horses and sumpter beasts: having many great towns on the banks of its numerous streams, where corn lands and fruit orchards gave abundant crops. In the 10th century A.C. or the 4th A.H., the capital of Khuttal was Hulbuk.

There is much confusion in the naming of this country: we have indifferently Khuttal and Khutlān or Khuttalān. According, however, to Qazvīnī (ii, 352), Khuttalān was the name of a town of the Turks, lying in a gorge between the mountains, the position of which he does not indicate. 'Alī of Yazd (i. 464 and elsewhere) in describing the campaigns of Tīmūr, generally writes Khutlān.—G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge University Press, 1905, reprinted 1930, page 438.

Shāh Hamadān belonged to the Kubrawī order of Sūfīs founded by Shaikh Najm-ud-Dīn *Kubrā* of Khwārizm who died in 618 A.H.=1221 A.C. The Kubrawīs are a branch of the Suhrawardī Sūfīs.

That the conversion of the Valley to Islam was furthered by the presence of Shāh Hamadān is undoubted. His prominent co-workers were :—1. Mīr Sayyid Haidar, 2. Sayyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn, 3. Sayyid Kamāl-i-Sānī, 4. Sayyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn 'Alāī, 5. Sayyid Rukn-ud-Dīn, 6. Sayyid Muhammad, 7. Sayyid 'Azīzullāh. They established hospices all over the country which served as centres for the propagation of their religion in every nook and corner of Kashmīr, and by their influence definitely furthered the acceptance of the faith of the Prophet of Arabia. The newly converted people, of their own accord, converted temples into mosques in consequence of their change of faith. Two well-known incidents, in which two of the leading Sanyāsīs or Hindu ascetics of the time, together with their followers, accepted Islam at the hands of Shāh Hamadān after a trial of their 'supernatural' powers, apparently convinced the priest-ridden Kashmīrī of the greatness of the Sayyid's creed. The present *ziyārat* or shrine of Shāh Hamadān on the Vitastā is said to have been erected in 798 A.H.=1395 A.C. on the spot where one of these trials took place. This *ziyārat* first built by Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn, therefore, really represents the great Sayyid's *chillah-khāna* or the place of retreat and devotion, and not his tomb, which is in Khatlān. It is constructed chiefly of the wood of the *deodār* pine, and is equipped with a pyramidal steeple of timber capped with brass, and altogether is quite fine to look at. The mosque of Shāh Hamadān evokes the following couplet :

شہر کے قلب میں ہے مسجدِ شاہِ ہمدان

جس سے ہر دیدۂ مسلم میں ہے نورِ عرفان

کہ درخشاں ہے ہر اِک سمت کلامِ یزدان

خانۂ دِل کو ضیا بخشِ چراغِ ایمان

—جمالِ کشمیر از پنڈت بابو رام' شریف

That Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn himself acknowledged the greatness of the Sayyid is apparent from the fact that the Sultān, who had married two sisters contrary to the *sharī'at* or the law of Islam, had to divorce one of his wives at the

instance of Shāh Hamadān. The Sultān also adopted the dress then prevalent in Islamic countries, and had such a great regard for the cap given to him by the Sayyid that he always wore it under his crown. This cap was passed on to succeeding Sultāns, and was buried with the dead body of Sultān Fath Shāh at his special request before his death. It is said that some one prophesied that the burial of the cap would be an indication of the burial of the dynasty, and it is a curious coincidence that the dynasty actually came to an end, with the rise of the Chaks.

Shāh Hamadān was not only a saint but an author too. He wrote the *Zakhīrat-ul-Mulūk*, a treatise on political ethics and the rules of good government, in the Persian language. The British Museum Manuscript of the book [Add. 7618, Vol II, p. 447] has 250 folios, 10¾″× 9″, 15 lines, 3 inches long, written in neat Nasta'līq.[1] The *Zakhīrat-ul-Mulūk* consists of ten chapters as follows:—

(1) Faith. (2) Duties of Man. (3) Virtue. (4) Rights and duties of parents, wives, husbands, children, etc. (5) Rules of government, rights and duties of subjects. (6) Spiritual kingdom. (7) Execution of the lawful and abstinence from the unlawful. (8) Gratitude and contentment. (9) Patience under visitations. (10) Condemnation of conceit and anger and the excellence of humility and forgiveness. The *Zakhīrat-ul-Mulūk* was translated into Latin by Ernest Friedrick Carl Rosenmueller in 1825 A.C., and into French by C. Solvent in 1829 A.C. It was a favourite book with scholars during the early Pre-Mughul régime of India.[2]

Among other works of Shāh Hamadān in Persian and Arabic, رسالهٔ نوریه is a tract on contemplation. رساله مکتوبات contains Amīr-i-Kabīr's letters. در معرفتِ صورت و سیرتِ انسان discusses the bodily and moral features of man. در حقائقِ توبه deals with the real nature of penitence. حل النصوص علی الفصوص is a commentary on Ibn-ul-'Arabī's فصوص الحکم شرح قصیدهٔ خمریه فارضیه

1. This book was lithographed by Niyāz 'Alī Khān, Amritsar. Urdu translation published at Lahore in 1334 A.H. under the title of منہج السلوک

2. *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India* by Muhammad Bashir Ahmad, M.A., M. Litt., I.C.S., Aligarh University *Studies in History*, 1941, page 39.

is a commentary on the wine-qasīdah of 'Umar ibn ul-Fāriz who died in 786 A.H.=1385 A.C. رسالة الاصطلاحات is a treatise on Sūfic terms and expressions. علم القيافه is on physiognomy. ده قاعده gives ten rules of contemplative life. كتاب المودة فى القربى puts together Traditions on affection among relatives.

كتاب السبعين فى فضائل امير المؤمنين gives the seventy virtues of Hazrat 'Alī. اربعين اميريه is forty Traditions on man's future life. روضة الفردوس is an extract of a larger work entitled فردوس الاخبار by Shujā'ud-Dīn Shīrūyah. منازل السالكين is on Sūfī-ism.

اوراد الفتحيه gives a cónception of the unity of God and His attributes.

خلاصة المناقب is a mystical treatise on various Sūfic questions, illustrated by verses of the Qur'ān and Traditions and an exposition of the virtues of the life of Shāh Hamadān. It is by Maulānā Nūr-ud-Dīn Ja'far al-Badakhshī, Shāh Hamadān's pupil.

Shāh Hamadān was also a poet. His *ghazals* or odes are naturally Sūfistic. The چهل اسرار is a small collection of religious and mystical poems. It begins with—

ای گرفتاران عشقت فارغ از مال و منال
والهان حضرت را از خود و جنت ملال
مفلسان کوی شوقت را غلامی کرده چرخ
سالکان راه وصلت را دو عالم پائمال

One cannot sum up Shāh Hamadān's life and work better than Sir Muhammad Iqbāl in the following lines :—

سید السادات سالار عجم   دست او معمار تقدیر امم
تا غزالی درس الله گرفت   ذکر وفکر از دودمان او گرفت

مُرشدِ آن خطّهٔ مینُو نظیر   میر و درویش و سلاطین را مشیر

خطّه را آن شاهِ دریا آستین   داد علمِ و صنعت و تہذیب و دین

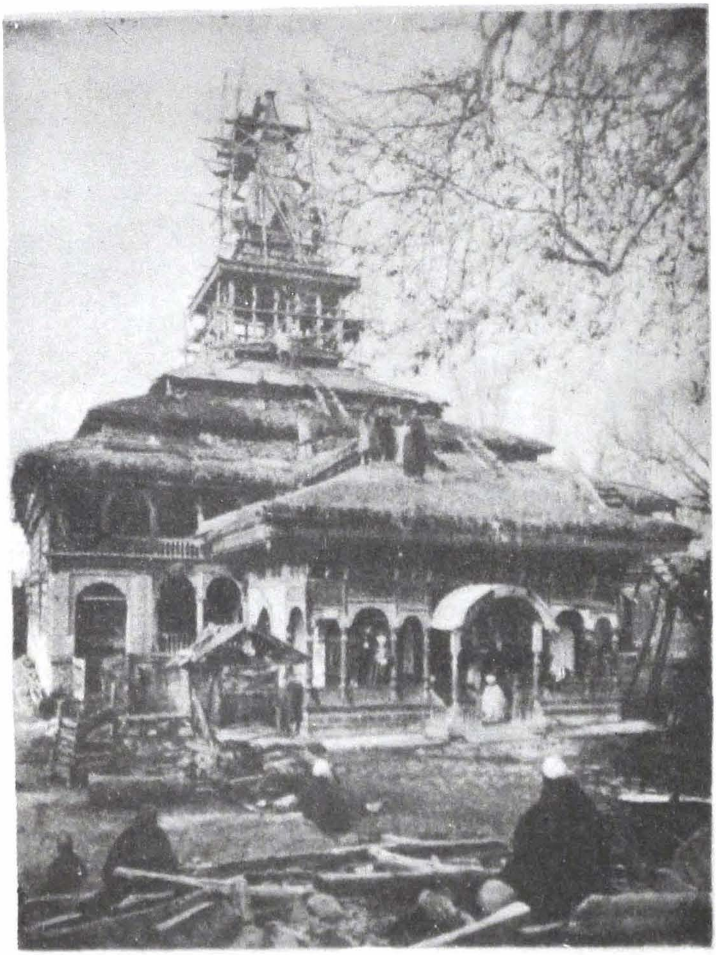
آفرید آن مرد، ایرانِ صغیر   با ،هُنرهائے غریب و دِلپذیر

[NOTE.—For further notices on the life and works of Sayyid ‘Alī, Shāh Hamadān, the reader may refer to the *Habīb-us-Siyar*, Vol. 3, *Juz* 3, p. 87; the *Nafahāt-ul-Uns*, page 515; the *Tazkira-i-Daulat Shāh*, p. 325; the *Haft Iqlīm*, fol. 277 a; *Taqī Auhadī*, fol. 478a; *the Majma‘un Nafā'is*, Vol. 2, fol. 306 a; *the Riyāz-ush-Shua‘rā'*, fol. 263*b* *the Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib*, fol. 548; *the Miftāh-ut-Tawārīkh*, page 143; *the Majma‘-ul-Fusahā*, Vol. 1, page 340; *Hājī Khālīfa*, Vol. 4, page 426; Rieu's Persian *Catalogue*, Vol. 2, page 447; Ethé's Bodleian Library *Catalogue*, Nos. 1451—1453, and No. 1241 (28); G. Flügel's *Vienna Catalogue* 3, page 420; Blochét's *Catalogue*, Paris, Nos. 156-157. W. Pertsch, Berlin *Catalogue*, page 7, No. 5, page 275 No. 4; No. 9, 7; Berlin *Catalogue*, pp. 235, 5 and 379, 2; Fleischer, *Catalogue*, Dresden, No. 198, 20. The Bānkīpūr *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, Vol. I, No. 150, pp. 229-31, also Vol. 9, No. 943, pp. 194-5; W. Ivanow's *Catalogue* of Persian MSS. in the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1924, p. 659; Prof. Browne's *Catalogue* of Oriental MSS., Cambridge, p. 156.]

Mīr Muhammad Hamadānī.

In stimulating the enforcement of Islamic *Sharī‘at* or law in Kashmīr, Shāh Hamadān was succeeded by his son Mīr Muhammad Hamadānī. Mīr Muhammad was born in 774 A.H.=1372 A.C. and was twelve years old when his father died. It is said that, before his death in 1384, Shāh Hamadān had handed over to Maulānā Sarāī* for transmission to two of his prominent Khalīfas—Khwāja Is-hāq of Khatlān and Maulānā Nūr-ud-Dīn Ja‘far of Badakhshān—certain documents which contained his *Wasīyat-nāma* (parting advice or bequest) and *Khilāfat-nāma* (or document conveying succession). Khwāja Is-hāq and Maulānā Nūr-ud-Dīn, in turn, delivered the documents to Mīr Muhammad with the exception of the Khilāfat-nāma, the document conveying succession, which the former retained himself, saying that it could only be made over to one who proved worthy of it. This was apparently a hint for Mīr Muhammad that he should exert himself to follow in the footsteps of his great father. Mīr Muhammad accordingly studied under these prominent admirers of his father, and in course of time acquired succession to his father's

*Of Sarāi, a town in Khurāsān, Īrān.

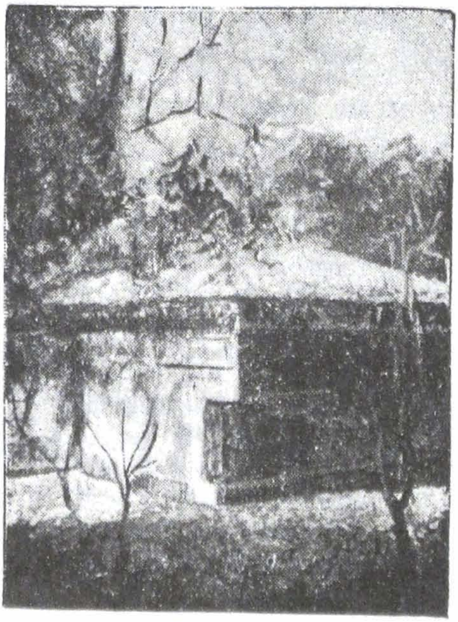


The Khānqāh-i-'Alā or the 'exalted shrine' at Trāl which is about 7 miles south-east of Avantipura (Vāntipōr). This Khānqāh was built in memory of Shāh Hamadān by his son, Mir Muhammad Hamadāni, on the site purchased by him from Sultān Sikandar, it is said for three rubies and hence the name Trāl derived from 'tre-la'l' in Kashmiri. The colony was laid out for the residence of the Sayyids who came with, or followed, Shāh Hamadān from Irān to Kashmir in the latter part of the 14th century A.C.

position of spiritual pre-eminence. He was the author of a treatise on Ṣūfī-ism and wrote a commentary on the *Shamsiyah*, a well-known book in Arabic on logic.

Conversion of Malik Sūhabhaṭṭa.

When 22 years of age, Mīr Muhammad arrived in the Valley in 796 A.H.=1393 A.C. On his arrival in Kashmīr, Mīr Muhammad was received with great honour by Sikandar. At this time, Sikandar's prime minister and commander of the military forces was Malik Sūhabhaṭṭa (Sinhabhaṭṭa), a Brāhman, who appears to have been impressed with the personality of Mīr Muhammad, the simplicity of his faith, life and teachings, and to have embraced Islam with the whole of his family. Mīr Muhammad, whose first wife, Bībī Tāj Khātūn, had died, was offered by Sūhabhaṭṭa, after his conversion, the hand of his own daughter, re-named Bībī Bāri'a. Sūhabhaṭṭa adopted the Islamic name of Saif-ud-Dīn and was consequently known as Malik Saif-ud-Dīn. The Sūhyār Masjid, the Sūhyār-bal, and the Sūhyār Mahalla, near 'Ālī Kadal, keep his memory green.



The tomb of Bibi Bāri'a known as Didah Mōji, wife of Mir Muhammad Hamadānī, at Kotār, Krālapōr, 5 miles from Srīnagar, on the road to Charār Sharīf.

At the instance of Mīr Muhammad, distillation and the sale and use of wine were prohibited. Satī (self-immolation by a widow on the funeral pyre of her husband)

was forbidden. Gambling and *nāch* (dancing by girls) were prohibited. Mīr Muhammad had a Badakhshān ruby which he gave over to Sikandar. The Sultān, in return, presented three big villages, namely: (*i*) Wachī from *pargana* Shāvara, (*ii*) Nūnawanī from *pargana* Mārtaṇḍa and (*iii*) Trāl from *pargana* Ullar—as jāgīr or permanent holding, which the Sayyid declared as *waqf*[1] for his *langar-khāna* or hospice. This *Waqf-nāma* or endowment deed, with the endorsement of the Sultān, has been copied by Pīr Hasan Shāh in his *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan.*

Mīr Muhammad stayed for about twenty-two years in Kashmīr, and then left for Hajj in 817 A.H. On his return from Mecca, he went back to Khatlān, where he died on 17th Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 854 A.H. (1450 A.C.), and was buried near his father. Mīr Muhammad, on entering the Valley, was accompanied by three hundred Sayyids; Shāh Hamadān, his father, having, as already noted, brought seven hundred of them. Kashmīr had, therefore, a total influx of one thousand Sayyids from Turkistān. Shāh Hamadān, it is said, converted thirty-seven thousand[2] to Islam, Bulbul Shāh having already made ten thousand converts. Mostly these were mass conversions.

Revival of Interest in Religion under Calamities.

Before proceeding further, it would appear necessary to realize the magnitude of the change brought about by the advent of such a large number of Sayyids into the Valley. Deeply imbued with the Sūfī-ism of the age and country from which they emigrated, these Sayyids and their followers seem to have stimulated the tendency to mysticism for which Vedāntism and Buddhism had already paved the way. It may here be remarked in passing that Islam does not countenance the enervating type of *Tasawwuf* which Iqbāl too condemned in the first edition of his *Asrār-i-Khudī* when he said :—

الحذر از گوسفندان الحذر !

Perhaps also, shocked at the tyranny and self-assertion of Tīmūr, these Sayyids and others 'may have sought refuge in the regions of abstract thought as a solace for the worldly repression under which their country then laboured.' " One

1. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Kabīr*, page 25.
2. *Bulbul Shāh Sāhib* by Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat, Srīnagar, page 8.

cannot forget," says Col. Newall,[1] "that the human mind has ever tended towards mysticism and solitude at times when tyrants flourished." A striking parallel is provided by the present age we are passing through. The well-known psychologist, C. E. M. Joad,[2] writes discussing the changing mind of Britain: "There is a renewed interest in questions of religion and philosophy touching the nature of the universe and the status and destiny of man within it. Inevitably when a man's spirit is troubled, his thoughts turn to fundamental questions. How, he wants to know, is the mass suffering and wickedness of the world compatible with its Government by an Almighty and Benevolent Being? Did God will the War? Did He create Hitler? That a realization of the fact and prevalence of evil and suffering in the world should bring a revival of man's interest in religion is understandable.

"What is surprising is that it should renew belief. Yet there is in many Englishmen today, and especially in young people newly come to maturity, a renewed interest in the religious view of the world and a disposition to examine afresh in the light of it the traditional answers to fundamental questions, which Christianity has provided, but which most of us have for a generation ignored or derided. Supposing, for example, that the war is the result neither of inept politicians, nor of an out-of-date capitalist system, but of the wickedness in the heart of man? Suppose that it is a punishment for that wickedness?

"The renewed interest in these questions has not yet succeeded in filling the churches. It may be doubted whether it ever will. The new wine which is now fermenting may refuse to pour itself into the old bottles, but that the seeds of a spiritual revival are germinating in the minds of the people of this country, I for one do not doubt."

"Today," on June 18, 1942, cries General Smuts: "We witness on a worldwide scale the failure of political nationalism and materialism to satisfy the deeper needs of man's spirit. This failure, with the nameless sufferings of our generation, will lead to the revival of religious faith. The crisis of religion is coming. The Man of Galilee is, and remains, our one and only leader."

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1. *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1870, page 266.

2. *The World Review* (reproduced in the *Bombay Chronicle*, Sunday Edition, 19th April, 1943).

It is also significant to note that Fitzgerald's *Rubā'iyāt of 'Umar Khayyām* has again become a best-seller under the stress of the present war.[1]

Perhaps, the wrath of Tīmūr had been aroused against these Sayyids and Sūfīs who may have attempted to adopt an independence of act and speech or preached peace displeasing to the great conqueror, as Mīrzā Akmal-ud-Dīn Kāmil Beg Khān Badakhshī refers to it :

گر نه تیمور شور و شر کردے   کے امیر این طرف گذر کردے

The Rīshiyān-i-Kashmīr.

The presence of this type of Sayyid naturally influenced the more pronounced Muslim mystics of Kashmīr. These Muslim mystics, well-known as Rīshīs[2] or Bābās, or hermits, considerably furthered the spread of Islam by their extreme piety and utter self-abnegation which influenced the people to a change of creed. Abu'l Fazl records his meeting with Wāhid Sūfī. Faizī had informed Abu'l Fazl of the presence of the saint in the following words : "Here an enlightened anchorite has come to my view. For thirty years he has, in an unnoticed corner, been gathering happiness on an old mat. Affectation and self-advertisement have not touched the hem of his garment . . ." Abu'l Fazl mentioned this to Akbar, who asked him to go and inquire. "By great good fortune," wrote Abu'l Fazl, "I met with the saint and the old sore of the divine longing opened afresh. For a long time, he had lived like Uwais[3] and Karkhī[4] in a ruined habitation. He lived apart from joy and sorrow, and took nothing from anybody except broken bread. Though I did not know the Kashmīrī language, yet I gathered much edification through an interpreter, and a new vision dawned on me. As his heart was

1. *British Contributions to Persian Studies* by Dr. A. J. Arberry, 1942, p. 18.

2. Rīshīs referred to here were Muslim saints. Rom Rīshī, Rish Bābā, Mīr Husain Rīshī, Sabūr Rīshī, Sulaimān Rīshī are well-known. Kashmīrīs pronounce the word as *Rīshī*, the plural is *Rīshiyān*.

3. See page 100*n*.

4. Abū Mahfūz Ma'rūf Karkhī was a Magus at first. With his father Fīrūz or Fīrūzān he accepted Islam at the hands of 'Alī bin Mūsā ar-Rizā and became a celebrated ascetic and mystic. He died on the 2nd or 8th of Muharram in 200 A.H. or 815 A.C., in the time of Māmūn. Ma'rūf was venerated as a saint and is buried in Baghdād.

much alienated from the people, he could not come out from his cell. His Majesty was delighted with this news and resolved that he would go in person."[1]

Jahāngīr in his *Memoirs*[2] says that "though they (the Muslim Rīshīs) have not religious knowledge or learning of any sort, yet they possess simplicity and are without pretence. They abuse no one. They restrain the tongue of desire and the foot of seeking. They eat no flesh, they have no wives, and always plant fruit-bearing trees in the fields so that men may benefit by them, themselves desiring no advantage. There are about 2,000 of these people." Firishta and Abu'l Fazl have also described them in words of high praise as abstaining from luxury, living on berries and the wild fruits of the mountains. In remote corners of the Valley, many of them had taken up their abodes for purposes of meditation and seclusion. G. T. Vigne, the traveller, during Sikh rule, met Bābā Sa'īd who refused to call even on the Governor of the time. Mahārājā Pratāp Singh called on Shāh 'Abdur Rahīm Safāpurī. When the Mahārājā asked if he could do anything for the saint, the saint replied that he need not be re-visited by the Mahārājā, a reply reminding one of Diogenes (Diyūjānus al-Kalbī) who, when Alexander asked him if he could do any service, told the Conqueror to let him enjoy the sun.

In some instances, these Muslim Rīshīs constructed *ziyārāt* or shrines, many of which remain to this day. The shrines attest to their founders' austerities and virtues and in their traditions form centres for local orders of holy men or priests whose influence must necessarily be beneficial to the people as promulgating the principles of humanity and the moral virtues. "Associated, as they are, with acts of piety and self-denial, the *ziyārāt* are pleasant places of meeting at fair time, and the natural beauty of their position and surroundings affords additional attraction. Noble brotherhoods of venerable trees of chenār, elms, and the Kābulī poplar with its white bark and shimmer of silver leaves," says Lawrence, "gives a pleasant shade, and there is always some spring of water for the thirsty" (pp. 287-8).

1. The *Akbar-nāma*, Persian text, Calcutta, 1886, Volume III. page 549.

2. Translated by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. II, pages 149-150

Saints and Rīshīs like Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn, Bābā Nasr-ud-Dīn, Bābā Bām-ud-Dīn, Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm, Sayyid Ahmad Kirmānī, Sayyid Muhammad Hisārī, Bābā Zain-ud-Dīn, Bābā Latīf-ud-Dīn, Shukūr-ud-Dīn (popularly known as Shukr-ud-Dīn), Hanīf-ud-Dīn (erroneously called Hanaf-ud-Dīn), Shāh Valī Bukhārī, Sa'īd Bābā, Khwāja Hasan Karī, by their example and precept, smoothed the path of Islam in its slow, steady and systematic conversion of practically the whole Valley. Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn—The Light of the Faith—is the great national saint of Kashmīr. Some account of his life, therefore, would not be out of place here.

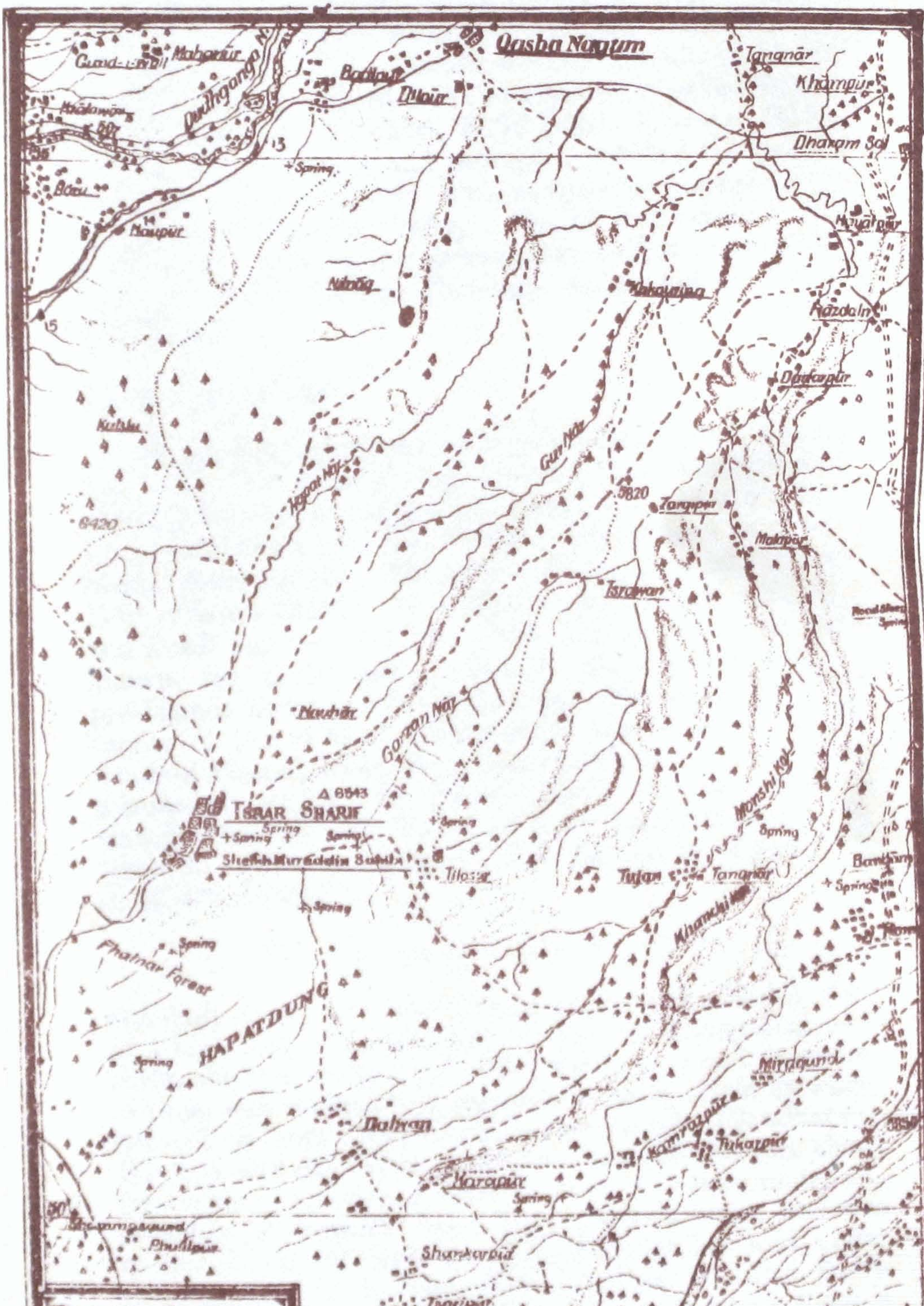
Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn.

Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn was born in a village called Kaimūh (old name Kaṭīmusha), two miles to the west of Bijbihāra which is 28 miles south-east of Srīnagar, in 779 A.H.=1377 A.C., on the day of the 'Īd-ul-Azhā. His father's name was Shaikh Sālār-ud-Dīn. His mother, Sadra, was called Sadra Mōjī or Sadra Deddī. In Kashmīrī, *Mōjī* means ' mother', and *Deddī* denotes ' elderly.' Both the parents were well-known for their piety. Shaikh Sālār-ud-Dīn, whose pre-Islamic name was Sālār-Sanz and who belonged to the family of the rājās of Kishtwār, embraced Islam at the hands of Yāsman Rīshī, the younger brother of Palāsman and Khalāsman Rīshīs. Of Yāsman Rīshī, it is said that he travelled far and wide. Later, he lived mostly in forests. At times, he used to ride a tiger; which reminds us of the story in Sa'dī's *Būstān* :

یکے دیدم از عرصۂ رودبار   کہ پیش آمدم بر پلنگے سوار

His daily food was a cup of wild goat's milk. Sadra came of a high Rājput family, but her parents having died very early, she was brought up by her wet-nurse : and, in course of time, was married to a person of humble origin by whom she had two sons—Shush (Shishu) and Gundar (Gandharva). Her husband died after some years and she was left alone. By nature of a religious bent of mind, she came under the influence of Yāsman Rīshī and embraced Islam and was re-married, at the instance of her foster-father, and under the direction of Yāsman Rīshī, to Sālār-ud-Dīn. Sadra Deddī, on her death, was buried at Kaimūh where there is now a famous shrine. Sālār-ud-Dīn whose turban is preserved at this shrine, and Haidar-ud-Dīn, the son, Zai Ded,

To face page 99 of Dr. Sufi's 'Kashir'.





Shaikh Nur-ud-Din Vali, the Patron Saint of the Valley of Kashmir. He was born at Kaimūh in the Islāmābād district in 779 A.H. 1377 A.C. on the 'Id-ul-Baqar day and died at Chrār, 20 miles south-west of Srinagar, at the age of 63 in 842 A.H. 1438 A.C., in the reign of Sultān Zain-ul-'Abidin, who accompanied his bier. Chrār Sharif attracts thousands of visitors on the Saint's anniversary.



A general view of Chrār-i-Sharif perched on a dry bare hill, 20 miles south-west of Srinagar.

the wife, and Zūn Ded the daughter of Nūr-ud-Dīn, are also buried at Kaimūh.

Once when Yāsman Rīshī was ill, Sālār-ud-Dīn and Sadra went to visit him. Lalla 'Ārifa was already there with a present of a bouquet of flowers for the Rīshī. The Rīshī, on Sadra's arrival, gave Lalla's bouquet to her. It is said that, when Nūr-ud-Dīn was born and subsequently would not take his own mother's milk, Lalla was called in, and strangely enough Nūr-ud-Dīn went to her and had milk from her breast. To Lalla the child was thus attached. This was the time when Sayyid Husain Simnānī was in Kashmīr. Through Lalla, the child was brought to the notice of the Sayyid. Shāh Hamadān also came in later. Thus Nūr-ud-Dīn was brought up amidst happy surroundings which led to his future greatness as the Patron Saint of the Valley. When Nūr-ud-Dīn grew up, his step-brothers began to trouble him. They were rogues while he was saintly. Once or twice he accompanied them to find work but felt that he could not be happy with them. He was then apprenticed to a couple of traders, one after the other. There, too, he felt disgusted with the ways of the world, and, deciding upon renunciation, retired to caves for meditation at the age of thirty. It is said that he lived for twelve years in the wilderness. Hence, perhaps, Kaimūh is given the derivation of Kai-wan (or *ban*, a forest) in rustic belief. The actual cave of contemplation is shown in Kaimūh and is about 10 feet deep. In his last days, the saint sustained life on one cup of milk daily. Finally, he reduced himself to water alone, and died at the age of 63, in the reign of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, in 842 A.H.=1438 A.C. *Shams-ul-'Ārifīn* or 'The Sun of the Pious' is the chronogram which gives the date of his death. The Sultān accompanied his bier to the grave. The burial prayers were led by a great divine or '*Ālim* of the age, Makhdūm Bābā 'Usmān Uchchap Ganāī. The tomb of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn at Charār Sharīf,* a small town perched on a dry bare hill, 20 miles south-west of Srīnagar, is visited by thousands of people to the present day.

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*Charār Sharīf (or Tsrār) town had a population of 3,784 in 1931. In 1941 it had 4,037. It is built somewhat in the form of the letter X, and stands on a bare sandy ridge, 13 miles north-east of Shupīān by path. Charār is now connected with Srīnagar by road.

شیخ نورالدین ریشی، پیر جمع ریشیان

زاهدے خوش بود، باحق داشت بسیار اشتغال

بود با تجرید و تفرید، اهل صوم دهر نیز

تارك لحم و بصل، شیر و عسل بسیار سال

صاحب کشف و کرامت بود و نطق خوب داشت

هم اویسی بود، گفت این راوی صاحب مقال

—قصیدهٔ لامیه یا ریشی نامه از بابا داؤد خاکی

[Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn, the preceptor of all Rīshīs, was a great devotee and had deep communion with God.

In addition to leading a retired and solitary life, he was also one of those who continually fast. He had given up eating flesh, onions, milk, and honey for many years.

He was a man with intuition, had spiritual powers and had a fine mode of speech. He was like Uwais* (in that he had no known spiritual guide), as an eloquent narrator has stated.

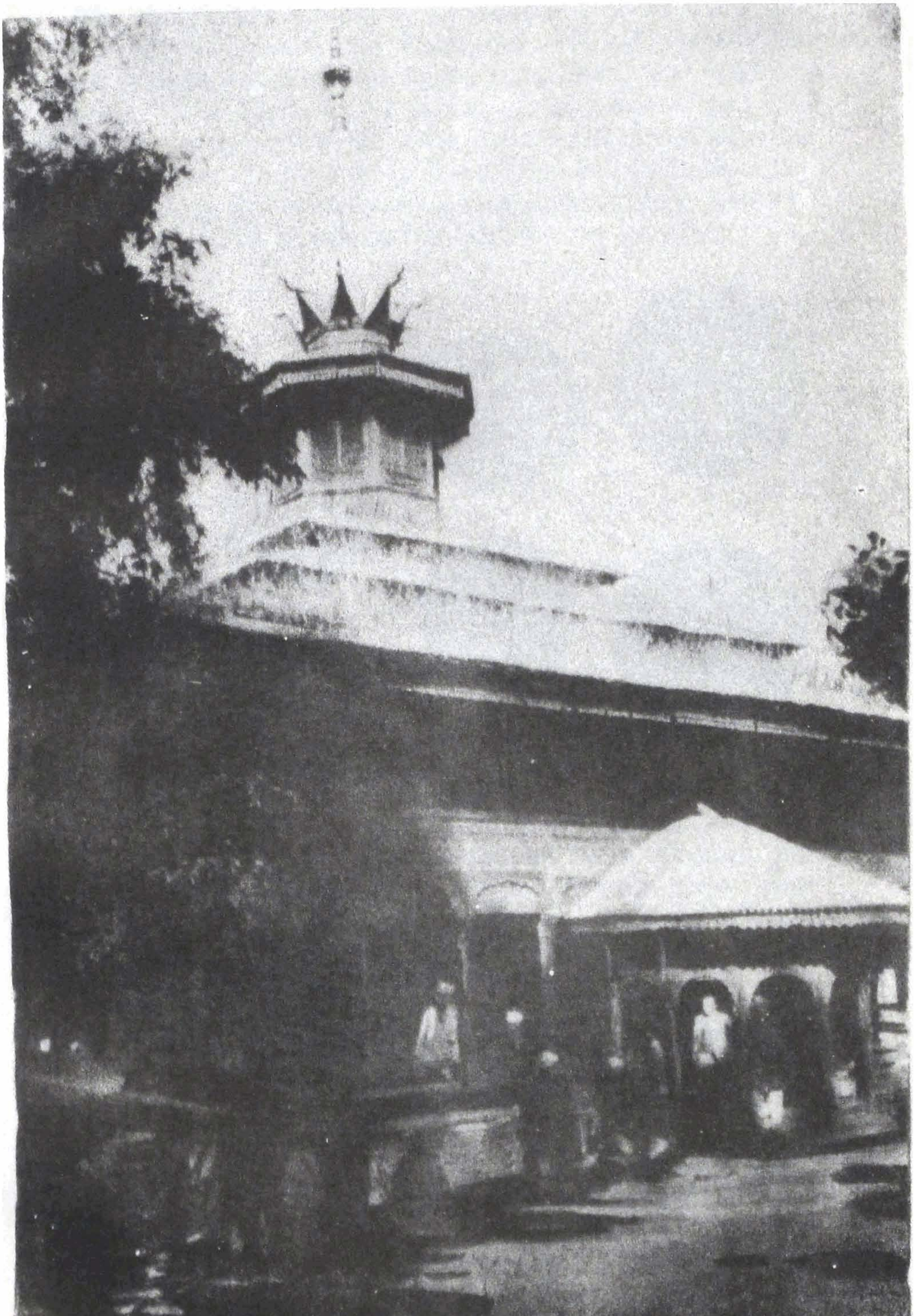
—The *Qasīda-i-Lāmiyyah* or the *Rīshī-nāma* (984 A.H.= 1576 A.C.) of Bābā Dā'ūd Khākī.]

Hindus call the saint Nunda Rīshī or Sahajananda. His sayings are preserved in the *Nūr-nāma*, commonly available in Kashmīr. The *Nūr-nāma* also gives the life of the saint. It was written by Bābā Nasīb-ud-Dīn Ghāzī in Persian about two centuries after the death of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn. It will be noticed under Persian Poetry in Chapter VIII.

Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn appears to have married Zai Ded and had two sons and one daughter. On the death of the children, Zai Ded also renounced the world, and became a hermitess. She was buried at Kaimūh on her death.

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* Uwais al-Qaranī was a saint who had given up the world. He was a contemporary of the Prophet of Islam. Uwais was an inhabitant of Yemen and belonged to the Qaran tribe. He used to say to those that sought him: "Do you seek God? If you do, why do you come to me? and if you do not seek God, what business can I have with you?" Hazrat 'Umar and Hazrat 'Alī visited Uwais at his request, and gave him the cloak of the Prophet. Uwais died between 32 and 39 A.H.=653 and 659 A.C.



The Mosque at Chrār Sharif

The simplicity and purity of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn's life have deeply impressed the Kashmīrī who entertains the highest veneration for the saint. In fact, the Afghān Governor, 'Atā Muhammad Khān, gave, as it were, expression to public sentiment when coins were struck by him in the name of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn in 1223-25 A.H. =1808-10 A.C. No other saint perhaps in human history has ever had coins struck in his honour.



Anecdotes of the life of this 'Chief of the Rishīs' are on the lips of the people throughout the Valley. Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn was in the habit of visiting gardens frequently. Once, on his way to a garden, accompanied by a disciple, he stopped and would not move. On his disciple requesting him to proceed, he made the following reply: "Every minute that I spend there, will be deducted from my stay in Heaven."

On another occasion, when invited to a feast, Nūr-ud-Dīn went in ragged dress, earlier than the appointed time. The servants, not recognizing him, would not permit him to enter, and he had to go back to take his food at home. When all had sat for the sumptuous dinner, the Shaikh was specially sent for. He came, this time, in a flowing *chugha* (cloak) and was given the seat of honour. But the Shaikh, instead of partaking of the food, stretched forth his sleeves and put them on to the plates. The people were astonished at the sight and asked him the reason. He replied: "The feast was not really for Nūr-ud-Dīn but for the long sleeves!"

The saint's attack on hypocrisy is interesting. Says he—

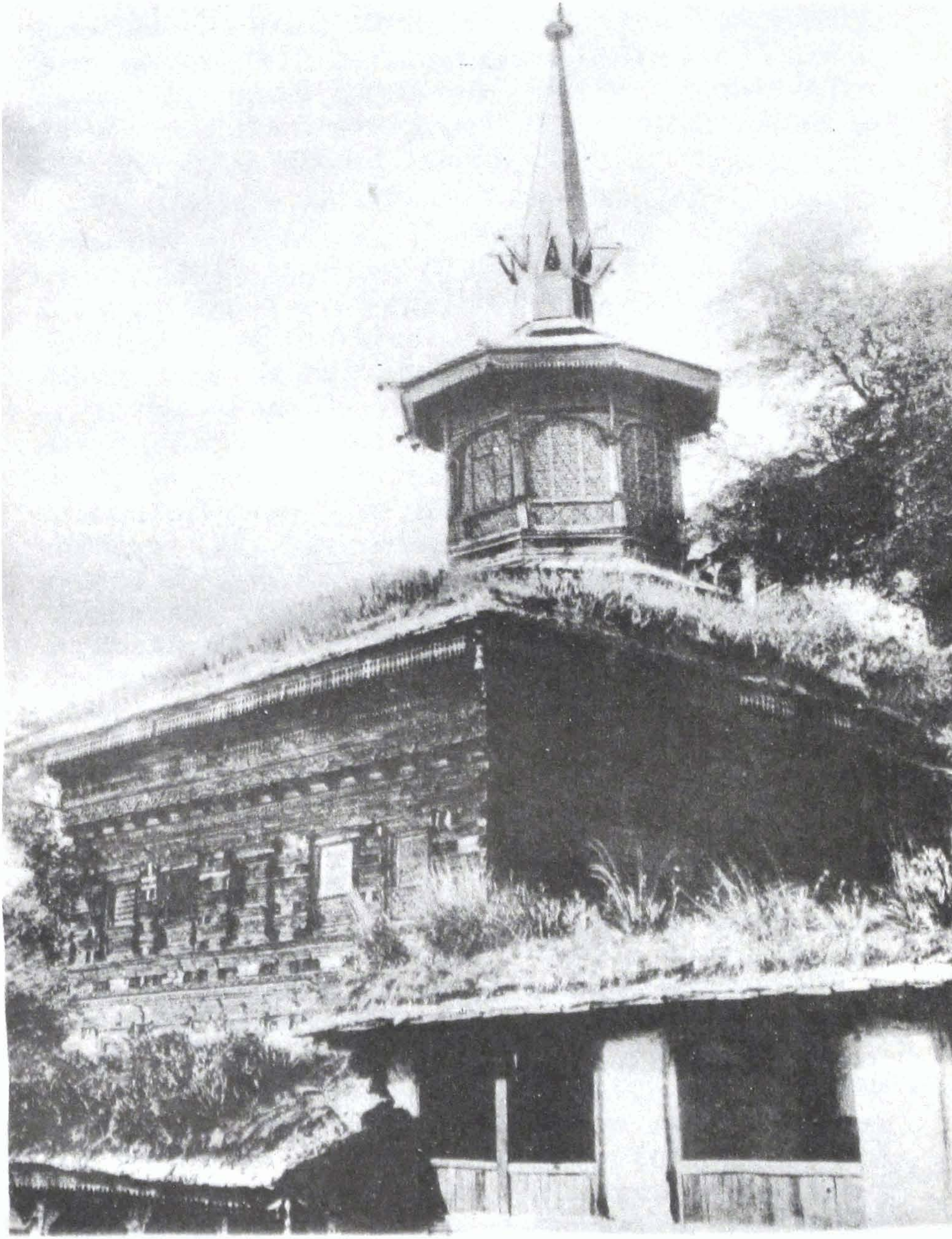
" By bowing down, thou shalt not become a Rīshī;
The pounder in the rice-mill did not ever raise up its head."
" By entering a cave, God cannot be attained:
The mongoose and the rat seldom come out of their holes."
" By bathing, the mind will not be cleansed:
The fish and the otter never ascend the bank."
" If God were pleased by fasting, the indigent rarely cook food in pots."

Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn had four disciples: Nasr-ud-Dīn, Bām-ud-Dīn, Zain-ud-Dīn, and Latīf-ud-Dīn. Bābā Nasr-ud-Dīn is to be seen behind Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn in the portrait opposite page 98. Kashmīrīs remember him as Bābā Nasr. Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn used to address him by his pet name Nasro. Bābā Nasr came of a rich family. In his early life he was robust, but on account of a stomach disease suffered a great deal. When his life was almost despaired of, he came in contact with Nūr-ud-Dīn and gave up a life of ease and became his faithful disciple. Bābā Nasr died in 855 A.H.=1451 A.C., and is buried near his spiritual guide in Charār Sharīf. Local legend has it that Bābā Bām-ud-Dīn was originally a Hindu by the name of Bhīma Sāḍhī in which Dr. Stein sees a corruption of Bhīma Çāhi. Bābā Latīf-ud-Dīn, it is said, was a Hindu and an official of Marvā-Wārdwan[1] and accepted Islam after a long discussion with Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn. Bābā Zain-ud-Dīn was known as Ziyā Singh and hailed from Kishtwār. His father was killed by his enemies, so that Ziyā Singh became an orphan. Subsequently he came under the influence of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn and became a Muslim. The *Fatahāt-i-Kubrawiyah*[2] gives the order of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn's disciples or *Khalīfas* as follows:—(1) Bābā Bām-ud-Dīn (2) Bābā Zain-ud-Dīn (3) Bābā Latīf-ud-Dīn and (4) Bābā Nasr-ud-Dīn (Folios 326-350).

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1. Maru-Wardwan or Maḍivâḍvan is the name of the valley lying to the east of the eastern frontier of Kashmīr running from the Żōjī-Lā almost due south towards Kishtwār.

2. *The Fatahāt-i-Kubrawiyah* by Shaikh 'Abdul Wahhāb Nūrī ibn Rashīd-ud-Dīn al-Kashmīrī (died in 1182 A.H.=1768 A.C. at Srīnagar), MS., folio 345. This manuscript is in the possession of Shaikh Ghulām Muhammad, M.A., M.O.L. (Panjāb), Retired Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Jammu and Kashmīr.



The Ziyārat at 'Aish-maqām, near Maṭan, on the Islāmābād-Pahalgām Road. Bābā Zain-ud-Dīn, one of the four leading disciples of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn, is buried here.

Sultān Sikandar's Share.

The propagation of Islam in Kashmīr received a strong impetus in the time of Sultān Sikandar when Wyclif in the West was inaugurating the Lollard movement in England. Sikandar has, however, been blamed for his "bigotry in the persecution of the Hindus of the Valley," and is called by them *But-shikan* or the iconoclast.

The allegation, that the wholesale destruction of temples in Kashmīr was carried out by Sikandar, is based, apparently, on considerable misrepresentation, more fiction than fact, and a number of non-Muslim writers, one after the other, have contributed their share of abuse to condemning this Sultān. The calumny has been perpetuated to such an extent that we now find Sikandar as an abominable personification of ruthless destruction of all noble edifices erected to Hindu deities. This misrepresentation has grown so enormous that we have completely lost sight of his real character. We are, consequently, not infrequently reminded of Akbar and Aurangzīb in the praise of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn and the condemnation of Sikandar. And it has become the wont of every casual visitor to Kashmīr, who is anxious to give his impressions of the Happy Valley to the world, to single out the Akbar and the Aurangzīb of Kashmīr for praise and blame. I hold no brief for Sikandar. He is undoubtedly responsible for what he actually did, but not for more than that.

Any one who visits old or ruined temples anywhere in India down the Jhelum, is very often told by the unlettered guide or the illiterate priest that the idols therein were broken by Aurangzīb. Similarly, any one, who visits such places up the Jhelum, is summarily informed that the havoc to the images was wrought by Sikandar, and every conceivable wrong is attributed to him. The continuance of such baseless stories must be steadily and strongly discouraged as forming one distinct factor in the cleavage that is being wrought in the relation of the great communities that inhabit India. This is no digression into politics, but a warning against the continual masquerade of myth as true and trustworthy history.

"Much harm has been done by this misreading of history," writes Pandit Prēm Nāth Bazāz. "Many young men have been misled in the past by absurd views about the political and economic conditions during the period when Kashmīr was under Muslim kings. Unfortunately these

views continue to be held even now and, what is still worse is that, on the assumption that Muslims maltreated Hindus in the past, it is believed that the two communities cannot unite now or in the future. This has brought about a reaction in the Muslim mind, and so mistrust and mutual enmity continue and even wax more and more. It is in the interest of our motherland that the past history should be analysed correctly and read scientifically, without prejudice or malice, sentimental make-believe or so-called patriotic whitewashing. Most of the histories were written by men who worked under the influence of the upper classes. Although their intentions were good, it is difficult to believe that they could judge the events dispassionately. We must therefore sift the facts according to the principles of scientific interpretation available to us now. We must look at facts from a comprehensive and a synthetic point of view and try to find how the masses and not only the classes fared during those days." (*Inside Kashmir*, pp. 19-20). Let us examine the story of Sikandar in some detail.

Even if Sikandar in his zeal for his own religion has transgressed the limits of moderation, it is unquestionably a false charge against him that he broke down all[1] Hindu temples in Kashmīr and cruelly persecuted every Pandit. What happened long before Sikandar was born? Did not the struggle between Buddhism and Brāhmanism spell ruin to many a fane? Ou-k'ong or Wu-k'ung,[2] a well-known Chinese pilgrim, who followed in the footsteps of Hsüan Tsang, reached Kashmīr in 759 A.C., and spent no less than four years engaged in the study of Sanskrit, and in pilgrimages to sacred sites in the Valley. He found more than three hundred[3] "monasteries or Vihāras in the kingdom of Kashmīr." Ou-k'ong, in Stein's words, is "trustworthy and accurate."[4] Where are these Vihāras? Is there any trace whatsoever left of them? And who demolished them? Were they mere mud structures?

1. Even the Rev. C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe, who ought to have shown greater regard for truth, writing in 1922, says in his *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, page 71: "Sikandar destroyed *all* their (the Hindus') sacred places." The Reverend gentleman is merely gramophoning hearsay and making no investigation of his own.

2. Notes on Ou-k'ong's account of Kaçmīr by M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Principal, Oriental College, Lahore,—Wien, 1896.

3. *Ibid.*, page 3.

4. *Ibid.*, page 25.

Jayāpīḍa (764-795 A.C.) made "a hundred Brāhmans less one seek death in water."[1] Çaṁkaravaraman (883-902 A.C.), as already stated (*vide* page 57) plundered the treasures of temples. To perpetuate his memory, he built the town of Paṭan and its temple from the material he had obtained by the plunder of the town and temples of Parihāsapura. But, strange to say, the destruction of its temples is popularly attributed to Sikandar. A copper tablet with Sanskrit inscription has been discovered which predicts the destruction of the temple "after the lapse of eleven hundred years by one Sikandar." This prophecy *post factum*, points out Sir Aurel Stein,[2] shows that its author, whoever he might have been "was rather weak in historical chronology. Parihāsapura had been founded only about six and a half centuries before Sikandar *But-shikan's* time. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the ruins seem still to have been in a somewhat better condition than now." Did not Abhimanyu II (958-972 A.C.) set fire to his capital and destroy all the noble buildings from the temple of Vardhana Swāmī as far as Bhikshukīpāraka" (or the asylum of mendicants)? The escape of this limestone temple is attributed by Cunningham[3] to its fortunate situation in the midst of tank water. Harsha (1089-1101 A.C.) took to the spoilation of temples and confiscated the cult images in order to possess himself of the valuable metals of which they were made. The exact words of Pandit Kalhaṇa[4] are: "There was not one temple in a village, town, or in the City which was not despoiled of its images by that Turushka, King Harsha." Not only this. One shudders when one reads verses 1091-4, Book VII. "He appointed Udayarāja 'prefect for the overthrow of divine images' (*devotpāṭanamāyaka*). In order to defile the statues of gods he had excrements and urine poured over their faces by naked mendicants whose noses, feet and hands had rotted away. Divine images....were covered with night-soil as if they were logs of wood....Images of the gods were dragged along by ropes round their ankles, with spittings instead of flowers."[5] Jonarāja also refers to Rājadeva (1213-1236 A.C.)

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1. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, English Translation, verse 638, Vol. I, page 178.
2. *The Ancient Geography of Kashmīr*—Calcutta, 1899—page 195.
3. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, 1871, page 96.
4. Stein's English Translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, verse 1095, Book VII, Volume I, page 353.
5. *Ibid.*, verses 1091-1094, Book VII, Volume I, pages 352-53.

who insulted the Bhaṭṭas and plundered them. "And then was heard from among them the cry, 'I am not a Bhaṭṭa,' (meaning Brāhman), 'I am not a Bhaṭṭa.'[1] Again, Dulcha's invasion in the beginning of the fourteenth century wrought havoc to "innumerable gods." Dulcha slaughtered the people and set fire[2] to the city of Srīnagar. This is not my language. This is not my translation. It is not my interpretation either. It is the language of Kalhaṇa and of Jonarāja. It is the translation of Stein and of J. C. Dutt. Now, does any one utter a word about these monstrous rājās like Jayāpīḍā, Çaṁkravarman or Abhimanyu or Harsha, or Rājādeva? But almost every Hindu child learns to heap curses on Sikandar!

Malik Sūhabhaṭṭa, Sikandar's[3] minister, appears to be responsible for the destruction of a few temples that took place in Sikandar's reign as Sikandar himself was an infant at his accession. In the words of Sir T. W. Arnold,[4] Sūhabhaṭṭa set on foot a fierce persecution of the adherents of his old faith: this, he did, probably, in order to show his zeal for his new religion. Ranjīt Sītārām Pandit has also said the same thing. "Sikandar," writes Ranjīt, "had married a Hindu lady named Çrīçobhā and was at first tolerant in religion like his predecessors but his powerful Hindu minister, Sūhabhaṭṭa who became an apostate hated his former co-religionists with the hatred of a new convert."[5] Perhaps, these temples may have also been used as places of conspiracies against the State as pointed out by a local historian.[6] But it must be distinctly remembered that this sort of religious zeal is deplored by Islam. In fact, it positively prohibits it. It is on record that Mīr Muhammad Hamadānī warned Sūhabhaṭṭa against such action, and pointed out to him the well-known verse of the Qur'ān (II, 256) which runs: 'Let there be no compulsion in religion.' It is true that Sikandar cannot be exonerated from his share of the blame that rightly falls to Sūhabhaṭṭa, but it is absolutely untrue that it was Sikandar who was

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1. *Kings of Kashmira*, page 10.
2. *The Valley of Kashmir*, page 189.
3. Sūhabhaṭṭa is the correct Kashmīrī pronunciation of Sinhabhaṭ or Simhabhaṭ or Baṭ.
4. *The Preaching of Islam*, second edition, page 292.
5. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, translated by Ranjīt Sītārām Pandit, Indian Press, Allahabad, 1935, page 628 (Appendix K).
6. *Bulbul Shāh Sāhib* by Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat, page 8.

responsible for the relentless persecution of every Hindu and the ruthless destruction of every temple.

It would, perhaps, be pertinent to the discussion if we took into account the weighty evidence of personages like Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt and Jahāngīr who have written about temples in Kashmīr and whose testimony is unimpeachable. Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt who invaded Kashmīr in 1531 A.C., long after the death of Sikandar in 1414 A.C., gives a considerable amount of detail about temples in Kashmīr in his *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*. Perhaps, a long quotation from him may be excused.[1] "First and foremost among the wonders of Kashmīr stand her idol temples. In and around Kashmīr,[2] there are more than one hundred and fifty temples which are built of blocks of hewn stone, fitted so accurately one upon the other, that there is absolutely no cement used. These stones have been so carefully placed in position, without plaster or mortar, that a sheet of paper could not be passed between the joints. The blocks are from three to twenty *gaz*[3] (literally, a yard) in length : one *gaz* in depth, and one to five *gaz* in breadth. The marvel is how these stones were transported and erected. The temples are nearly all built on the same plan. There is a square enclosure which in some places reaches the height of thirty *gaz*, while each side is about three hundred *gaz* long. Inside this enclosure, there are pillars, and on the top of the pillars there are square capitals ; on the top of these, separate parts are made out of one block of stone. On the pillars are fixed supports of the arches, and each arch is three or four *gaz* in width. Under the arch are a hall and a doorway. On the outside and inside of the arch are pillars of forty or fifty *gaz* in height having bases and capitals of stone. On the top of this are placed four pillars of one or two pieces of stone.

"The inside and the outside of the halls have the appearance of two porticos, and these are covered with one or two stones. The capitals, the ornamentation in relief, the cornices, the 'dog tooth' work, the inside covering and the outside, are all crowded with pictures and paintings which I am incapable of describing. Some represent laughing and weeping figures, which astound the beholder. In the middle is a lofty throne of hewn stone, over that a

1. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, English Translation, Elias and Ross, 1895, page 426.

2. That is, Srīnagar.

3. A *gaz* of Bābur's time was 26 to 28 inches.

dome made entirely of stone, which I cannot describe. In the rest of the world, there is not to be seen, or heard of, one building like this. How wonderful that there should here be a hundred and fifty of them." Mīrzā Haidar may have made mistakes in the course of the narrative of his version of the history of Kashmīr, but what he saw with his own eyes cannot be imaginary.

Jahāngīr (1605-1627 A.C.) speaks in no unmistakable terms when he says[1]: "The lofty idol temples which were built before the manifestation of Islam are still in existence, and are all built of stones which from foundation to roof are large and weigh 30 or 40 maunds placed one on the other." As Jonarāja says, Sikandar urged by Sūhabhaṭṭa "broke the images of Mārtaṇḍa, Vishaya, Içāna, Chakrabhṛit, Tripureçvara, Çesha, Sureçvarī, Varāha and others."[2] Note the word 'images' only.

For the destruction of temples we have, therefore, to attach the blame not to Sikandar but to the real destroyers—time and the elements, and defects of construction, which are so often the cause of ruin of dry masonry. "Earthquakes[3] and the imperfect fitting of the stones, observable in all Kashmīrian temples," remarks Stein,[4] "are sufficient to explain the complete ruin notwithstanding the massive character of the materials!" "Sikandar was brave and cultured," says Lawrence, "and attracted learned Musalmans to his court." In the face of all this evidence, it is surprising that a number of writers should revel in holding up Sikandar to ignominy. Facts belie the charge.

The conversion to Islam of the Khakha and Hatmāl tribes of Rājputs inhabiting the area to the left bank of the Jhelum between Bārāmūla and Kohālā is said to have taken place in the reign of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. Khakhu and Hātū, their leaders, were named Khakhu Khān and Hātim Khān. They took service at the court of the Sultān who granted them *jāgīrs*.[5] "The country between Muzaffarābād and Bārāmūla was "in the possession of the Rājās of

1. *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, English Translation by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. II, page 150.
2. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 60.
3. Pandit Anand Koul, in his *Jammu and Kashmir State*, 1925, enumerates 12 severe earthquakes (*vide* pages 98, 99 and 100) from 1500 A.C. to 1884 A.C.
4. *The Valley of Kashmir*, footnote, page 190.
5. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan* MS.

Kuhkuh and Bubnah" before the visit of Mīr 'Izzatullāh[1] in 1812-13 A.C. The area was then known as "Kūhistān or the Highlands of Kashmīr," he adds.

Shaikh Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī.

Fresh impetus to conversion was given towards the close of the fifteenth century by the arrival in 1487 A.C. and not 1450 A.C., as Lawrence wrongly puts it, of Shaikh Shams-ud-Dīn Muhammad al-Isfahānī commonly known as Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī who was a preacher from Tālish,[2] on the shores of the Caspian. Shams's father was Ibrāhīm. His mother came from a Mūsavī Sayyid family of Qazvīn. With the aid of his disciples, Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn won over a large[3] number of converts. According to Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt,[4] Shams-ud-Dīn arrived from 'Irāq in the first reign of Sultān Fath Shāh and converted many thousands of people. After this, he was crowned in the name of the Twelve Imāms. The Shī'as of Kashmīr contend that he was a true Shī'a, and that the *Ahwat*, or 'Most Comprehensive,' a book in Arabic, containing the tenets of the Nūr Bakhshī[5] sect,—prevalent

1. *Travels in Central Asia* by 'Izzatullāh in the years 1812-13. Written in Persian. Translated into English by Captain Henderson, Calcutta, 1872, page 3.

2. Tālish, a district and people in the north of the Irānian province of Gīlān, has belonged to Russia since 1813 A.C. The narrow strip of shore and mountain slope running north from the south-west corner of the Caspian and facing east over that sea is the Tālish country. The village Tālish is six *farsakhs* from Ardabīl. Under Irānian rule and even now, Lenkoran is the capital. The people call themselves Tālish and speak a local dialect. The number of Tālish living on Russian territory is 75,824 according to the census of 1922. Like the people of Gīlān, the Tālish are Shī'as. Their dialect differs very little from that of Gīlān.

3. Arnold's *Preaching of Islam*, page 124.

4. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, English Translation by Ney Elias and Denison Ross, 1895, page 435.

5. The Nūr Bakhshī sect is an attempt to find a *via media* between Shī'a and Sunnī doctrines. In winter, the Nūr Bakhshīs pray with folded arms like the Sunnīs: in summer with the hands hanging down like the Shī'as. Like the Sunnīs, they pray together and observe Friday prayers, but they do not wash their feet before praying and only perform *mas-h* like the Shīa's. The chief cause of quarrel arises in Muharram, as the Nūr Bakhshīs maintain that mourning should take place in the mosque, but the Shī'as do not allow this to be proper. For a fuller account of the Nūr Bakhshī sect, the article of Khān Bahādur Maulavī Muhammad Shafī', M.A. (Cantab), in the *Oriental College Magazine* for February and May, 1925, may be consulted. Nūr Bakhsh literally means 'enlightening.'

at present in Baltistān—is not his composition. Firishta says that Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn was a disciple of Sayyid Mu'īn-ud-Dīn 'Alī known as Shāh Qāsim Zar-bakhsh, the son of Sayyid Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh of Khurāsān,* Sayyid Muhammad being a disciple of Khwāja Is-hāq Khatlānī (*Supra* 92).

از غزلیاتِ امام العالم وغوث الاعظم امیر سیّد محمّد الملقب به نوربخش

خلّد اللّٰه ظلال امامته وخلافته علی کافة المسلمین اجمعین

تا بها در هوائے حور و قصور — ماندهٔ از وصالِ جانان دور

شو گرفتارِ عشق چون مجنون — یا خریدارِ دار چون منصور

تا بیابی ز بحرِ بے پایان — ذوقِ یک قطرهٔ شرابِ طهور

این چنین آفتابِ عالم سوز — پسِ دیوار گشته مستور

نوربخش است چشمهٔ خورشید — ذره گرد باش و فرقهٔ نور

[*Continued from the footnote of p.* 109]

Sir Wolseley Haig says that Shams-ud-Dīn professed to be an orthodox Sunnī, but the doctrines set forth by him in the *Ahwat* are described as a mass of infidelity and heresy conforming neither to the Sunnī nor to the Shī'a creed. Shams-ud-Dīn insisted on cursing the first three Caliphs and 'Ā'isha. Consequently, Mīrzā Haidar, on a religious pronouncement by Sunnī doctors of law in India, went about extirpating the heresay.—*Cambridge History of India,* Vol. III, page 286. Haig misspells as *Ahwatah*.

*Khurāsān, literally, ' the place of the sunrise,' is one of the five great provinces of Īrān.

In that delightful Province of the Sun,
The first of Persian lands he shines upon,
Where all the loveliest children of his beam,
Flow'rets, and fruits, blush over every stream.—Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh.*

من از جملهٔ خلائق برکنارم ازآں روزے کہ دیدم روئے یارم
زکیش و مذہب و ملت تجلی تبرا گشتہ‌ام دینے نہ دارم
نہ گبرم نہ یہود و نہ نصاریٰ نہ صابی نہ مسلماں نہ ترسام
نہ دیوانہ نہ عاقل مست و ہشیار مگر مسحورِ چشمِ آں نگارم

اے دل بیا بکوئے وفا خلوتے گزیں در مسلکِ سالکانِ رہِ بے نشاں نشیں
از ہرچہ غیرِ اوست تبرا نما بدل وانگہ بحق نما تولا چو اہلِ دیں
تجرید شو زہرچہ دریں رہ نہ درخورست بر آشنائیِ دوست برآور یکے اربعیں
تاہر کدورتے کہ بود باصفا شود از دستِ دیوِ نفس دہد جانِ نازنیں
بس نورِ حق مشاہدہ افتد ترا ابر مرآت روئے دوست شود از سرِ یقیں
سلطانِ تخت و مملکتِ سرمدیٔ عشق شاہی بود کہ کسب کند دولتے چنیں
از نوربخش ہر کہ طلب می کند بگو تا پیشِ قاسم آید و مردے شود متیں

Sultān Fath Shāh made over to Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn all the confiscated lands which had fallen to the crown, and in a short time, Chaks were converted by him. The Shīʻa doctrine, however, did not gain much support from the people of the Valley. Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn ʻIrāqī was buried at Jaḍī-bal, a quarter in Srīnagar, near which Kājī Chak built a large Imāmbāra in the reign of Sultān Muhammad Shāh. The grave of Shaikh ʻIrāqī is held in great veneration by the pro-ʻIrāqī party of Shīʻas of Kashmīr as the pro-ʻIrāqī party of Shīʻas do not believe in his being a Sayyid. Malik Haidar Chāḍur, himself a noted Shīʻa, also calls him Shaikh Shams-ud-Dīn ʻIrāqī, in his *Ta'rīkh*. There is a report that the dead body of Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn ʻIrāqī was removed to Chāḍur to avoid desecration by non-Shīʻas.



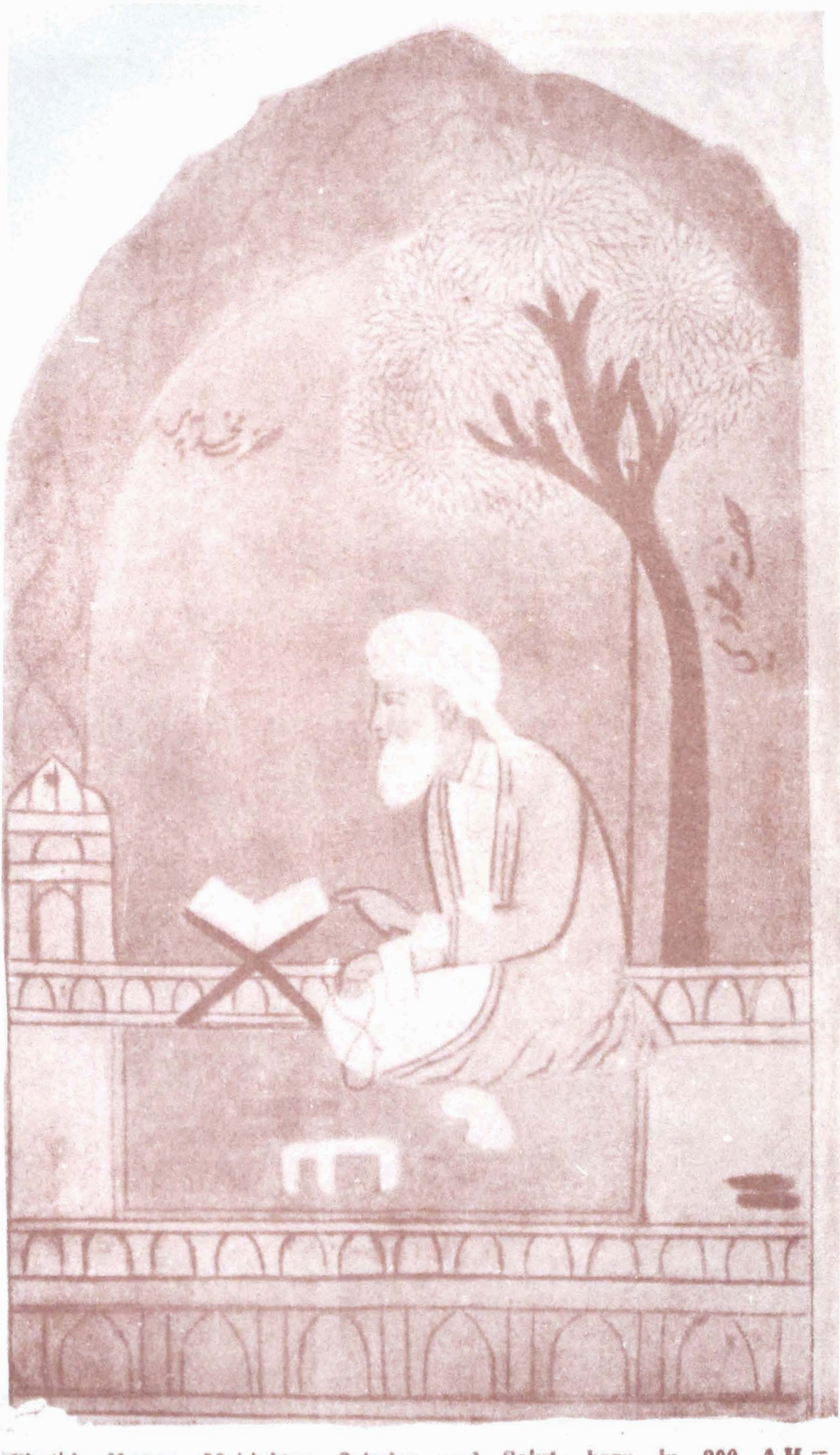
The tomb of Shaikh Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī at Tsōḍur or Chāḍur, also named Nūrpur after Nūr-ud-Dīn Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān.

Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm.

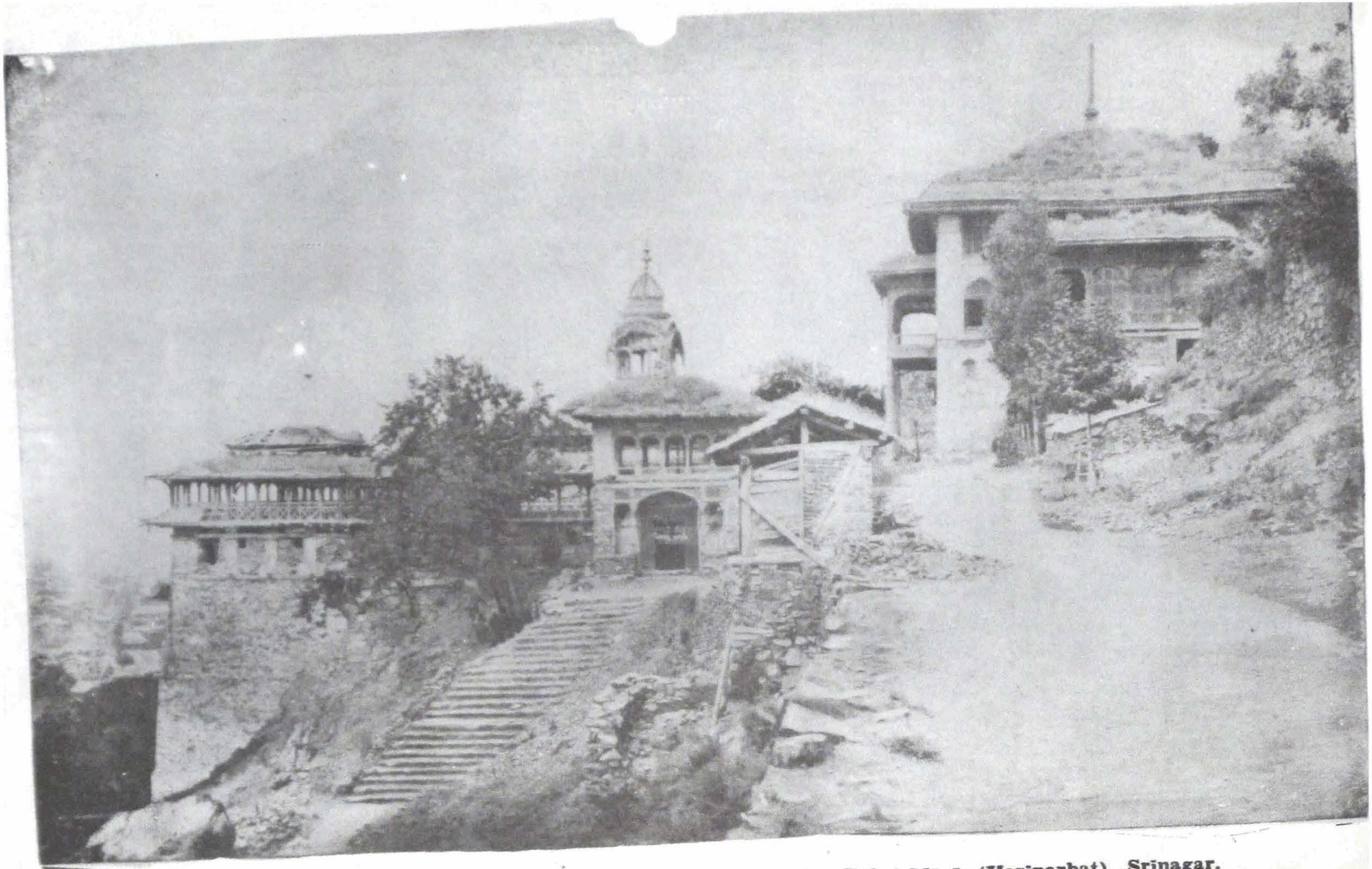
The spread of Shī'ism by Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī alarmed the Sunnīs. Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm by his influence and teaching exercised a considerable check on Shī'ism. Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm was the son of Bābā 'Usmān and was born in 900 A.H. (1394 A.C.) The family was originally Chandravançi Rājput. The name of Shaikh Hamza's *Khalīfa* is Bābā 'Alī Rīna.

After elementary study of the Qur'ān in Tijr, his village, Shaikh Hamza was sent to Bābā Ismā'īl Kubrawī, a well-known scholar of his time, who enrolled him in the college known as the Dār-ush-Shifā' at the foot of the Kūh-i-Mārān. Besides the Qur'ān, its exegesis, Traditions and the Fiqh, Shaikh Hamza studied Sūfī-ism and allied sciences. One of his noted teachers was Akhund Mullā Lutfullāh. Another was Mullā Fathullāh Haqqānī, the son of Bābā Ismā'īl Kubrawī.

When Shaikh Hamza was a force in the land, he was deported by Ghāzī Shāh Chak, the Shī'a ruler of the time,



Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm, Scholar and Saint, born in 900 A.H. = 1494 A.C. and died in 984 A.H. 1576 A.C. at the age of 84, during Chak rule in Kashmir. People crowd his tomb at the blossoming of the almond trees below the Hari-parbat, Srinagar.



The Ziyārat of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm at the foot of the Kūh-i-Mārān (Hariparbat), Srīnagar.

from the city of Srīnagar to a village called Bīru (about 20 miles from Srīnagar, *via* Māgām in Tahsīl Badgām). The Shaikh returned to the city only after Ghāzī Shāh's death.

A co-worker of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm was Khwāja Tāhir Rafīq Asha'ī Suhrawardī of Srīnagar. Khwāja Tāhir, in his earlier days was a trader in cloth. He gave up trade after a period of 12 years and betook himself to the service of his religion. Pīr Hasan Shāh says that Ya'qūb Shāh Chak wanted to get rid of him but felt afraid to carry out his intention. Like Shaikh Hamza, Khwāja Tāhir Rafīq left Srīnagar and passed nine years of his life in the hills of Mar-rāj. Subsequently he stayed with Ādar Sūh, a leading Brāhman of the Pargana Ver-nāg. Ādar Sūh embraced Islam. It was here in consultation with Khwāja Tāhir Rafīq that Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī, Bābā Dā'ūd Khākī and others left for India to invite Akbar to invade Kashmīr to relieve its people from the oppressive Shī'ism of the Chaks.

Shaikh Hamza was instrumental in setting up a large number of masjids in the Valley. He had also acquired control over his breath which he could hold pretty long. This particularly enabled him to enjoy cold baths during snows, which relieved his headaches due to long hours of devotional meditation.

Shaikh Hamza died at the age of 84, in 984 A.H. (1576 A.C.), during the reign of 'Alī Shāh Chak. Khwāja Tāhir Rafīq led the *jināza* prayer.

چو جستہ سال تاریخ وفاتش مناسب یافتم مخدوم مرحوم

—بابا داؤد خاکی

The Shaikh was buried in his favourite resort for meditation on a slope of the Kūh-i-Mārān. Nawwāb 'Ināyatullāh Khān, Sūbadār during Mughul rule, built the mausoleum in 1125 A.H. (1713 A.C.). It became dilapidated. Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn, Governor during Sikh rule, re-built it, and is himself buried in the eastern side of the enclosure. At the blossoming of almond trees, below the Kūh-i-Mārān, every year people crowd the tomb of the saint, witness the flowers in bloom, and offer *Fātiha* to Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm in memory of his great work in spreading Islam by his tours over, and trips into,

the remotest corners of the Valley.* Mīrzā Kamāl-ud-Dīn *Shaidā* expresses the Kashmīrī's veneration for Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm in his poem :—

ہدیہ بجناب شیخ حمزہ مخدومؒ

آسماں کو آستاں بوسی پہ تیری ناز ہے — ذرّہ ذرّہ اِس چمن کا مائلِ پرواز ہے
صُبح آکر تیرے دروازے پہ تھرّاتا ہے مہر — تیرے سنگِ آستاں کو چُوم کر جاتا ہے مہر
آپ کا محرابِ درہم کو ہلالِ عید ہے — ذرّہ ذرّہ کو یہاں پر دعوئ خورشید ہے
کوہِ فاراں میں یہ تیرا جذبۂ دیدار ہے — کوہِ سینا کی طرح یہ بھی تجلّی زار ہے
بارک اللہ! معنوی بیٹا رسولِ پاکؐ کا — عشق رگ رگ میں ہویدا سیّدِ لولاکؐ کا
آپ کی سیرت سراپا جذبۂ اسلام ہے — آپ کی آواز میں توحید کا پیغام ہے
خاکِ پا سے آپ کے خاکی بھی افلاکی ہُوا — بارک اللہ کیمیا وہ پیکرِ خاکی ہُوا
رو رہا ہے سامنے شیدا اگر خاموش ہے — آج پہلو میں عقیدتمندیوں کا جوش ہے
اِنقلابِ گردشِ گردُوں سے گھبراتا ہُوں میں — اپنی بے سامانیوں سے آپ شرماتا ہُوں میں
ملّتِ بیضا ہے قائم تجھ سے اے سُلطانِ دیں — ہے تری زنجیرِ در میرے لئے حبلُ المتیں

مرزا کمال الدین شیدا

شکر اللہ حالِ من ہر لحظہ نیکوتر شد است — شیخِ شیخاں شیخ حمزہ تا مرا راہبر شُد است

(بابا داؤد خاکی)

CORRIGENDA — *Read* "صحن" *for* "چمن" in the first line, and "ساران" *for* "فاران" in the fourth, of the Urdu poem

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*The *Tuhfa-i-Mahbūbī*, or the Life of Hazrat Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi in Urdu, by Khwāja Ghulām Muhyi'd-Din, editor, *Kashmir*, Barqi Press, Amritsar, 1931, is the principal basis of the above note.



Sayyid Muhammad Farid-ud-Din Qadiri of Baghdad, born in 1000 A.H. 1554 A.C., arrived in Kishtwar at the age of 75 to preach Islam and converted the Rajput ruler of the Valley of Kishtwar to Islam.

Under the Mughuls, Islamic influence was still further strengthened by many men of learning who came into the Valley. In the reign of Aurangzīb, Rājā Jaya Singh, the Rājput rājā of Kishtwār, is said to have been converted by the miracles* of Sayyid Shāh Farīd-ud-Dīn Qādirī of Baghdād, and was given the name of Bakhtyār Khān. His conversion seems to have been followed by that of the majority of his subjects, though Islam had already crossed over in Jahāngīr's and Shāh Jahān's times. The journeys of Mughul Emperors to Kashmīr also appear to have effected peaceful conversions along the route, as we still find rājās, the descendants of Rājputs, who adopted Islam.

Shāh Farīd-ud-Dīn Qādirī.

Sayyid Muhammad Farīd-ud-Dīn Qādirī, the son of Sayyid Mustafā, a descendant of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī of Baghdād, was born in 1000 A.H. (1551 A.C.). After his education, his extensive travels, his Hajj, his contact with Shaikh Jalāl-ud-Dīn Al-Maghribī in Mecca, and with Shaikh Muhyi'd-Dīn Qādirī in Egypt, he left Baghdād to reach Sind. From Sind he went to Āgra and then to Delhi towards the end of Shāh Jahān's reign. When Rājā Jaya Singh, who ascended the *gaddī* of Kishtwār in 1674 A.C., was the ruler, Farīd-ud-Dīn with his four companions Darwīsh Muhammad, Shāh Abdāl, Sayyid Bahā-ud-Dīn Sāmānī, and Yār Muhammad arrived in 1075 A.H. at the age of 75 to preach and propagate Islam in the Valley of Kishtwār. Jaya Singh's successor in 1681, Kirat Singh, also became Muslim and was given the name of Sa'ādat Yār Khān by Aurangzīb in 1687. Hāfiz Abu'l Qāsim Qureshī Akbarābādī, son of Ghiyās-ud-Din, was appointed Shaikh-ul-Islam and Chief Justice of Kishtwār. Kirat Singh's example was a further stimulus to his subjects. In 1717, Bhūp Dei, Kirat's sister, was married to Farrukh Siyar, Emperor of Delhi. Kirat's younger brother was Mīyān Muhammad Khān.

The chief temple of Kishtwār in the centre of the town was converted into a mosque, and now has the tomb of Shāh Farīd-ud-Dīn along with his youngest child Anwār-ud-Dīn, who died in infancy. In the second chamber, lies Akhyār-ud-Dīn. The tomb of Asrār-ud-Dīn, the eldest son of Farīd-ud-Dīn, stands at the other end of the town towards the Chaugān, the extensive open heath of Kishtwār. Asrār-ud-Dīn died at the early age of 18 in 1097 A.H.

* Arnold's *Preaching of Islam*, second edition, 1923, page 292.

(1685 A.C.). Akhyār-ud-Dīn, the second son, survived his father. Akhyār had his early education at Batāla, in Gurdāspur, Punjāb, under Sayyid Badr-ud-Dīn, Dīwān of Masāniyān, the well-known saintly scholar of that place, and later benefited by contact with several teachers at Lāhore, Siālkōt, Delhi, etc. On his return to Kishtwār, he helped in the spread of Islam. Akhyār died on the 7th Zulhajj, 1138 A.H. (1725 A.C.).[1]

Afghān rule also tended to increase the number of converts to Islam. A Brāhman originally of Rājwēr and latterly of Sōvarah near Srīnagar, accepted Islam at the hands of Mīr 'Abdur Rashīd Baihaqī (d. 1180 A.H.=1766 A.C.), and was named Shaikh 'Abdullāh who is the great great-grandfather of Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdullāh, a well-known leader of the day. Even during Dogrā rule, there is a notable instance of conversion. Sardar Waryām Singh, a tahsīldār of Kashmīr, became a Muslim under the influence of Shāh 'Abdur Rahīm Safāpūrī.[2]

After all the Fuqarā' Spread Islam in Kashmīr.

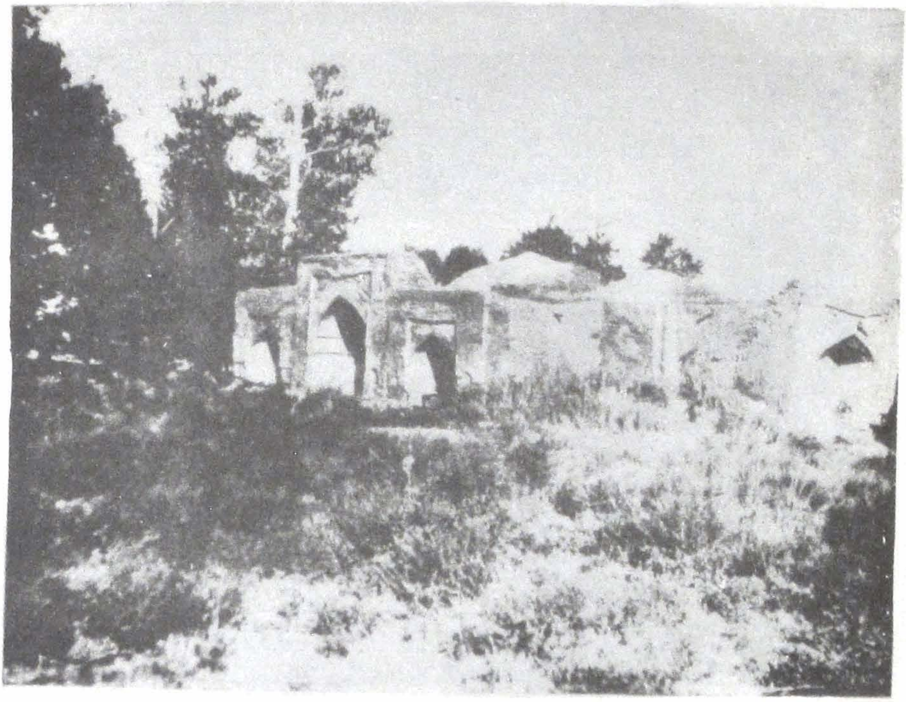
Such has been, in brief, the history of the propagation of Islam in the Valley of Kashmīr. From first to last, the spread of Islam has been, on the whole, generally peaceful. At any rate, Islam was never introduced into the Valley by a conqueror like Mahmūd, nor by a warrior like Shihāb-ud-Dīn, nor by a general like Muhammad bin Qāsim. In fact, the process was reversed. Islam was introduced by a simple *faqīr* or friar, named Bulbul Shāh, whose simplicity and piety impressed the reigning sovereign of the time, Rīnchan or Riñchana. The work was taken up and continued by *faqīrs*; and, though occasionally stimulated by the zeal of a convert like Malik Saif-ud-Dīn under a Sultān like Sikandar, its widespread, peaceful penetration was due to the piety, purity and simplicity of the Muslim *rīshīs* and saints who denied pleasures to themselves and worked for others. Thus the great Prophet who took pride in *faqr* or poverty, found *fuqarā'* (*faqīrs* or friars) to propagate his faith in the Valley of Kashmīr.

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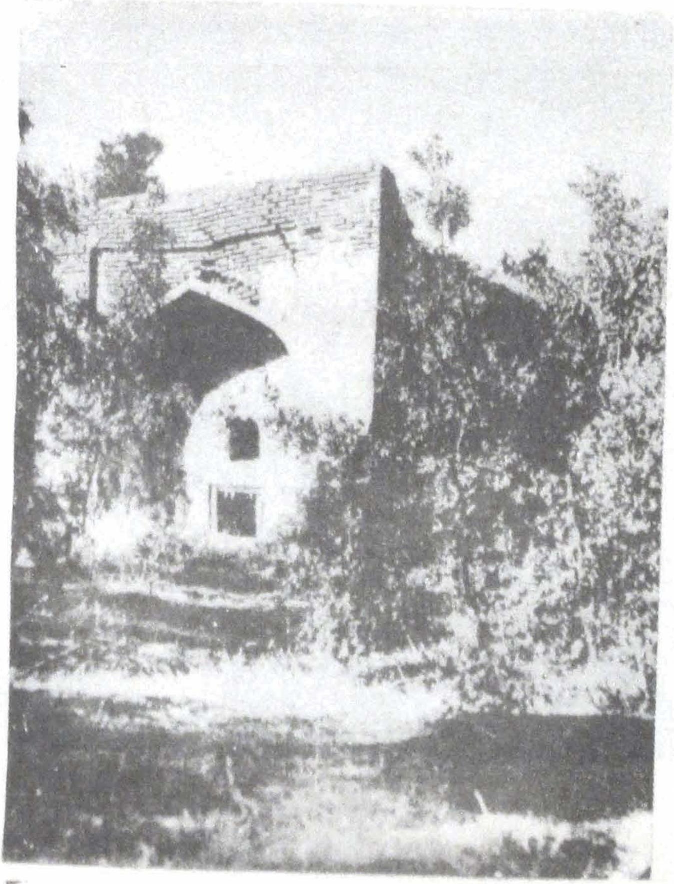
1. The above note is based on (1) *Rauzatul-'Ārifīn*, Persian MS., completed in 1259 A.H.=1843 A.C., by Hāfiz Ziā'-ud-Dīn ibn Hāfiz Nasr-ud-Dīn of Kishtwār, (2) *History of Kishtwar State* by J. Hutchison and J. P. Vogel, *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, vol. IV, No. 1, 1916, pages 29—50. (3) *Ta'rīkh-i-Kishtwār* by Sayyid Najm-ud-Dīn Shāhābādī, Takiya Poliya, near Ver-nāg, Pratap Steam Press, Srīnagar, 1334 A.H. =1915 A.C. Price As. 8.

2. The *Hayāt-i-Rahīm* by Abu'l Amīn Pīr Ghulām Ahmad *Mahjur*, Ravi Printing Works, Lahore, 1340 A.H.=1921 A.C., page 120.

The Mausoleum of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī in Khatlān, now called Kolāb, in Tājikistān, U.S.S.R.

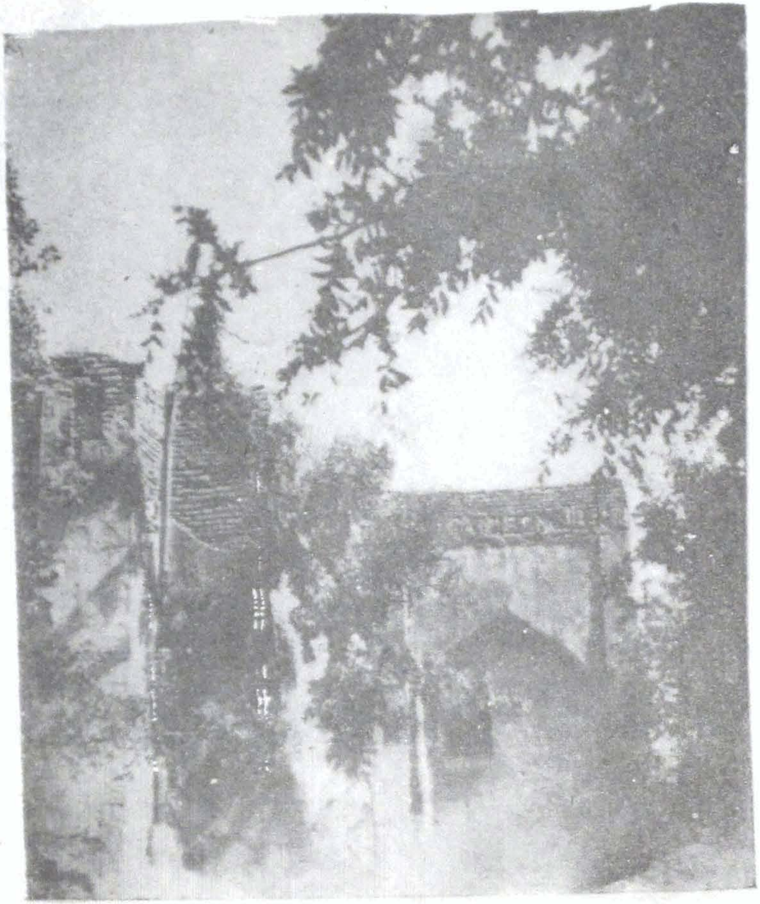


View from the South-East.



View from the East.

The Mausoleum of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī in Khatlān, now called Kolāb, in Tājikistān, U.S.S.R.



View from the North-West.



Mutawallis of the Mausoleum of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī at Kolāb.

Appendix to Chapter III

Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani's Mausoleum at Khatlan, now called Kolab, in the Tajik Soviet Republic, U.S.S.R.

The foot-note No. 2, on page 87 of *Kashīr*, describes the location of Khatlān where Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī or Shāh Hamadān was buried. But, at first, my attempts at obtaining photographs of his tomb were unsuccessful. It was at the Tāj Hotel, Bombay, early in the year, 1947, that I met Mr. Sultān 'Umarov, Rector, Central Asian University of Tashkent (Tāshqand), who introduced me to Professor E. N. Pavlovsky, Membre de l'Académie des Sciences d'U. R. S. S., both of whom came to India to attend the Science Congress at New Delhi in December, 1946. Professor Pavlovsky divides his year officially between Moscow, Leningrad and Stālīnābād. It is through his goodness that I got the photographs for which I am grateful to him. The information he has supplied will, I hope, be delightfully shared by the reader. Extracts from two of his letters are followed by Mr. Kolpakoff's descriptive note on the Mausoleum at Kolāb, the present name of Khatlān or Khotl..

In 920 A.H.=1514 A.C. the Emperor Bābur circumambulated the tomb of Shāh Hamadān, near which were groves of orange and citron.

Letter dated Leningrad, 10th September, 1947.

Dear Dr. Sufi,

I received a portion of the photographs which you required. These were taken by an employé of the Branch of the Academy of Sciences in Tajikistan in Stalinabad, A. Semenov. He, in company with another Orientalist, visited Kolab where he took the photographs. So far, I have received only the photographs of the Mausoleum of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani, seven of which I herewith enclose. I am sorry their quality is not particularly high, but I hope you will find some of them suitable for the preparation of blocks. If I receive more of these I shall certainly dispatch them to you at once. When printing subscription to the illustrations, kindly mention that these photographs were taken by Mr. A. Semenov.

Khatlan is now generally known under the name of Kolab (in Russian it is pronounced as *Kolyāb*). Its capital is a town of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, the crest of which you may see on one of the postal stamps on the envelope.

I am going to Tajikistan and, while at Stalinabad, I shall find more about the Mausolea which interest you, and shall write to you.

Yours Sincerely,
E. PAVLOVSKY

(This preceding letter from Leningrad, dated 10th September, 1947 written in Russian, was kindly translated for me by Mr. W. Ivanow, Colāba, Bombay.)

Letter dated Stalinabad, 5th October, 1947.

Dear Dr. Sufi,

As written to you, I am, at present, in Stalinabad (Tajikistan) where is situated the ancient town of Kolab in which you are interested. I sent you by air some photos of the Mausoleum which interests you. In Kolab there exists only this Mausoleum. It comprises 11 rooms and a row of tombs. I succeeded in obtaining here some photo negatives which I sent to Moscow for enlargement. I shall dispatch them on receipt from Moscow to you.

As regards the description of the actual condition of the Mausoleum wanted by you, I am forwarding to you, under cover of this letter, a cutting out of a local newspaper, *The Kolab Truth*, containing an article of my collaborator, Mr. Kolpakoff, who visited Kolab with the object of inspecting the Mausoleum, and of taking its photographs. This article, of course, is not very exhaustive, but, any how, it will give you at least some idea of the Mausoleum. Mr. Kolpakoff is busy at present in compiling a more detailed scholarly work, which will be sent to you when printed.

There is in the Tajik Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the U S. S. R. a special Institute of History, Languages and Literature. Its collaborators are extremely interested in the literature of the East and, particularly, of India. I shall be very grateful to you if you could kindly send me all the books written by you as well as by other scholars who would be prepared to let us have their works not only in English but also in Oriental languages. If there is any possibility of sending us anything concerning history or literature, and there is no inconvenience to you to lend us your assistance in this matter, please address us your messages as follows:—

Leningrad, Avenue of K. Marx, House No. 5, Apartment No. 5, E. N. Pavlovsky, Member of the Academy of Sciences.

Please accept our best regards and our wishes for success in your scholarly endeavours.

With respect.

Sd. E. PAVLOVSKY,
Academy Member.

The contribution of Mr. Kolpakoff to the newspaper "The Kolāb Truth" dated the 11th August, 1947, on the Mausoleum of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī at Kolāb, Tājikistān, U.S.S.R.

The Mausoleum situated on the eastern side of the town of Kolāb, known under the name of the Mazār Amīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī, was erected 596 years ago, and represents one of the most remarkable monuments of the Tājik architecture of the 14th century of our era.

It has been built, from its very foundation, in bricks cemented with liquid alabaster, and the surface of its walls, outside and inside, has been finished also with alabaster. The building, during the centuries of its existence, has been very seldom repaired and its alabaster finish has considerably crumbled to pieces.

The Mausoleum has four entrances: two from the north and, one each, on the eastern and southern sides. All the entrances have arrow-like arches over them. Inside the Mausoleum there are eleven rooms, out of which two are big and nine small. Every one of these rooms is surmounted by a spherical cupola.

The architecture of the monument is very interesting. The idea of its builder has been carried out in a most original way: a building, square at its base, has been converted at the top into a 12-cornered structure crowned with a spherical cupola built in bricks cemented together only with alabaster without any other wooden or metal reinforcements. Many earthquakes have taken place during six centuries, but the building still stands nearly intact, if we ignore occasional cracks in some of the minor cupolas.

In the central room of the Mausoleum, the Muhammadan scholar Amīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamādānī is buried. He originally came from Hamadān and lived, during the epoch of Tīmūr, in Bukhārā. The year 1314 has been indicated as the time of birth of Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī.

As a result of some disagreement with Tīmūr, Amīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī betook himself from Bukhārā. He travelled extensively in all the countries of the East. In search of knowledge he visited Arab lands. He prayed at Mecca and Medina, then departed for India, where he saw many cities. He stayed for a certain time in Kashmīr. Here he met idol-worshippers and converted them to the Muslim faith. There does exist in Kashmīr, until now, a mosque erected by him.

Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī also called at Badakhshān. At the end of his migrations, Amīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī settled in Kolāb, where he acquired a big plot of land for the erection of a mosque and mausoleum.

Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī's influence on the population of Northern India was considerable. As a result of his activities and propaganda, the population of Kashmīr was converted to Islam. There remains after his death a religious book, written by him under the title of the *Avrād-i-Sharīf*.

In 1384 Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī was buried in the Kolāb Mausoleum, which became thereafter the resting-place of his descendants. His sister Māh-i-Khurāsānī (Hirosoni, Māh-i-Khurāsānī?) and one woman, with the name of Āftāb-i-Pinhānī, as well as more than ten other descendants of Sayyid 'Alī have been interred in the same Mausoleum. There is also buried there Shoi Tolikoni, a Shaikh, hailing from the city of Tolikon [Tālikhān is a town with *longitude* 69·27 and *latitude* 36·45, and lies to the south-west of Mazār-i-Sharīf in northern Afghānistān] who resided in Kolāb in his capacity of guardian of the Mosque and of the Mausoleum.

To the south-west of the latter, at a distance of 20 meters from the corner of the building, there is an elevation in the ground whereon lies a marble stone of a very rare workmanship, with an Arabic inscription, relating to Sayyid 'Alī's biography. This stone of polished marble, weighing one ton, has been brought, according to an old legend, to Kolāb from India on elephants. This tombstone has been placed not inside the Mausoleum where Sayyid 'Alī was buried, but on a rising of the ground, where the graves of one of the grandsons of the famous conqueror, Tīmūr, known to Europeans by the name of Tamerlane, is situated.

This tombstone of a rare workmanship is considerably damaged in certain places, and a marble slab lying formerly over it, which had been intact till 1939, has been broken into several pieces. It is lying at present in this condition, in the Mausoleum, and bears also some inscription in Arabic which it is very difficult, at present, to decipher.

This remnant of Tājik architecture in Kolāb—the Hamadānī Mausoleum as well as the marble tombstone near the latter—do possess a considerable historical value. The local authorities should pay serious attention to the repair of the Mausoleum and to the conservation of the tombstone.

Sd. A. KOLPAKOFF,
Historical Sciences Candidate to the Degree of Doctor.

The Kolāb Truth, of the 11th August, 1947, No. 93/276.

(The letter from Stālīnābād and the article from the "Kolāb Truth" written in Russian were kindly translated for me by Mr. A. Elsingre of Messrs. Volkart Brothers, Karāchī, Pākistān.)

CHAPTER IV

THE SULTĀNS OF KASHMĪR

[1320 to 1555 A.C.]

The last phase of Hindu rule in Kashmīr before the Sultāns.

As already referred to, at the end of Chapter II, Hindu rule in Kashmīr terminated with the close of the reign of Rājā Sahadeva, whom Jonarāja calls " this Rākshasa" or demon "of a king," and adds that he "devoured" the country " for nineteen years, three months and twenty-five days" (1300-1 to 1319-20 A.C.). Consequently administration was paralysed. The contagion of immorality spread from him to his subjects. Debauchery and licentiousness were rampant. The foundations of authority were sapped. Instead of any financial or economic improvement, Sahadeva's rule was characterized by general decay

Ḍulcha's invasion.

Such a state of affairs could not fail to attract the notice of the neighbouring chiefs. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, Ḍulcha—called by Kashmīrī historians Zulchū—and already described as " the commander of the army of the great king Karmaśena " came down with a sixty thousand mounted force, and entered Kashmīr by way of the Zōjī-Lā towards the close of Sahadeva's nominal sway. Sahadeva had not the strength to meet Dulcha and give him battle. He sought safety in flight, and left Ḍulcha victorious and master of the situation. Intoxicated by success, Ḍulcha's followers oppressed and plundered the people to their hearts' content. Cities, towns and villages suffered unspeakable horrors of vandalism. Numerous inhabitants irrespective of age or sex were ruthlessly done to death. "Innumerable gods were destroyed." In addition to bloodshed and massacre, Ḍulcha also "took away the strong men from the country." In short, Dulcha's advent in Kashmīr resembled the bloody orgies of Chingīz and Hulāgū.

Thus Dulcha spent his time in Kashmīr in 1319 A.C. Fortunately for the people, the excessive cold of Kashmīr

frightened the murderous invader. Finding no other means of escape from the relentless clutches of a severe winter and possibly starvation too, Ḍulcha left the land. Pandit Bīrbal Kāchur has appropriately described the invasion of Ḍulcha in the following brief words: "He came, plundered, killed, seized and departed." No more graphic description of the terrible visit of Ḍulcha, whom he calls Zulchū, could be given!

Some historians have assigned a Turkish, Mongol or Tātār origin to Ḍulcha or Zulchū. At the same time, they have given him the name of Zulqadr Khān. It is not at all proved that he was a Muslim. It can be surmised that he was a follower of the Buddhist faith—his king was Karmasena. On account of his ferociousness, Ḍulcha or Zulchū may justly be called a Hun.

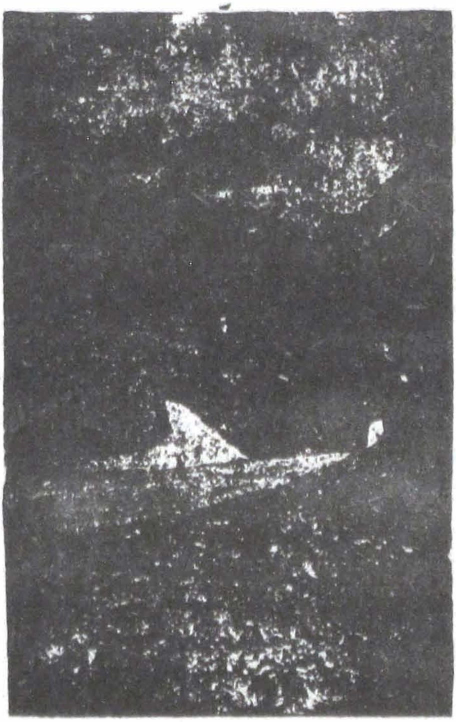
Ḍulcha's departure from Kashmīr left the country without a ruler or a central government. Factions appeared on every side with independent chiefs who acknowledged no authority. Here Riñchana comes to prominence. Of him we shall speak presently.

Sahadeva, notwithstanding his cruelty and selfishness possessed, to a marked degree, the virtue of hospitality. He was generous without regard to caste or creed. During his reign, which, as already noted, extended over a period of nineteen years, three months and twenty-five days, two personages of potential power entered his dominions. And he made adequate provision for both of them by assigning lands and *jāgīrs* in order to enable them to maintain themselves.

The first person who received hospitality at the hands of the Rājā was Lankar Chak, the ancestor of the Chaks, who succeeded the Shāh Mīrī Sultāns in the sovereignty of Kashmīr. Being defeated by his brother, Lankar fled from Dārdao or Dardistān and found a ready and welcome asylum in Kashmīr. The second case recorded by historians is that of Shāh Mīr, the son of Tāhir. Shāh Mīr came from Panchagahvra identified by Sir Aurel Stein in his map of Ancient Kashmīr, as the Valley between Būdil and Rajaurī and watered by the Panchagahvra stream. But Some histories mention Swāt or Swādgīr. Sahadeva received him with kindness and allotted to him a village.

Riñchana, a son of the ruling house of western Tibet or Ladākh, on the murder of his father by the rebellious nobles

of the court, fled from the country, and came to Kashmīr with his companions and soldiers during the invasion of Ḍulcha. In fact, Jonarāja makes him a joint invader with Ḍulcha. Other historians give different versions of Riñchana's visit. He also entered by way of the Zōjī-Lā as did Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt in 1532 A.C. This route connected Kashmīr with Ladākh and thence with Tibet and China. The photo below was taken when I passed the Zōjī-Lā in 1943.



Into the Zōjī-Lā Pass.

Rinchen, Riñchana or Rintan.

With regard to the name of Riñchana there appears to be some difference of opinion among historians. Some have adopted Ratanjū or Ranjū Shāh, while others Rechan, Renchan or Rainchan Shāh, though some also call him Ranjpoi or Ratanchan. One is inclined to accept Rinchen as correct because there is no controversy about his Tibetan or Ladākhī origin. In the Tibetan form, Rinchen means 'Great God.' Rinchan Shāh is a name even today used in Ladākh. Kashmīrīs, however, pronounce it Rintan and call him Rintan Shāh. We have also evidence to this effect in Khwāja Muhammad A'zam's work, the *Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr* or

the *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr A'zamī* (Muhammadī Press, Lahore, p. 60), in which a mosque is stated still to bear the name "King Rintan's Mosque." People even now call it Rintan Shāh's Mosque. The Sanskrit form is Riñcana as adopted by Sir Aurel Stein. We shall spell it as Riñchana.

Riñchana becomes king of Kashmīr.

We should not dismiss from our minds the chaotic condition prevalent in Kashmīr at the time due to Ḍulcha's invasion. The country had no ruler. Its old king Sahadeva, a pusillanimous creature, had disappeared. His commander-in-chief, Rāmachandra, had retired behind the walls of the Gagangīr[1] fort. Kashmīr obviously needed a strong, capable ruler. Riñchana who, according to Jonarāja,[2] was 'a lion among men' and was respected for his great intellect, happened to be on the spot. He had already won the hearts of those with whom he came into contact. The number of his adherents and partisans increased gradually till he became strong enough to seize the throne and enforce authority. His accession to the throne was not the result of an act of usurpation: rather it was almost a popular acclamation. Soon after his accession, he busied himself strenuously with the task of freeing the country from the evil influences which, owing to lack of proper administration and an almost complete absence of strong central authority, had become rampant at this time.

In considering himself without a rival, Riñchana however reckoned without his host. His exaltation to the throne naturally aroused in Rāmachandra a keen sense of jealousy and ambition. He, therefore, refused to acknowledge Riñchana's authority. Riñchana, acting wisely, offered him no open resistance fully realizing that the country had already suffered so much from the ravages of war. Furthermore, he was keenly alive to the dissension which had torn the country into factions, and understood the value of peace. He, therefore, resorted to a stratagem. For a considerable time, he sent to Gagangīr his Tibetan or Ladākhī subjects, disguised as merchants, who sold their commodities at very low rates. After he had disarmed

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1. Gagangīr, the old name of which is Gangangiri, is now a small village in the Lār *pargana* in the Sind valley of Kashmīr, prettily situated on the right bank of the river, about 10 miles west of Sonamarg. Pop. 393.

2. Jogesh Chunder Dutt's English Translation of Jonarāja's Sanskrit *Chronicle* entitled *Kings of Kashmira*, Calcutta, 1898, Vol. III, page 16.

suspicion in this way, he directed his men, duly equipped with instructions, to rise in rebellion the moment he arrived there. As a consequence of this coup, Rāmchandra was slain and his son, Rāwanchandra, captured along with his relatives. Thus, in 1320 A.C., Riñchana found himself the undisputed monarch of Kashmīr.

To further strengthen his position, Riñchana "planted on his breast queen Koṭa," that is, he married Koṭā Rānī, daughter of Rām chandra, and appointed his son Rāwanchandra the commander of the army with Western Tibet and Lār as his *jāgīr* or assignment. The step was also calculated to drive out of Rāwanchandra's mind all desire of vengeance. This purpose was completely achieved inasmuch as they began to live on perfect terms of intimacy and sincere friendship. Malik Haidar Chāḍura tells us that Riñchana gave Rāwanchandra the surname of "Jī Dūst,"[1] to express his esteem according to the old Kashmīr practice. A son was born of Koṭā and was named Haidar by Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn as Riñchana had become a Muslim and been given that name.

Riñchana's sense of justice.

Riñchana was gifted with the qualities of wisdom and justice, and always decided matters in an absolutely impartial spirit, neither caring for power nor wealth. Jonarāja[2] has recorded the following two cases which, strange as they are, serve to show how solicitous of justice he was, and how resourcefully he acted in deciding cases which would sometimes baffle even the wisest heads.

One day Timi, the brother of Ṭakka or Ṭukka[3] an old companion of Riñchana, forcibly took milk from a milkmaid. She cried to Riñchana for justice. He ordered that Timi should be brought into the court. The accused being brought in, Riñchana inquired from him if the milkmaid's complaint was true. The accused totally denied the charge. When asked to furnish further proof, the milkmaid said :

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1. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Ra'īs-ul-Mulk Malik Haidar Chāḍura —MS., page 121. According to this author, *jī*—master or lord—was used in Kashmīr to express one's esteem and respect for a person. *Dūst* means a friend. *Jī Dūst* would thus mean an 'esteemed friend.'

2. Jogesh Chunder Dutt's English Translation of Jonarāja's Sanskrit *Chronicle* entitled *Kings of Kashmīra*, Calcutta, 1898, Vol. III, page 20.

3. Ṭukka is probably Tibetan 'a Brugpa, pronounced Ḍugpa or Ṭugpa.—*The Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, Volume XXXVI, July 1908, page 187.

"Rip open the stomach of this man instantly, and if no milk is found in it, then I and my son should be killed." The stomach was ripped open and found to contain milk.

According to the dictates of civilized society, this method of meting out justice is utterly cruel and primitive; though, at that time, it did not appear so strange to a society which was far behind in its standard of civilization and had no definite code of laws for its guidance. Else Riñchana, himself a lover of justice, would not have followed it. Besides, this incident clearly indicates his complete impartiality, as also his utter disregard of the relative position of the parties before him. Further, it shows how accessible he was to his people that even such small matters could be brought before him. No impediment was placed in the path of the party seeking justice at his hands.

The other case was as follows. Two men living at Vānabal, a village in Baḍgām Tahsīl, had entrusted their mares and their foals to a shepherd. The strange thing about the foals was that they were of the same age and had exactly the same colour. When the mares and the foals were conveyed from their winter quarters to a summer pasturage, one of the foals died or, according to another version, "was killed in the forest by a lion." The two mares were unable to realize which of them had suffered the loss of its young one, and the result was that the surviving young one continued to suck milk from both as it desired. The shepherd, too, was unable to say which master had lost his mare's foal. The ownership of the surviving foal, therefore, became a matter of contention between the owners of the two mares. The suit was taken to the king who ordered the owners to bring their mares and the foal to a bridge of boats near the city. This being done, the king ordered the foal to be thrown into the river. On this, the mother of the foal also jumped into the river. The other only neighed. By this ingenious method, the king restored the foal to its real owner. When Riñchana "decided dubious cases in this manner, the people thought that the golden age had, as it were, returned." The feudal landowners or barons, called Ḍāmaras who were, at times, the cause of considerable trouble to former rulers, were brought under perfect control.

Riñchana, in brief, spared no pains in dealing out justice to the administration of which he devoted the remaining days of his life. And he likewise issued strict

instructions to all his officials. In the words of Jonarāja, "the illustrious Riñchana Suratrāṇa (Sultān) gave the country, which was weary of trouble and disorder, rest under the shelter of his arm." The people of Kashmīr witnessed again all the festivities with which they had been familiar under their former kings (*Kings of Kashmīra*, p. 19, also *The Indian Antiquary*, July 1908, p. 183).

Riñchana's conversion to Islam.

After he had restored order in the country, Riñchana turned his attention to religious matters. Though Buddhism[1] was nominally the prevailing religion at this time, the country was distracted by the dissensions of sectaries, whose hostile and contending claims to religious truth perplexed the inquirer dissatisfied with the national religion. At first the king sought guidance from the wise and scholarly priests of the Hindu faith. According to Pandit Hargopāl Kaul *Khasta*,[2] obviously on the authority of Jonarāja who mentions Çrī Deva Swāmī as the person referred to, they declined to guide him or initiate him into Çaivism. According to Pandit Bīrbal Kāchur and Ra'īs-ul-Mulk Malik Haidar Chāḍura,[3] they did all they could to enlighten him on the subject, but failed to satisfy him. Their diverse views on religion and their doctrine, which militated against each other, only baffled him. Undaunted by this failure, he did not abate his efforts. After much perturbation of spirit and constant prayer, it is said that, one night, he dreamt that some one was telling him : "Early in the morning the next day, the first person thou dost behold is thy guide." He acted on this advice, and the next morning observed from the roof of his palace a person with his face towards the west, apparently engaged in offering prayers in a manner hitherto unknown to him.

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1. Jarrett, *J. A. S. B.*, No. 1, 1880, page 17.

2. The *Guldasta-i-Kashmīr* by Pandit Hargopāl Kaul, Fārsī Ārya Press, Lāhore, 1883, Part II, page 101. Pandit Hargopāl Kaul *Khasta*, Pleader, was deported from Kashmīr by the late Mahārājā Ranbhīr Singh in 1294 A.H.=1877 A.C., "for fabricating lies against His Highness."

3. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*, Persian, MS., by Pandit Bīrbal Kāchur, page 64, owned by the late K. B. Pīrzāda Muhammad Husain *'Ārif*, C. I. E., ex-Chief Justice, Kashmīr.

The *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*, Persian, MS., by Ra'īs-ul-Mulk Malik Haidar Chāḍura, owned by K. B. Maulavī Zafar Hasan, Retired D phty Director-General, Archaeology, Nasheman, Delhi Gate, Delhi, page 125.

دید شخصے چو سرو بر لب جو   طلعتش صبح و آفتابش رو

خرقه پوشیده همچو خوش حالان   خوانده قرآن چو بلبل نالان

—سعدالله، شاه آبادی

Riñchana at once went to this man and asked him his name and his religion, and also the particular prophet whose follower he was. To these inquiries the stranger replied as follows :—

> " My name is 'Abdur Rahmān ; my religion is Islam ; I worship the one God who has no co-partner, and I am a follower of that Prophet whose message has superseded all previous messages and commandments." The saint, as stated in Chapter III, is popularly known as Bulbul Shāh.

The saint next proceeded to relate several of the anecdotes of the Holy Prophet together with a brief account of his mission. The king was deeply impressed by the clear and simple exposition of Islam, and accepted this faith assuming Sadr-ud-Dīn as his Islamic name. This conversion, in 720 A.H. (1320 A.C.), marks the beginning of Muslim rule in Kashmīr.

بلبل اسلام جب آیا ترے گلزار میں

اے گل کشمیر کیا وہ دن، وہ ساعت، یاد ہے؟

دیکھنا شاہی محل سے راجۂ ذی جاہ کا

گھر بلا کر پھر اسے دینا وہ دعوت یاد ہے؟

کلمۂ توحید پڑھ لینا وہ دل کے شوق سے

اور اس کے ہاتھ پر کرنا وہ بیعت یاد ہے؟

جنت ارضی میں اول تو ہی نومسلم ہوا

رفتہ رفتہ پھر ہوئی تیری رعیت یاد ہے؟

—کلام فوق، مطبوعہ ۱۹۲۳ - صفحہ ۱۶۵

Jonarāja does not mention the conversion of Riñchana to Islam. And yet he calls him *Suratrāṇa* (p. 19) which is the Sanskrit form of Sultān. He also calls Riñchana's son Haidara (p. 23). Shāh Mīr founds the Kashmīrī era from this very year, as we shall see later. Had this year not

been important in the history of Kashmīr on account of Riñchana's conversion to Islam, Shāh Mīr could have begun the Kashmīrī era right from his own accession in 740 A.H. (or 1339 A.C.), that is about twenty years later.

Taking a general survey, we see that, at this time, Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh ruled at Delhi, and his namesake at Herāt. Abū Sa'īd, the Mongol Īl Khān, ruled over Khurāsān during 1317-1334 A.C. Sultān Nāsir was the ruler of Egypt. In Spain, Mulūk-ut-Tawāif or petty kings continued. Edward II reigned over England and, in France, we find Charles IV; in Germany, Ludwig of Bavaria, and in Scotland Robert I. Benedict XII became Pope after the death of John XXII.

After Riñchana, his brother-in-law and commander-in-chief, Rāwanchandra, also embraced Islam. This example was followed by many nobles, and Islam became so popular that, within the course of two years or so, it could number many adherents.

During his brief reign, Sadr-ud-Dīn set up many buildings in Kashmīr. Immediately after his conversion to Islam, he built, according to the desire of Bulbul Shāh, a grand Khānqāh.* To this he assigned a number of villages so that the expenses of the Khānqāh and the needs of those who either resorted to it, or stayed therein for a brief period, might be met from their revenue. It is interesting to note that, in course of time, the name of the Khānqāh, *viz.* Bulbul Lānkar, came to be applied to the locality itself. Malik Haidar Chādura who wrote his history in 1027-30 A.H., during the reign of Jahāngīr, writes of this place: "The locality is still flourishing and also the Khānqāh, which has been recently repaired, retains its original condition." Jonarāja's allusion to Riñchanpōr, the town built by Riñchana apparently refers to the town round about this same locality which is now the Bulbul Lānkar *mahalla* of Srīnagar.

A Jāmi' or cathedral mosque was also built by Sadr-ud-Dīn. In this, Friday and the usual daily prayers were performed. This indicates the rapidity of the spread of the Muslim faith.

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* A *Khānqāh*, in Kashmir, connotes a mosque, a devotional retreat or residence. A *Ziyārat* is a devotional retreat, or a grave, or a tomb of a saint.

For his private use, Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn had built a palace and a mosque in which the famous Kashmīr stone known as Dewar Kaiyn was used. *Kaiyn* in Kashmīrī means a stone. Khwāja Muhammad A'zam, who lived in the twelfth century A.H., or the 18th century A.C., writes in his history of Kashmīr that "these stones are still found buried under *débris*." Both he and Malik Haidar Chāḍura, who preceded him and lived in the eleventh century A.H., write that the original mosque built by Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn was destroyed by fire, and a smaller one, known by the name of King Rintan's Mosque, was built on the same site. In this the stones of the previous mosque were utilized. We are further told by Khwāja Muhammad A'zam that it was very much in use also in his time, and that the usual daily prayers were offered in it. It now stands deserted and dilapidated in Bulbul Lānkar near the *Ziyārat* or tomb of Hazrat Sayyid Muhammad Amīn Uwaisī.

Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn's death.

The Sultān reigned for three years and one month and nineteen days. During this time, he skilfully organized Kashmīr into a corporate kingdom. He passed away on Friday, 25th November, 1323 A.C. (723 A.H.). The death is recorded to have been due to a disorder of the wind-humour brought about by the bitter cold of winter.* He was buried in a place to the south of the Khānqāh, Bulbul Lānkar, situated between 'Ālī Kadal and Nau Kadal, on the right bank of the Jhelum, a little below the *Ziyārat* of Muhammad Amīn Uwaisī, Srīnagar. The grave has been declared as a protected monument by His Highness's Government Notification, dated 2nd September, 1941 A.C., and lies in the Bulbul Lānkar *mahalla*.

The death of Bulbul Shāh, the Sultān's spiritual guide, took place on the 7th Rajab, 727 A.H. (1326 A.C.), in the reign of Udayanadeva.

Among the sole survivors of the Sultān's family were his infant son, Haidar Khān, whom Jonarāja calls Haidara, and his queen Koṭā Rānī who, we have reason to believe, remained a Hindu at heart. Sadr-ud-Dīn left his son, by a previous arrangement, under the personal supervision

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*Reference to the Bhoṭṭas or Bhauṭṭas in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kashmir, Translation and Notes on Sanskrit Text by Pandit Dayā Rām Sahni, and Notes from Tibetan Records by A. H. Francke.—*The Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, Volume XXXVII, July 1908, p. 186.



The tomb of Rinchana, afterwards Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn, the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir, buried in Bulbul Lānkar, between 'Ali Kadal and Nau Kadal, Srinagar.

and tutelage of his trusted councillor, Shāh Mīr, whom he had chosen to look after the upbringing and education of his son. It was Shāh Mīr's wife who performed the duties of a foster-mother to the infant king. Hence, the appellation of foster-father given to Shāh Mīr by some historians. A further account of Shāh Mīr will be given in its proper place.

Chaos in Kashmīr: Islam suffers a reverse.

After a brief reign as mentioned above, Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn, formerly Riñchana or Rintan, passed away having introduced Islam into Kashmīr. His infant son, Haidar Khān, being unable to take into his hands the reins of government, Koṭā Rānī was the Queen-Regent.

Koṭā Rānī's religion.

It is indeed very strange that, herself being the wife of a staunch Muslim, Koṭā Rānī, later on, adopted a course which throws grave doubts on her adhesion to the Muslim faith. But it is equally impossible to assert with any amount of certainty that she was not a Muslim. After King Riñchana's public conversion to Islam, she could not, in pursuance of the tenets of that creed, remain a Hindu, being the wife of a Muslim, because Islam does not countenance marriage or lawful conjugal relations between a Muslim and a non-Muslim, unless the latter is a *Kitābiya*.[1] It is not conceivable how Sadr-ud-Din, devout Muslim as he was, could have a non-Kitābiya for his wife. If it is said that he tolerated this relationship as a result of his own ignorance, it will also have to be admitted, at the same time, that the charge of conversion of Koṭā under compulsion has no foundation against Sadr-ud-Dīn. We may, therefore, assert that considering her safety and station in life to lie in professing Islam, Koṭā Rānī might have done so, but remained a Hindu at heart. Anyhow, her subsequent policy leaves no doubt that her profession of Islam had been out of diplomacy. She invited, from Gandhāra,[2] Udyānadeva, brother

1. In Arabic, one of 'The People of the Book,' used in the feminine gender.

2. Gandhāra, the corridor of India, and now the North-West Frontier Province, was the province of the Kābul valley which included the districts of Nagarahāra or Jalālābād, Lamghān (about 100 miles east of the Kāfiristān district), Kābul and the northern region towards Kūhistān, and the district of Gandhāra proper, formerly called Purushapura, but at this time Parashāwar, and today Peshāwar, the last so named by Akbar.

of Rājā Sahadeva, whom she married. And she invested him with regal authority with the support of Shāh Mīr. This widow re-marriage, and particularly with her husband's brother, would not be approved of in the ordinary Hindu society of that age though Draupadi marrying her husband's brother is a classical instance. It is, therefore, not improbable that Koṭā was not an out and out Hindu, at any rate.

Udyānadeva's return : his reign from 1323 *to* 1338 *A.C.*

As a result of Ḍulcha's invasion and his sojourn in Kashmīr in 1319, Udyānadeva had fled to Swāt or Gandhāra and stayed there till he was recalled and raised to the throne by Shāh Mīr. Jonarāja's words are: "Shahamera bestowed on Udyānadeva the country of Kashmīra together with queen Çri Koṭā" (p. 24). It was by no means a wise choice, because the Rānī's consort was not gifted with the noble qualities generally expected of kings. He was cowardly, and lacked wisdom and ability. The Rānī, however, had the foresight to keep authority in her own hands while she allowed her consort to be titular sovereign. Shāh Mīr and Bhikshaṇa Bhaṭṭa or Pacha Baṭ Kākāpurī, the one as commander of the armies and the other as minister carried on the government of the country. Koṭā had a son by Udyānadeva, named Bola Ratan, whom she placed under the supervision of Bhikshaṇa who was both a tutor and foster-father of the prince, his wife having served as foster-mother. According to Jonarāja, Shāh Mīr looked after Haidar and Bhikshaṇa the other child. And Koṭā was naturally "disposed towards both her sons" (p. 26). But as to the future of the two children we know nothing except that Shāh Mīr "imprisoned the two sons of the queen" (p. 32).

Invasion by Achala or Urwan or Urdil. Udyānadeva's flight.

Soon after Udyānadeva's return and his elevation to kingship, Kashmīr had to face another horde of invaders led by Urwan, also called Urdil by some historians, and Achala by Jonarāja. Udyānadeva, as before, sought safety in flight towards Western Tibet or Ladākh. It will not be out of place here to point out that Pandit Hargopāl Kaul *Khasta*, the author of the *Guldasta-i-Kashmīr*, describes this flight as the result of confusion and dread, on the part of Udyānadeva. He mistook Urwan or Urdil, who had marched across Hürapōr, the station for entrance and exit from

and to the Rajaurī direction, for Ḍulcha. It is, however, remarkable that the Rānī was not beset by any such hallucination.

Koṭā Rānī's appeal to her subjects: united resistance and the invader's retreat.

Realizing that she had been deserted by her consort, Koṭā Rānī rallied all her forces. In consultation with Shāh Mīr, she made an appeal to all officials and the people inviting them to offer a united front to the invaders, and so save themselves and the country. In this appeal, she recalled to their minds the deplorable conditions* which prevailed in Kashmīr after Ḍulcha's invasion. This appeal elicited a ready response and aroused feelings of patriotism among the subjects who willingly offered their services for the defence of their motherland. Accordingly, they met the enemy who had to retreat and sue for terms of peace, and was permitted to leave the country unmolested. It was a great achievement to the credit of Koṭā who won fame as the courageous queen of Kashmīr.

Udyānadeva re-appears in Kashmīr.

Notwithstanding his base desertion of her, Koṭā Rānī re-called and re-instated her consort on the throne after the enemy had retired from the country. However, the people remained incensed against Udyānadeva and refused him the respect due to a monarch.

Udyānadeva's reign lasted over a period of fifteen years, two months and two days. For this period, historians have recorded nothing but confusion and chaos. It must not be ignored that, in this régime, the councillors were the same as in the previous one. The example of the king, however, was such that their counsel availed the country little. In times of crises, when their counsel did prevail, as on the invasion of Achala, the country benefited. With regard to the retreat of Urwan or Achala, all historians agree in attributing it to Shāh Mīr's courage and ingenuity. As a result, Shāh Mīr was allowed a far greater share in the affairs of the country than was ever done before. He had now become the right hand of the Rānī and the mainstay of the kingdom during the nominal reign of Udyānadeva.

**Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Malik Haidar Chāḍura, MS., page 128.

Koṭā Rānī rules from 1338 to 1339 A.C.

Udyānandeva died in 1338 A.C. Koṭā established herself on the throne and removed the court to the fort of Andarkōṭ.[1] Moreover, in order successfully to execute the duties which now devolved upon her as the sole monarch of Kashmīr, she appointed Bhikshaṇa her chief minister, superseding Shāh Mīr who naturally raised the standard of revolt. Koṭā ruled the country for about five months.

The revolt of Shāh Mīr needs a little explanation. It is evident from the foregoing account that Udyānandeva was not capable of maintaining himself on his tottering throne without the strong and active support of Shāh Mīr who had won the hearts of the people by his tact, bravery and resourcefulness. It seems that Koṭā Rānī wanted to checkmate his growing influence by retiring to Andarkōṭ and through Bhikshaṇa, her chief minister. Perhaps, she foresaw Shāh Mīr's future ascendancy, and took this step which the latter construed to be tantamount to an open challenge. Shāh Mīr, therefore, naturally felt insulted at this show of ingratitude, especially considering the services he had rendered and the loyalty he had maintained at a time when he might easily have usurped the throne. Now Koṭā Rānī's ingratitude impelled him to a course of very strong action. The kingdom was falling into chaos and anarchy, and this was another incentive to Shāh Mīr to appropriate all authority to himself.

Shāh Mīr's ancestry.

Shāh Mīr was the son of Tāhir and the grandson of Qaur Shāh[2] of whom Jonarāja says he was "born of noble family." Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad calls him Shāh Mīr, son of "Tāhir Āl, son of Āl Shāshab bin Karshāshab ibn Nīkrūz" and refers his ancestry to "Arjun, one of the Pāṇḍūs." Firishta calls him Shāh Mīrzā. Once, when Shāh Mīr was wandering in a wood, he fell asleep and saw a dream in which a person predicted to him that his des-

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1. Andarkōṭ, old Andarkōṭh, and the ancient Jayapūrā, the capital of King Jayāpīḍa (764-795 A.C.), the grandson of Lalitāditya, is a village about a mile from Sumbal on the left bank from the bridge over the Jhelum, and five miles below Shādīpōr. Andarkōṭ now consists of 143 houses, and has a population of 1,171. All are Muslims, half Shī'as and half Sunnīs. Andarkōṭ has the grave of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn Shāh Mīr in a small poky room about 20 feet square, having walls of half-baked bricks.

2. *Qaur* means iron, or an instrument, or a weapon in Turkish.

cendants would rise to the dignity of the kingship of Kashmīr. It is not difficult to imagine that a prediction like this could not but spur the ambition of Shāh Mīr who, judging from his position and power, could successfully defy and set aside the authority of the ruling monarch. He had come to Kashmīr in the year 1313 A.C., in the reign of Sahadeva, and had known it for these twenty-five years. As we learn from Jonarāja, Shāh Mīr had grandsons—Shirhshāṭaka (Shīr-āshāmak) and Hinda (Hindāl) at this time, we can conclude that he was well advanced in years.

The end of Koṭā Rānī.

Still Shāh Mīr did not adopt a course of open rebellion. He, at first, sent the twice-widowed queen, proposals of marriage which she rejected with scorn. This refusal of Koṭā Rānī can be explained in several ways. She might have felt an aversion to marry the foster-father of her own son, Haidar Khān, though Islam has not placed any ban on such a union. It is also probable that she might have thought it beneath her dignity to marry a servant of the state. But, then, she had already been the wife of Riñchana, at one time an invader of her country and the murderer of her father, Rāmachandra.

There could be but one consequence of Koṭā Rānī's rejection of Shāh Mīr's proposals, and this immediately manifested itself. Shāh Mīr invested Andarkōṭh now known as Andarkōṭ (the site of King Jayāpīḍa's capital, Jayapōr or Jayāpīḍapōr) with a large army. The Rānī's chief minister, Bhikshaṇa, was killed by Shāh Mīr by a strategem. Her nephew Achaladeva, Rāwanchand's son, was only a minor. The majority of her subjects favoured Shāh Mīr. It was, therefore, small wonder that some of Koṭā Rānī's adherents deserted her. She had to bow before the supreme will of Shāh Mīr. She, therefore, yielded a reluctant consent to the espousal. Malik Haidar Chāḍura is not clear on what exactly happened immediately after Koṭā's marriage. He asserts that the inhabitants of Andarkōṭ corroborate the committal of suicide by Koṭā which agrees with Jonarāja* who states that Koṭā Rānī spent one night as Shāh Mīr's wife and that the next day—tenth bright lunar day in the month of Shrāvaṇa in the year 3915 Laukika—she was seized and "put in prison." She may have killed herself in her imprisonment. Her two sons were also imprisoned as we have stated already.

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* *Kings of Kashmīra*, 1898, Volume III, page 32.

SULTĀN SHAMS-UD-DĪN I

[740 *to* 743 *A.H.* *or* 1339 *to* 1342 *A.C.*]

Shāh Mīr, Jonarāja's Çrī Shamsadīna, ascended the throne, according to Malik Haidar, in the year 753 A.H. (1352 A.C.). Bīrbal Kāchur* places Shāh Mīr's accession in the year 743 A.H. (1342 A.C.) and his death in 747 A.H. (1346 A.C.). Khwāja Muhammad A'zam, in his *Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr* and Pīr Hasan Shāh in his *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* also give the same dates. Malik Haidar Chāḍura, omits to mention the date of Shāh Mīr's death. He contents himself with the remark that Shāh Mīr ruled for three years and five months. This period mostly agrees with that of Jonarāja who says three years and five days, while Abu'l Fazl has two years, eleven months and twenty-five days. Obviously this is an error, and we can safely put the date of Shāh Mīr's accession at 740 A.H. or 1339 A.C., on the testimony of Jonarāja who gives the date of the deposition of Koṭā Rānī as 10 Shrāvaṇa Shudi Laukika or old Kashmīr Samat 3915 which corresponds with 1339 A.C. Shāh Mīr's accession is particularly notable for the fact that it marks the firm establishment of Muslim authority in both its religious and secular aspects in Kashmīr. It is true that, with the conversion of Riñchana, Kashmīr had come directly under Islamic influence, but its continuity was broken by the death of that king and consequent chaos under Koṭā and Udyānadeva. Shāh Mīr, though a foreigner to Kashmīr, it must be set down to his credit, saved Kashmīr from foreign aggression. He also saved it from becoming a province of the Tughluqs of Tughluqābād or Delhi. Kashmīr may have lost its independence. It is Shāh Mīr who saved its freedom and his descendants sustained that freedom for over two centuries. Shāh Mīr assumed the title of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn.

Shams-ud-Dīn's descendants known in Kashmīr as Shāh Mīrīs, continued to exercise sovereign authority over Kashmīr for over two centuries. Shāh Mīr's reign was beneficial for Kashmīr, as it brought peace and settled

* Pandit Bīrbal Kāchur wrote his *History* in 1251 A.H. or 1835 A.C., when Kashmīr was under Ranjīt Singh. Bīrbal was a great scholar of Persian, and a poet too. Kāchur, or Kāchru, was added to his name, it appears, on account of his employment under a Pandit family of that name as affirmed by Pandit Anand Kaul Bāmzaī.

government, or as Jonarāja says he "assuaged the troubles of Kashmīr and changed its condition." He abolished the exactions of his predecessors. He repaired the ruin caused by the invasion and extortion of Ḍulcha whose ravages had left for generations the traces of his incursion. The Sultān by written orders fixed one-sixth of the produce as land-tax. Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn introduced what is called the Kashmīrī era from the accession and conversion of Riñchana in 720 A.H. (1320 A.C.), which continued till the advent of Mughul rule in 1586 A.C. in the Valley. This new Kashmīrī era officially superseded the old Kashmīrī era known as Laukika or Sapt Rishī Era under Hindu rule. This new era was used in State documents and on tombstones, some of which preserve their inscriptions to this day. I was interested to know that Kashmīrī zamīndārs use this Kashmīrī calendar even now. It is a luni-solar system, stands at 625 in 1944 A.C. or 1363 A.H. The Sultān raised two families—the Chaks or Chakrecas or Chakras and Māgres or Mārgeshas of the *Chronicles* and not Mākres of Colonel Haig and others—to importance and drew from them his generals and soldiers. In the words of Wolseley Haig,[2] Shāh Mīr used "wisely and beneficially the power he had acquired. The Hindu kings had been atrocious tyrants, whose avowed policy had been to leave their subjects nothing beyond a bare subsistence. He ruled on more liberal principles." The author of the *Ta'rkīh-i-Hādī*, as it were, translates Col. Haig in the following couplet :—

در عدالت مُوشگافی کرد شاهِ شمسِ دین

بُود اندر شُغلِ حق اُو بے نظیر و بے قرین —تاریخ هادی

Shams-ud-Dīn died on the full moon day of Ashāḍha in the year 18 Laukika or 1342 A.C. or 743 A.H. The chronogram is—

آمده شمس باز زیرِ سَحاب

[The sun, then, came under the cloud.]

The tomb of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn at Andarkōṭ near Sumbal was declared a protected monument in 1941. The actual grave is about 5 feet long, covered over by latticed wood.

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1. *Kings of Kashmīra* by Jogesh Chunder Dutta, Calcutta, 1898, Vol. III, page 32.
2. *The Cambridge History of India*, 1928, Vol. III, page 277.

The people of Andarkōt call it the grave of Sultān Bādshāh, some holy man, little knowing that he was the founder of Muslim rule in Kashmīr about whom Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad had said:—

رایتِ پادشاهِ دین پرور — سایه افگند بر جهان یکسر
مُسرعانِ فلك رسانیدند — خبرِ عدلِ اُو به هر کِشور
قالبِ فتنه گشت زار و نزار — خانهٔ ظُلم گشت زِیر و زبر
—طبقاتِ اکبری
از خواجه نظام الدین احمد - جلد سوُم - صفحه ۶۳۶

[The standard of the Bādshāh, the Cherisher of the Faith,
Cast its mighty shadow over all the world;
The messengers of the sky conveyed
The news of his justice to countries all.
The body of disturbance became weak and thin,
The house of oppression into ruin fell.]*

SULTĀN JAMSHĪD
[743 *A.H.* or 1342 *A.C.*]

Shams-ud-Dīn died in his eightieth year. His eldest son, Jamshīd, succeeded him in 743 A.H. or 1342 A.C. But soon after quarrels arose between him and his younger brother 'Alī Sher. These lingered on for some time when Jamshīd was defeated at Vantipōr (Avantipur). 'Alī Sher assumed the title of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn in the same year, *viz.* 743 A.H. (or 1342 A.C.). Jamshīd, however, lived for a period of one year and ten months after his dethronement. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says that Shāh Mīr had two other sons also, one called Shīr Āshāmak and the other named Hindāl and they also aspired to greatness.

There is little of importance recorded by historians about the short reign of Jamshīd except that he built a bridge at Sopōr. The author of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr A'zamī* gives the names of three saintly anchorites, namely Khalāsman, Palāsman and Yāsman, all brothers, who passed their lives in devotion and retirement.

SULTĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN
[743 *to* 755 *A.H.* or 1342 *to* 1354 *A.C.*]

Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn reigned for twelve years, eight months and thirteen days. His reign was essentially a period of peace

*B. De's English Translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Vol. III, p. 636.



The lowly looking, dilapidated tomb of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn Shāh Mīr or Mīrzā, great founder of the first Muslim the dynasty of Kashmīr, buried in Andarkōṭ, about a mile from Sambal or Sunbal, 5 miles below Shādipōr, on the Jhelum.

and internal reform, and aimed at the alleviation of suffering and the amelioration of the hard conditions which were the direct result of Dulcha's and Achala's incursions. Towns and cities which had become depopulated were re-populated. A townlet bearing the name 'Alā-ud-dīnpōr was built at Srīnagar. 'Alā-ud-dīnpōr subsequently became the name of a *mahalla* of Srīnagar on which the " Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā " and Malik Āñgan wards now stand. The Sultān showed himself in advance of his time in the matter of social legislation when he promulgated a law that no unchaste childless widow should have any share of her husband's property from her father-in-law. A severe famine occurred during the second year of his reign. The king extended a helping hand to the people of the famine-stricken area with a view to reducing their hardship. Lalla, the hermitess, attracted general notice during this reign. " The great and wise king," writes Jonarāja,[1] " made Jayapīḍāpura his capital, and built at Çrī Riñchanpura, an edifice named Budhagira." Budhagira is now a *mahalla* or quarter near 'Ālī Kadal in Srīnagar. This edifice built by 'Alā-ud-Dīn was used as a resting-place for travellers in his time and thereafter, and appears to have been used by traders from Ladākh and Baltistān.

The Sultān passed away in the year 755 A.H. (or 1354 A.C.), and was buried in 'Alā-ud-dīnpōr. He left two sons, namely, Siyāmuk—afterwards known as Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn—and Hindāl, afterwards Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn. Some historians have called Shihāb-ud-Dīn and Qutb-ud-Dīn the brothers of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn. This is wrong. Shihāb-ud-Dīn succeeded 'Alā-ud-Dīn.

The Sultanate

The adoption of the title of *Sultān* by Muslim rulers is somewhat difficult to explain. Sir Thomas Arnold[2] contends that the explanation has never been fully given. The word itself occurs in the Qur'ān merely in the abstract sense of 'power,' or 'authority.' But, as early as the end of the first century of the Hijra, it was used in Egyptian Papyri as the common expression for the governor of a province. So, continues Sir Thomas, it came to be applied to an official

1. *Kings, of Kashmīra*, Vol. III, page 37.
2. *The Caliphate* bySir Thomas Arnold, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 924, page 202.

to whom power had been delegated. As independent rulers set themselves up in the provinces of the empire, it became common among them to adopt the title of 'Sultān.' In this respect the Saljūqs appear to have set the example, though it is commonly asserted that Mahmūd of Ghazna (998-1030 A.C.) was the first Muslim potentate of importance to adopt the title. Like many other titles *Sultān* gained in dignity by being assumed by great and powerful monarchs, while the rulers of petty provinces contented themselves with the words Malik, Khān, etc. The influence of Turkistān, therefore, is apparently responsible for the introduction of the term in Kashmīr. The Chaks, however, adopted the title of 'Bādshāh' in rivalry of the Mughul Emperors of India.

SULTĀN SHIHĀB-UD-DĪN

[755 *to* 775 *A.H.* *or* 1354 *to* 1373 *A.C.*]

Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Jonarāja's Shahāvadīna, succeeded his father, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, in 755 A.H. (1354 A.C.). Previous to his assumption of the reins of government, he was nicknamed Siyāmuk corrupted from Shīr-āshāmak, the little milk-drinker. Jonarāja's early names of Shihāb-ud-Dīn are Shirhshāṭaka and Shivasvāmika, or Mīr Ashātāk of the *Siyar-ul-Mut'akhkhirīn* (Vol. I, p. 194) which should presumably be looked upon as variants of this nickname.

Shihāb-ud-Dīn's reign represents the most glorious period of the sovereignty of the Sultāns of Kashmīr. It was the period of military prowess shown by the Kashmīrīs. Shihāb-ud-Dīn was the first of the Kashmīrī Muslim monarchs who marched out with the purpose of making foreign conquests. He counted as lost those brief periods of time in which he obtained no victory. "Deer-eyed women attracted not his mind, nor the pleasures of drinking, nor the light of the moon," writes Jonarāja.* Only the march with his army, he continues, occupied the king's attention. "Neither heat nor cold, nor evening nor night, neither hunger nor thirst obstructed his march. When this proud king was on his march, he found no difficulty in crossing unfordable rivers, inaccessible mountains and barren deserts." Shihāb-ud-Dīn in Kashmīr history figures next to Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa. "Adorned with pearls and necklace, this king was the most prominent

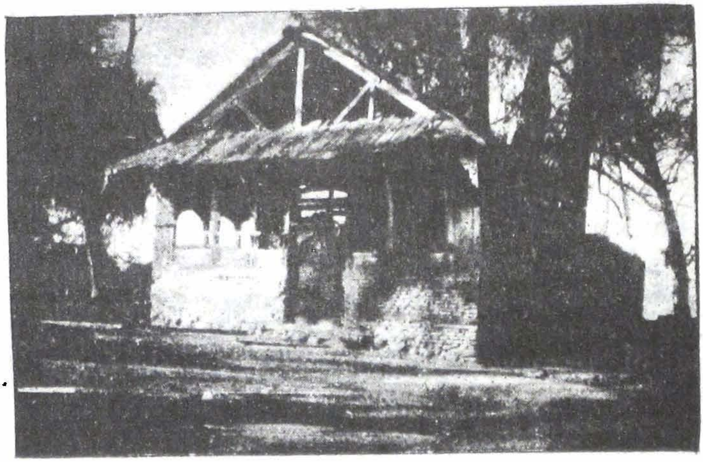
**Kings of Kashmīra*, Vol. III, page 38.

among all the great kings past and future as the central jewel is prominent in the necklace," adds Jonarāja. Sir Muhammad Iqbāl echoes this view when he says—

عمرها گل رخت بر بست و کشاد   خاک ما دیگر شہاب الدین نزاد

—جاوید نامہ

Commanders under the Sultān, according to Jonarāja, were Chandra Ḍāmara or Ḍār and Laula Ḍāmara and Shūra. Muslim historians add Sayyid Hasan Bahādur son



The tomb of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn's Commander-in-Chief Achala or Abdāl Rina, known as Malik Sāhib, near Chāḍura.

of Sayyid Tāj-ud-Dīn Hamadānī, as war minister. Sayyid Hasan, according to the *Fatahāt*, was the Sultān's son-in-law. Achala or Abdāl Raina or Rīna, formerly Achaladeva, son of Rāwanchandra whom we noticed on page 125 is another addition.

Shortly after his accession, Shihāb-ud-Dīn thoroughly re-organized his military forces. The composition of Kashmīrī armies must have been furnished by people from the hill-country of Pūnch, Rajaurī, Būdil (on the route from Srīnagar to Akhnūr), and the areas between Muzaffarābād and Bārāmūla—called Kūhistān or the Highlands of Kashmīr.

Shihāb-ud-Dīn conquered Tibet, consisting of Great Tibet or Ladākh, and Little Tibet or Baltistān from the ruler of Kāshghar. Kishtwār and Jammu were added. He then proceeded with an army consisting of 50,000 horse and 5,00,000 foot through the Punjāb, and encamped on the banks of the Indus where he was opposed by the Jām of Sind (Brigg's *Firishta,* Volume IV, page 458)

whom he completely defeated. Probably this Jām was Jām Banhatiya who ruled from 1344 to 1359 A.C. The history of Sind during this period is not extant and, therefore, verification of this victory over Sind by Shihāb-ud-Dīn is not forthcoming from Sind sources. Elliot and Dowson also deplore the gap of this part of Sind history. (See volume I, page 484). Jonarāja, however, mentions it. Sir Wolseley Haig in the *Cambridge History of India* (Volume III, page 278) says: "At the beginning of his reign, he led an army to the borders of Sind and defeated the Jām on the banks of the Indus." The defeat of the Jām was so crushing that, when the report reached the kingdoms of Qandahār and Ghaznī,[1] the rulers of those places became apprehensive lest he should next make a descent upon them. Shihāb ud-Dīn, however, took Und, Ohind or Waihind or Hend—pronounced by the Pathān as Hind. Und was formerly known as Udabhāṇḍa, the capital of Gandhāra, and is situated 16 miles above Attock. At Peshāwar he defeated the Afghāns and put to death many of the inhabitants who opposed him. Thence he marched through the passes of the Hindu-Kush subduing Kāshghar, Badakshān and Kābul.

[Here the reader need not be reminded that "the country, now termed Afghānistān, had merely consisted of a congeries of petty states, ruled by tyrannical chiefs who were frequently at war with one another. Later, it became provinces of great empires which were ruled by foreign conquerors and their descendants. Later again, it was a dismembered country, with its provinces held by three neighbouring states"[2]—Īrān, Turkistān and India. For the first time in its chequered history, Afghānistān became an independent state under Ahmad Shāh Durrānī (1724-73)—who by conquering Kashmīr, as it were, counterbalanced Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn's conquest of Kābul.]

Shihāb-ud-Dīn raised many columns of victory in the course of his conquest. On his return he established a cantonment in the plains on the banks of the Satluj. Here in 1361 A.C. (763 A.H.), he was met by Udakpati, the Rājā of Nagarkōṭ (Kāngṛa), who had returned from a plundering excursion into the territory of Fīrūz Tughluq round Delhi. Udakpati, having come back laden with spoils, placed them at the feet of Shihāb-ud-Dīn and acknowledged

1. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī of* Mullā 'Abdul Bāqī Nahāvandī, Vol. I, page 203.

2. *A History of Afghanistan* by Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes, London, 1940, Vol. I, page 367.

KASHMIR UNDER SULTAN SHIHAB-UD-DIN.

[Marked Yellow]

To face page 138 of Dr. Sufi's 'Kashir'.



Approximate extent of the Kingdom of Kashmir under Sultan Shihab-ud-Din (1354-73 A.C.) on a mode map. The Kingdom comprised Kashmir, the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier Province, and extended Kabul on the west and Kashghar to the north.

fealty to him. It is to this phase of the Kashmīrī that Sir Muhammad Iqbāl refers—

در زمانے صف شکن هم بُوده است   چیره و جانباز و پُردم بُوده است

It is noteworthy that, after his conquests, Shihāb-ud-Dīn always behaved like a brave soldier, and generously restored the kingdom to his fallen foe.

It is to the credit of Shihāb-ud-Dīn that he was not only a great conqueror but a builder too. He founded the towns of (*i*) Lachhmī-nagar, named after Lakshmī, his queen, at the base of the Harī-parbat, near about where the Shārikā-devī temple now stands. (*ii*) Shihāb-ud-dīnpōr, the modern Shādīpōr. Shihābpōr, now called, according to Hasan, Shihāmpōr, a *mahalla* of Srīnagar is also attributed to him. On the 28th Khurdād, Akbar went to visit Shihāb-ud-dīnpōr. "This is a delightful spot on the bank of the Bihat," writes Abu'l Fazl in the *Akbar-nāma.*[1] "The planes there raise their heads to the sky and the verdure enchants the eye." "This village (Shihāb-ud-dīnpōr) is one of the celebrated places of Kashmīr and is on the Bihat," wrote Jahāngīr too. "About a hundred plane trees (Chinār) of graceful form clustered together on one plot of ground, pleasant and green, join each other so as to shade the whole plot, and the whole surface of the ground is grass and trefoil, so much so that to lay a carpet on it would be superfluous and in bad taste."[2]

For his soldiers Shihāb-ud-Dīn constructed barracks. He sedulously resumed the repairs of his father of the devastations caused by the invasions of Dulcha and Achala which had impoverished the country. Land revenue was properly assessed. The Sultān became the *murīd* of Sayyid Tāj-ud-Dīn deputed by Shāh Hamadān, encouraged learning, and practised just administration of laws for all.

Shihāb-ud-Dīn's indignation at the suggestion of Udayaçri, his prime minister, to melt the brass image of the Brihadbuddha (Great Buddha) and coin the metal into money is eloquent of the tolerant character of his rule. The Sultān's

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1. English Translation by H. Beveridge, I.C.S. (Rtd.), Calcutta, 1939, Vol. III, page 829.

2. *The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* or Memoirs of Jahāngīr, English Translation by Rogers and Beveridge, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1909 Vol. I, page 94.

ministers mentioned by Jonarāja are Koṭṭabhaṭṭa (a descendant of Muktāpīḍa's minister) and Udayaçri. Koṭṭabhaṭṭa received many favours from the Sultān, but subsequently renounced the world and entered a forest. Udayaçri is mentioned often. Possibly he was the chief minister, at any rate, after the renunciation of Koṭṭabhaṭṭa. Udayaçri is mentioned by Jonarāja as "inimical to gods" and may, therefore, be supposed to have been a Muslim.

Hindāl, the Sultān's younger brother, was made heir-apparent. Shihāb-ud-Dīn's two sons, Hasan Khān and 'Alī Khān, fled to Delhi, having been declared outlaws, and expelled from the kingdom at the instigation of the Sultān's second wife, Lāsā. Lāsā was the daughter of queen Lakçmī's sister. She must have been beautiful indeed to supplant her mother's sister as the sweetheart of the Sultān. Jealousy then naturally marred the relationship between the aunt and the niece with the consequence that the old queen saw the sending away of her beloved sons into exile. Although, at last, Shihāb-ud-Dīn wrote letters with his own hand to his sons to come back to him, they did not come in time. The crown, therefore, passed on to Hindāl.

Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn reigned for about nineteen years. He 'cheered celestial beauties by his embraces,' *i.e.*, died in 775 A.H. (1373 A.C.), and is believed to be buried under the sub-post office at Mahārāj Ganj in Srīnagar. For this the authority is no less than Khwāja A'zam Didamarī who says that the site was in the neighbourhood of Baḍ Shāh's grave, and that there was a dome over the grave of Shihāb-ud-Dīn which had partly fallen down in his time. It is indeed sad that such a great Sultān—the pride and ornament of the entire royalty of Kashmīr—should have his grave covered over by the chair of a petty postmaster! If so, no greater insult to the national pride of the Kashmīrī can possibly be conceived!

Shihāb-ud-Dīn was loved at home for his just and humane administration, and feared abroad for the valour of his arm and the strength of his armies. His rule raised Kashmīr and the Kashmīrīs to great power. Jammu, Tibet, the Punjāb, Sind, Nagarkōṭ (Kāngṛa), Ghaznī, Qandahār, Kāshghar and Badakhshān were subdued by him and gave him allegiance. Kashmīrīs were never so powerful as a conquering nation after the death of Shihāb-ud-Dīn. Sir Muhammad Iqbāl's line and Pandit

Jonarāja's statement are thus an eminently deserved tribute to the greatness of a great sovereign.

But looking at the present-day condition of the Kashmīrī, his military might under Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn reads like a myth! It is a humiliating transition from conquest to cowardice during the course of six centuries. The position of the Kashmīrī people could never be more degrading than that the present descendant of the former Rājā of Jammu (whom we found above a tributary of Kashmīr), now His Highness the Mahārājā Bahādur of Jammu and Kashmīr, should ridicule the idea of raising a Kashmīrī regiment as requiring 'police protection for its march' when His Highness' Army Member* pleaded for the enlistment of Kashmīrīs in His Highness' army!

فاعتبروا يا أولى الابصار

[So learn a lesson, O ye, who have eyes!]

More of this the reader will find in the relevant section of Military Administration under Muslim Rule in Chapter X of *Kashīr*.

SULTĀN QUTB-UD-DĪN

[775 *to* 791 *A.H.* *or* 1373 *to* 1389 *A.C.*]

On the death of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, his brother, Hindāl, ascended the throne in 775 A.H. (1389 A.C.) under the title of Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn. Hasan Khān, Shihāb-ud-Dīn's eldest son, along with his younger brother 'Alī Khān, had already been exiled by his father as we know. But the new ruler showed his generous-mindedness by inviting prince Hasan Khān to become heir-apparent. Firishta says that Qutb-ud-Dīn was remarkable for his zealous attention to public business which he transacted in person with justice and moderation.

The Sultān's reign was disturbed when Lohara revolted. Lohara is the mountain district formed by the southern slopes of the Pīr-Pāntsāl near Tōsha-maidān. Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni's invasion of Kashmīr was brought to a standstill at the siege of the fort of Lōhkōt, the castle of Lohara. Qutb-ud-Dīn deputed his commander

**Recollections: 50 Years in the Service of India* by Mr. G. E. G. Wakefield, Lahore, 1943, page 194.

Ḍāmara Lolaka with a force to reduce it. The royal force was routed. The commander was killed, and was buried, to use Jonarāja's* words, according to "the last rite of the Yāvanas," which shows that the commander was a Muslim though the name locks like that of a non-Muslim.

An event of great importance in this reign was the birth of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn, the Patron-Saint of Kashmīr, in 779 A.H. (1377 A.C.). A note on his life has appeared in Chapter III.

Udayaçrī, the latter-day premier of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, either on account of loyalty to his old Sultān, or to gain and retain power in his own hands, conceived the conspiracy of dethroning Qutb-ud-Dīn and of setting up Prince Hasan Khān instead. But the conspiracy fizzled out. Udayaçrī was imprisoned and then beheaded. The prince fled the country.

Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī, about whom details appear in Chapter III, arrived for the second time in Srīnagar in 781 A.H. (1379 A.C.), and was received with great fervour. Under the influence of the great Sayyid, the Sultān gave more of his time to meditation and prayer, and became a great Sūfī poet with the *nom de plume* "*Qutb.*" The Sayyid bestowed on the Sultān his own cap which Qutb-ud-Dīn wore in his royal crown. Famine occurred more than once during the time of the Sultān, but he successfully coped with the situation by his generosity and relieved the people from starvation. He founded Qutb-ud-dīnpōr on which two *mahallas* of Srīnagar, viz. Langar-haṭṭa and Pīr Hājī Muhammad, now stand.

Qutb-ud-Dīn was now old. He had no son. The queen, at last, gave birth to a son "who was the ornament of the family and the delight of his father and was like a feast after a fast." Jonarāja calls the child Shrinagāra, an ornament or decoration (p. 53). The *Tabaqāt* calls him Sīkār, perhaps, a corruption of Sikandar. Jonarāja, further on, calls him Shakandhara (p. 54). This is the child who becomes known as Sikandar. In the festivities which were held on the occasion, the Sultān, out of the gladness of his heart, ordered the release of prisoners. The queen later gave birth to another son named Haibat.

**Kings of Kashmīra*, Volume III, page 48.

Qutb-ud-Dīn died after having reigned for a period of fifteen years in 791 A.H. (1389 A.C.). The two sons left were both infants.[1] Sultān Sikandar succeeded him. This is the year in which Malik Sarwar founded the Sharqī dynasty of Jaunpur, and Tīmūr occupied Baghdād.

The tomb of Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn in Qutb-ud-dīnpōr or Langarhaṭṭa, near the *ziyārat* of Pīr Hājī Muhammad Sāhib, Srīnagar, is a protected monument.

SULTĀN SIKANDAR

[791 *to* 816 *A.H. or* 1389 *to* 1413 *A.C.*]

Sikandar ascended the throne in 791 A.H. (1389 A.C.), when Richard II, the son of the Black Prince, was king of England. Sikandar's rule was also contemporaneous with that of Henry IV and Henry V.

Sikandar's mother Haurā[2] was a source of considerable strength to him in the earlier part of his reign on account of his infancy. As Jonarāja uses the word infant, Sikandar may possibly have been, at the most, about under eight years of age at his accession. A lady of remarkable personality and strength of character, Haurā dealt with all opposition and struck terror into the hearts of malefactors. She even went to the extreme of putting an end to the lives of her daughter and son-in-law, Shāh Muhammad, thereby nipping in the bud a rebellion which the latter was secretly instigating and which might have proved formidable.

We are told that Sikandar, on achieving majority, was particularly inclined towards militarism which led to a complete transformation of his army. It is also stated that his military undertakings were seldom unsuccessful. His invasion of North-West India in 1395 A.C., was creditable to his military organization. He accordingly subdued Ohind and married Mīra, the daughter of its chief, Fīrūz. Subhaṭā or Çobhā or Çrī Çobhā Mahādevī, the sister of Khuñjyarāja, was the Sultān's wife but she was, it appears, at this time childless. Later on, she was the mother of prince Fīrūz whom Sikandar "exiled in order to

1. *Kings of Kashmīra*, Volume III, page 54.
2. Firishta gives her name as Sūra Begam.

prevent a commotion." At another place Jonarāja[1] calls Çobhā Mahādevī's two sons "adopted children." Mīra was the mother of three sons, the second of whom Shāhī Khān was destined to become Baḍ Shāh or the 'Great Sovereign' known in history as Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.

Sikandar, sharing the tendency of the age, seems to have possessed a passion for enforcing religious law in all state affairs. His justice and passionate desire for religious uniformity are shown in the following lines of a poet of which the last also gives the year of his accession[2]—

شاهِ عادل، سکندرِ ثانی   که ز وی یافت سرفرازی تاج

مُلک روشن بنورِ شرع از وُست   گرچه بوده ز کُفر چون شبِ داج

٧٩١ھ

بهرِ تاریخِ سالِ سلطنتش   عقل گفتا، بشرع داده رواج

Along with his vigorous spirit Sikandar's sagacity and tact were of no mean order. His brother Haibat's death by poison was believed to have been caused by Rāy Māgre, the minister. The king, observing the influence of this minister, delayed revenge. Rāy Māgre, feeling that he had been suspected, induced his royal master to give him permission to punish the insurgents in Little Tibet. The minister's aim was to secure for himself a principality which would place him beyond the reach of the king's vengeance. The king, on the other hand, hoped to get rid of his minister by sending him on a military expedition. Success attended the arms of Rāy Māgre which raised his reputation and strength. Feeling himself safe, he proclaimed his independence. The king seized this opportunity, marched with an army and inflicted a crushing defeat upon him. The minister was seized and soon died in prison. The king's attention was then occupied in restoring order in the regained principality of Little Tibet.

Tīmūr's invasion of India. Exchange of courtesy with Sikandar.

When Tīmūr descended upon India, Sikandar acted wisely in sending his representative to him, because he was aware of the terrible fate of those princes who had tried to stem the tide of Tīmūr's march by offering resistance.

1. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 59, also page 64.
2. *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Malik Haidar Chāḍura, page 138.

According to the *Zafar-nāma*, Tīmūr, through his grandson Rustam, and Mu'tamad Zain-ud-Dīn, his envoy, sent from Delhi a robe of honour of gold embroidery to Sikandar as a mark of favour. Thus there opened up between the two monarchs means of mutual relations. Maulānā Nūr-ud-Dīn Badakhshī, a distinguished follower of Shāh Hamadān, was deputed by Sikandar, to take costly presents to Tīmūr. In acknowledgement, Tīmūr sent a message expressing his desire to see Sikandar. Certain nobles of Tīmūr's *entourage*, however, sent word that Sikandar should also keep in readiness thirty thousand horses and one lakh of gold coins as a present to the great conqueror. Sikandar engaged himself in arranging for the present which Tīmūr's nobles had desired to be kept in readiness. Naturally the disclosure of this exorbitant demand brought Tīmūr's anger on their head. Sikandar, however, proceeded to meet Tīmūr on the bank of the Indus on the 13th of Rajab 801 A.H. (1398 A.C.). In the meantime, Tīmūr had crossed the Indus and was proceeding towards Samarqand. Sikandar, therefore, returned to Kashmīr having gone only as far as Bārāmūla. It is said that he then deputed his son prince Shāhī Khān, afterwards Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, to strengthen the relations of friendship existing between Tīmūr and himself. But there is no mention of this deputation in any contemporary history as the prince obviously must have been unborn then, Baḍ Shāh having been born in 1401 A.C. or 804 A.H. But what is a fact, according to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, is that Sikandar sent his ambassadors with much tribute to Tīmūr.

The Sultān's subjects greatly benefited from the remission by him of two imposts and taxes, namely, the *Bāj* and the *Tamgha.**

Sikandar's patronage of learning.

Although Sikandar himself had not received the benefit of a liberal education, his patronage of letters attracted scholars from all parts of Asia chiefly from Khurāsān,

*A tax which was levied upon all irrespective of nationality and religion. The exact nature of the tax has not been explained anywhere. Blochman and Briggs translate the *tamgha* as "inland tolls." A local living historian is of the opinion that the *bāj* should be considered to have been the *nazrāna* which every one had to present to the Sultān on seeing him, and is customary in Indian States to this day. His Exalted Highness the Nizām of Hydarābād abolished it some years ago. I, however, agree with Blochman and Briggs, and the taxes should be understood to be road dues, duties, or an impost.

Māvarā-an-Nahr (Trans oxiana) and 'Irāq. The most notable person among these scholars was Maulānā Afzal[2] who hailed from Bukhārā and was, on his arrival, placed at the head of the grand college opposite to the Jāmi'Masjid which Sikandar built. Maulānā Afzal[1] passed all his life in lecturing to students. The king had assigned to him the village of Nāgām for his maintenance. The Maulānā was buried in the enclosure of the tomb of Sayyid Tāj-ud-Dīn, in Shihāb-ud-dīnpōr. Sayyid Muhammad Madanī was a foreign envoy and a great scholar who chose to live in Kashmīr on account of the Sultān's patronage of learning, and died during Baḍ Shāh's reign. His tomb was built by Baḍ Shāh.

Sikandar's zeal for religion.

Being himself a staunch Muslim who carefully conformed to all that his religion required of him, Sikandar put an end to those practices which were contrary to the *Sharī'at* or the law of Islam. The sale and distillation of wine, *suttee*, gambling, prostitution and nautches were accordingly tabooed. The "tamgha" tax, to which reference has already been made above, was abolished. Islamic courts of justice were established and upright and learned judges were appointed.

Architecture of Sikandar's time.

Besides his zeal for religion and sound administration, Sikandar also had a passion for buildings as did Fīrūz Shāh among the Tughluq Sultāns of India. Many mosques, *madrasas* and hospices were built in his time. The first building he erected was the Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā on the *Chillah-Khāna* or the place of retreat and devotion of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī in Srīnagar in 798 A.H. (1395 A.C.). The Khānqāh-i-'Alā at Trāl, near Vantipōr, the Khānqāh-i-Wālā in Wachī, pargana Shāvara, and the Khānqāh-i-Kubrawī in Maṭan are other instances.

Sikandar also built the Jāmi' Masjid or grand mosque in which mosaic work was executed without any remuneration by two well-known mosaic workers, Sayyid Muhammad of Lūristān[2] and Sayyid Sadr-ud-Dīn of Khurāsān, both old companions of the great Shāh Hamadān. The mosque contained 372 columns, each 40 cubits in height, and 6 in

1. The *Ta'rikh-i-Kābir*, page 290.
2. Lūristān is a province in Western Īrān. The chief town of Lūristān is Khurramābād. For Khurāsān see footnote to page 110.

circumference. Besides these structures, Sikandar set up many others of which the site and ruins cannot be traced today.

Sikandar's regard for Sayyid Muhammad Hamadānī.

Sayyid Muhammad Hamadānī, the son of Shāh Hamadān, accompanied by about three hundred, or according to some historians, seven hundred followers, came to Kashmīr, and the Sultān too became one of his disciples.

ولد امجد امیر کبیر داد دین را رواج در کشمیر

شد ز نو مسلمان چنان کثرت کز تماشاش برد حشر حسرت

The Sultān was now fired with a zeal to change the character of his rule into an Islamic administration, and a considerable advance was made in this direction. As his orders to this end were carried out either by recent converts to Islam or other officials, it may be presumed that these converts and officials were not actuated only by zeal for the faith, many offences must have been committed which may have wounded the susceptibilities of the Hindus. The saint, Sayyid Muhammad, on being apprised ,told the king that all that was done either at his bidding, or through his connivance, was not sanctioned by Islam, which relied more on personal example and love than violence for its propagation. These words so impressed the Sultān that he at once put an end to these activities.

Sikandar's death.

Sikandar's reign lasted for nearly twenty-four years though much of this—about twelve years at least—was spent under the regency of the dowager-queen Haurā and of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn. When Sikandar contracted a violent fever he summoned his three sons (*i*) Mīr Khān, (*ii*) Shāh Rukh, as noted in the *Fatahāt-i-Kubrawiyya*, or, according to Jonarāja, Shāhī Khān and (*iii*) Muhammad Khān, and exhorted them to avoid strife and remain united after him. He announced as his successor Mīr Khān whom he invested with the title of 'Alī Shāh and passed away on the 22nd of Muharram, 816 A.H. (1413 A.C.).

دوشنبه ثانی عشرین محرم میان شام و خفتن نے کم و بیش

زهجرت هشتصد وده رفت و هم شش شد از دار فنا سلطان درویش

—سید محمد بیهقی المتخلص به درویش

Sikandar was buried in the northern side of the premises once occupied by the Luī Shōr temple. The graveyard is known as the Mazār-us-Salātīn, in Mahārāj Ganj, Zaina Kadal, Srīnagar.

In the West, this was four years before the battle of Agincourt. In India Khizr Khān, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty, ascended the throne of Delhi one year after. The poet Mullā 'Abdur Rahmān *Jāmī* was born also a year later.

Sikandar's share in the persecution of Hindus.

Lieutenant Newall[1] says that partly by the influence of Tīmūr and partly, no doubt, urged by the fanatic Muslims who had lately entered his country, Sikandar was, about this period, instigated to religious persecution. He began to force his subjects to abjure idolatry and thereby acquired the surname of 'Butshikan' (not *Butshikast,* as Stein puts it, in his English Translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, page 131) or the iconoclast. Sir Wolseley Haig calls him 'a ferocious bigot.'[2]

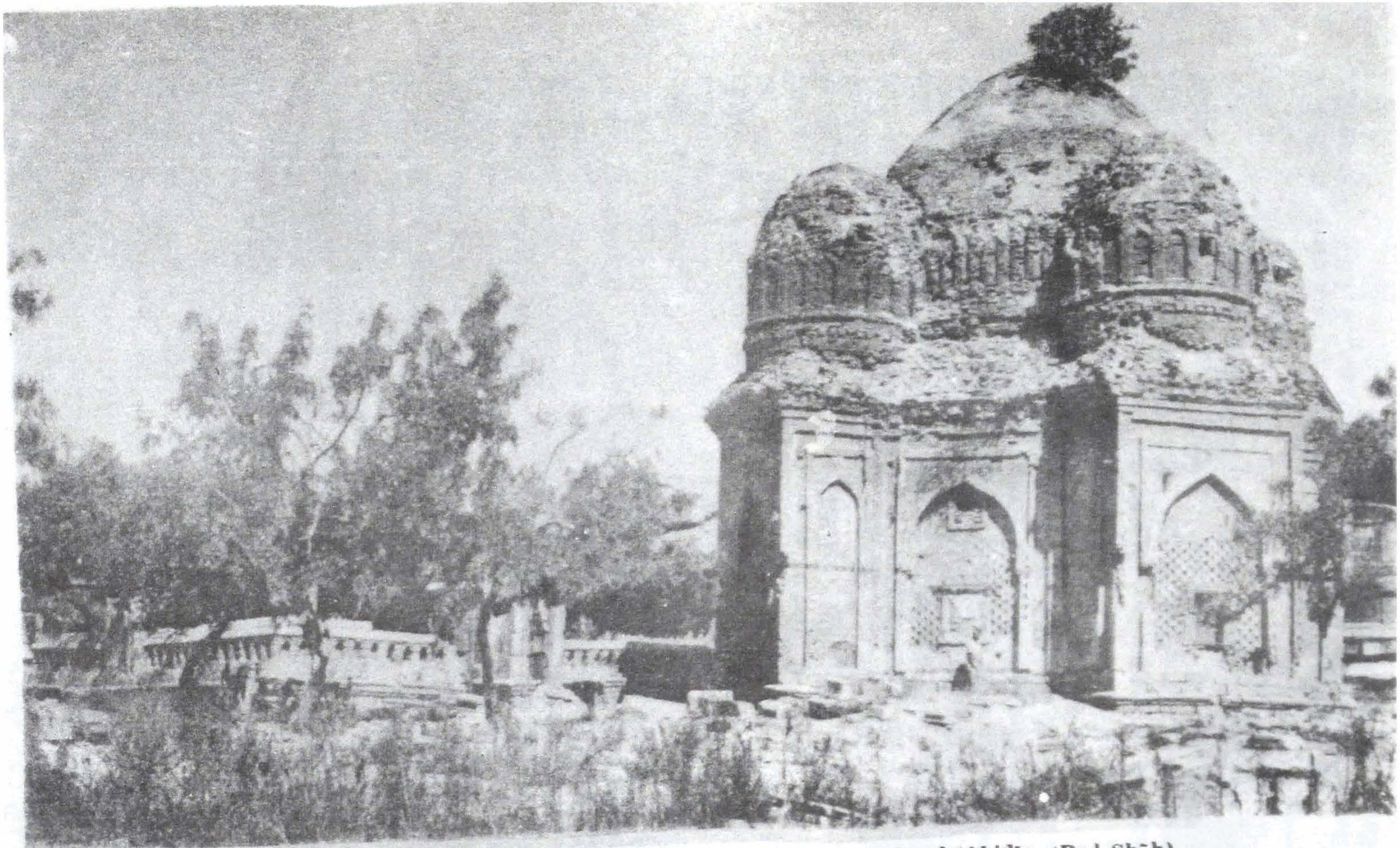
These remarks will, no doubt, give one the impression that the Sultān himself was responsible for all this persecution and destruction of temples. It cannot be gainsaid that the advent, into his country, of Muslim doctors and preachers and other immigrants had infused a new spirit in him to propagate his faith. He was, however, outdistanced in this matter by Sūhabhaṭṭa, his chief minister, who subsequently embraced Islam and was re-named Malik Saif-ud-Dīn. The versifier refers to his conversion at the hands of Sayyid Muhammad Hamadānī—

سوہ بٹ میرِ لشکرِ سُلطان   شُد ز سیّد مشرّفِ ایمان
چُون شجاعت فزوُدِ اسلامش   شُد مَلِک سیفِ دینِ دِگر نامش
باھمہ خویش و اقرب و پیوند   شُد بدین پایۂ ولاش بلَند

The persecution of the people and the demolition of temples took place at the hands of this zealot and other converts.

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1. *A Sketch of the Muhammadan History of Kashmir* by Lieutenant D. J. F. Newall, of the Bengal Artillery, *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* No. 5, 1854, page 413.
2. *The Cambridge History of India,* Volume III, page 280.



The tomb of Sultān Sikandar's Queen, the mother of Sultān Zain-ul-'Abidin (Baḍ Shāh).
[Before 1944-45 repairs by the State.]

They were relentless against the adherents of their old faith. In the words of Chas. J. Rodgers,* the minister's zeal in the persecution of his former co-religionists has seldom been equalled in the history of religious proselytes. At his instance, orders must have been issued in the name of the Sultān for the destruction of some important temples, forbidding the use of the *Tīka* (vermilion mark) on the head, and also for enforcing the abolition of *Suttee.* For, Sikandar himself was, on his contemporary Jonarāja's testimony, an infant at his accession, and Sūhabhaṭṭa the Regent, wielding all power. And Suhabhaṭṭa continued in the office of the Kashmīr Vizārat, according to Hasan, for forty years. Sikandar's reign lasted for 24 years. Even if we suppose Sikandar's age to be eight on succeeding his father, Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn, it is only from about eighteen to twenty that he may have become personally responsible for administration for about twelve years in a life lasting 32 years in all. On moral as well as humanitarian grounds, we cannot blame Sikandar for abolishing the practice of *Suttee.* As a matter of fact, he only forestalled Akbar and Bentinck in this respect. Sikandar cannot also be blamed for attempting a dry Kashmīr either. But one cannot entirely exonerate him from the heavy responsibility of countenancing the religious persecution practised by his ministers and officials, who were, at least, men of his choice or under his complete control in the latter part of his brief reign. We must not, however, omit to mention that Sikandar's age was the age of religious persecution. It is a strange coincidence that his rule should have been contemporaneous with the persecution of the Lollards in England. In the words of H. G. Wells, the Council of Constance in 1414-1418 adopted "methods which jar with (*sic*) our modern consciences." Wycliffe's bones were condemned to be burnt. Huss was decoyed and burnt alive in 1415. Jerome of Prague was burnt in the following year. Pope Martin V issued a bull proclaiming a crusade for the destruction of the Wycliffites, Hussites and other heretics. Mary, the first queen regnant in the history of England from 1553 to 1558 A. C., earned the soubriquet of "Bloody" Mary for her unfortunate habit of causing people to be burnt at the stake.

**The Square Silver Coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr* by Chas. J. Rodgers, Principal, Normal College, Amritsar, *J.A.S.B.*, Volume LIV, Part I, No. 2, 1885, page 101.

In our own day, in 1933-39, the cultured Germans—the nation of scientists and philosophers—persecuted the Jews who have lived on German soil for over 1,500 years and banned their children from educational institutions. Dr. J. H. Hertz, Chief Rabbi, wrote to the London *Times* in April 1933 : " The ruthless elimination of the German Jew from the public, the professional, and the social life of his native land continues unabated. Neither achievement nor position nor lifetime of service is of any avail against summary dismissal. Hosts of professional men—physicians, judges, lawyers, civil servants, teachers, journalists, musicians, actors—are thus being robbed of their livelihood, and are doomed in heart-breaking numbers to sink into indigence. Alongside of this deprivation of civic rights, there is an unbelievable trampling underfoot of the human dignity of every Jew and Jewess in that land. Thus, in the Nazi Press, and by means of every form of Government propaganda, Jews are constantly branded as 'traitors' to their Fatherland—though no fewer than 12,000 German Jews laid down their lives for their country in the Great War. Jewish emigrants are permitted to take only onetenth of their property out of Germany. Jewish booksellers may only sell Jewish books to Jewish customers. Jews are to sit on separate benches in public parks.

"The Nuremberg decrees deprive the German Jew of all political rights. No " non-Aryan " can become a Reich citizen, vote or hold a Government post. Marriage between Jews and " Aryans " is forbidden, and extra-marital relations are a criminal offence. Jews may not fly the German flag. The names of Jewish fallen, it has since been ordered, must not be inscribed on German war memorials. Although twelve thousand Jews died for Germany in the War, they may not serve in the army. The social degradation of the Jews, and the economic discrimination against them that began with the Nazi régime has, therefore, been given a legal and permanent basis. In some smaller towns and villages, German shopkeepers have been ordered not to sell them food. The " Aryan " who does business with a Jew incurs the wrath of the local Nazi caucus. Jews must not own land but if they try to sell their land, " Aryans " must not buy from them."

In 1938, " pitiable stories were arriving of the state of the Austrian Jews, who number 200,000, and for no crime

except their Semitic origin, were being reduced to beggary. Ninety per cent. of their shops were taken over. Bereft of a livelihood yet unable to leave the country, they were treated like cattle by the ruling classes. During a period of four days, burials in Jewish cemeteries in Vienna were said to have averaged 140 daily, against a normal average of 4. A decade ago, cruelty and ruthless oppression, such as is now being practised in Austria, would have sent a wave of horrified indignation round the world: but during the last five years so much that is atrocious has happened in Abyssinia, in China, in Spain and elsewhere that humanity's capacity for long-range sympathy with the misfortunes of others has become dulled. Emotions tend to be reserved for events and persons nearer home."

[It must not be misunderstood that the object of reproducing the above letter of Dr. Hertz is to shield Saif-ud-Dīn or Sikandar in any way. Despite bloody wars between England and France or England and Germany or other Western countries, these great nations forget each other's wrongs in about a quarter ofa century. But in Kashmīr even five centuries are not sufficient to efface unpleasant memories of old events.

The great *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that mentions only one Muslim ruler in the whole history of Kashmīr, singles out poor Sikandar for the destruction of temples, vide its 14th Edition, 1929, Volume 13, page 290, paragraph 4.]

We must not forget that Sikandar's first minister was a Hindu—Rāy Māgre,—[called in De's English Translation of the *Tabaqāt*, p. 644, footnote, Rāy Madārī]—who poisoned his brother Haibat Khān. Not only this. According to Jonarāja, Sikandar married a Hindu lady Subhaṭā or Çrī Çobhā Mahādevi, and his commander-in-chief was a Hindu Brāhman who was converted to Islam by Mīr Muhammad Hamadānī. The Sultān was, in no way, bound to keep a Hindu wife, a Hindu minister, or a Hindu commander-in-chief. He could invite prominent Muslims for his two most important offices, if he so desired. Herein we get conclusive proof to the effect that he was not a stark bigot, as some Hindu and other historians or writers have tried to paint him, clean forgetting the outrageously sacrilegious treatment of idols, temples and Bhaṭṭas and Brāhmans by rulers like Jayapīḍa, Çamkravarman, Abhimanyu or Harsha or Rājadeva, referred to before in Chapter III.

According to Lawrence, Sikandar was "brave and cultured." "Sikandar," in the words of Rodgers,[1] was an exceedingly generous man. Hearing of this, learned men from 'Irāq and Khurāsān and Māvarā-un-Nahr (Transoxiana) flocked to his court in such numbers that it became an example to the courts of those provinces."

The prosperity of Kashmīr in Sikandar's time can be proved from the fact that there were 100,000 villages. This testimony, to use the words of Stein, is "accurate and matter of fact," based on the record in 1400 A.C.,[2] of Sharaf-ud-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, the historian of Tīmūr, whose contemporary Sikandar was.

چناں ہمتش زد صلائے کرم — که مایوس را گشت حرمان حرام

شد از بس که اسلام رونق گرفت — حریم درش قبلهٔ خاص و عام

—طبقاتِ اکبری—جلد سوم- صفحه ۴۳۲

[His noble spirit such generosity proclaimed,
That even to the hopeless despair forbidden became.
When Islam such resplendence gained
His door the sacred shrine of high and low became.—B.De.]·

Such a man ill-deserves the wild condemnation that is heaped on his head! He was a thousand times very much more humane than Harsha and others whom nobody ever maligns publicly, so loudly, so repeatedly, and so pungently. Sikandar's name and a few of his misdeeds should not constitute a cause for any serious ill-feeling that they are made so often.

And so the late Mr. Brajendranāth De[3] (1852-1932), M.A., Bar-at-Law, I.C.S., Boden Sanskrit Scholar at Oxford University in 1875, ex-Commissioner, Burdwān Division, Bengal, the painstaking translator of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, wrote :—"There is a great deal in Jonarāja about the

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1. *The Square Silver Coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr, J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LIV, part I, No. 2, 1885, page 101.
2. Stein's English Translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, pages 438-39.
3. B. De's English Translation, Volume III, page 648, footnote (1).

breaking of images, but I have not been able to find any mention of the demolition of the temples."

Here one may pause to say a word on why there should be so much bitterness on the breaking of idols or images. The Muslim is not alone in breaking idols. The argument of the Christians was "the absurdity of a man making an idol and then adoring it or being afraid of the work of his own hands." Even amongst the Hindus "the universality of image-worship . . . is comparatively modern." The ancient Vedic religion did not admit images. Like the worship of the cow, it is a subsequent development in Hindu religious practice and not an inherent or integral part of this great and ancient religion. For, after all, Kabīr-panthīs, Sikhs, Brahmo Samājīs, Ārya-Samājīs, Radhāswāmī Satsangīs discard idolatry. And yet they remain Hindus! In my boyhood, Sardār Arūṛ Singh, the Manager of the great Golden Temple of Amritsar, threw away all the idols from this seat of Sikh worship. And he was never dubbed an idol-breaker or even an idol-remover! The fact is that the study of the Vedānta is leading to the rejection of the Purāṇic scheme of Hinduism. As Kashmīrīs became converts to Islam during the period under discussion, they themselves did not feel the necessity of preserving them intact. It was but a simple economic proposition that, by their conversion they should convert their sacred places to the new mode of worship. God to them was there. The place was there. It was a change of manner of worshipping that God in that place. This was effected by removing the idols and making a niche towards the Ka'ba. It is true it did hurt the feelings of the no-changers at the time: it wounded their susceptibilities. But why should happenings of five centuries be still the cause of bitterness? Why should ill-feelings be harboured to this day between brother and brother as all Kashmīrīs are sons of the same soil? What Islam did, in the language of Si Mu Iqbāl, is

آدمی آزاد زنجیرِ توہُّم سے ہؤا

[Man was freed from the fetters of superstition.]

Malik Haidar Chāḍura has preserved in the pages of his history* the following elegy on Sultān Sikandar's death:

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*Malik Haidar's *History of Kashmīr*, page 152.

بگوای فلکِ بے ہنر کہ شاہ کجاست | فروغِ مہر کجا رفت، و نورِ ماہ کجاست
جہان و ہر چہ درو ہست ہمچناں باقیست | بیا بگوے کہ شاہِ جہان و شاہ کجاست
سپاہ و چتر بجا یند و چتر داراں ہم | نظامِ چتر کجا رونقِ سپاہ کجاست
سوادِ عرصۂ میدان و گوے و چوگان ہست | کسے کہ گوئے زند ہمچو بادشاہ، کجاست
سرا و باغ و گلستان و حوض و آبِ رواں | خوشند و خوب ولے جائے بادشاہ کجاست
ہزار خیمہ و خرگاہ سائباں پیشند | لوائے خیمہ و خرگاہ و بارگاہ کجاست
شکاریاں ہمہ مشتاقِ زخمِ تیرِ تو اند | دوان و لاغر و حیراں کہ تختِ شاہ کجاست

کجاست شاہِ سکندر کجاست میدانش
در انتظار ہلاک شد گوے و چوگانش

عجب کہ دیدہ شود گل شگفتہ در گلزار | عجب کہ کبک خرامد دوبارہ در کہسار
عجب کہ غنچہ بخندد چو مردمِ غافل | عجب کہ باغ بگرید بسانِ ابرِ بہار
بگیر اے دل حیرت ز فوتِ شاہِ جہاں | عزیز و صاحبِ دنیا و دیں، بے آزار
شہنشہے کہ نظیرش نہ دیدہ و نہ شنید | بہ روزگارِ دراز ایں سپہرِ مردم خوار
بہ آبِ دیدہ بشوئید اے مسلماناں | زمینِ روضۂ شہ را برائے استطہار
بریش و جبّہ بروبند زود بردارند | ز بہرِ کحلِ بصر خاکِ ایں در و دیوار
وزیں مزار بخواہید ہر چہ می خواہند | باعتقادِ درست و درونِ بے انکار
خداشناس، ہمیر صفت، سکندر شاہ | کہ آفرینِ خدا بر روانش باد ہزار

Note.—In the 6th line from the bottom, the reading دلِ عبرت instead of دلِ حیرت is a suggestion from a scholar.

SULTĀN 'ALĪ SHĀH

[816 *to* 823 *A.H. or* 1413 *to* 1420 *A.C.*]

Mīr Khān, surnamed 'Alī Shāh, whom Chas. J. Rogers wrongly calls 'Alī Sher, succeeded to his father's dominions in 816 A.H. (1413 A.C.). Very little is known about his reign. Firishta records that this king also had Sūhabhaṭṭa for his minister, who continued, according to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, for four years in office, and kept up his campaign of conversion till he died of internal hæmorrhage, or, according to the *Tabaqāt*, of consumption and is believed to be buried in what is now known as *mahalla* Saif-ud-dīn-pōr on the Nāla-i-Mār in Srīnagar. In all, Sūhabhaṭṭa—Saif-ud-Dīn—was minister for forty years as noted by Hasan. The king thereupon appointed his own brother Shāhī Khān in his place. Shortly after this, the king resolved to proceed to Mecca on a pilgrimage. The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* says 'Alī Shāh went on a pilgrimage. Firishta says he went on world travel and so does the *Tabaqāt*. But the giving away of charity confirms the view of the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, and as Jonarāja puts it "gave out valuable jewels from the treasury and beautiful horses."[1] 'Alī Shāh entrusted his kingdom to the care of his brother[2] Shāhī Khān, and proceeded to bid goodbye to the ruler of Jammu. The ruler of Jammu who was converted to Islam by Tīmūr, was 'Alī Shāh's[3] father-in-law.[4] On 'Alī Shāh's arrival there, he remonstrated with him for relinquishing the throne. The Sultān changed his mind. Assisted by his father-in-law and the rājā of Rajaurī, he now tried to recover his throne. All three advanced by way of Pakhlī, whereupon his brother Shāhī Khān, being defeated at Urī, left Kashmīr and went over to Siālkōt to Jasārat Khān, the Chief of Gakkhars (or Khakar). Jasārat,

1. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 71. Also the words "visiting ho y places" makes the object ce tain.

2. Malik Haidar Chāḍura mentions only one brother, namely, Shāhī Khān to be the person to whom 'Alī Shāh left his kingdom. Firishta mentions the other brother also.—See Briggs, Vol. IV, page 467.

3. Malik Haidar Chāḍura, page 142. His statement is based on the authority of Maulānā Nādirī, a contemporary of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.

4. The father-in-law of 'Alī Shāh is said to have been converted to Islam by Tīmūr.—Hutchison and Vögel, *Journal of the Panjāb Historical Society*, Vol. VII, page 117.

after the death of Tīmūr, had returned in 1405 from his captivity in Samarqand brought about by his own failure to keep his promise to aid Tīmūr in his invasion of India and for plundering his baggage. Jasārat Khān was at this time extending his influence in the Punjāb.

Historians are at variance about this fratricidal contest. Firishta asserts that Sultān 'Alī Shāh was, at first, successful even at Siālkōt.[1] Then Shāhī Khān and Jasārat Khān Gakkhar succeeded in defeating and taking 'Alī Shāh prisoner. 'Alī Shāh subsequently died at Chāḍura.[2]



The grave of Sultān 'Alī Shāh in Tsōdur or Chāḍur on the Srīnagar-Charār Road.

The final result was the passing of the kingdom in the year 823 A.H. or 1420 A.C. into the hands of Shāhī Khan—and not Shady Khan as Briggs has wrongly put it. 'Alī Shāh reigned for six years and nine months. The only event of importance is the loss of Little Tibet

1. Briggs' Firishta, Vol. IV, page 468.
2. *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Malik Haidar Chāḍura, page 142.

which was, no doubt, due to the incompetence of 'Alī Shāh. The death of Kabīr in India is recorded in this same year of the dethronement of Sultān 'Alī Shāh.

SULTĀN ZAIN-UL-'ĀBIDĪN

[823 *to* 874 *A.H. or* 1420 *to* 1470 *A.C.*]

With the assumption, in June 1420 A.C., at the age of 19, of sovereignty by Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, literally, the Ornament of the Adorers, or the Glory of the Devout, there opened up an era of peace, prosperity and expansion for Kashmīr. This reign extending over 50 solar or over 51 lunar years constituted a climax never attained by any other independent king in Kashmīr.

As Shāh Rukh or Shāhī Khān, Baḍ Shāh had his education under Maulānā Kabīr. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn was noted early in life for his abilities, had already been minister to his brother, the late king, and had shown his noble qualities to the people of Kashmīr. His accession was, therefore, hailed with joy both by Hindus and Muslims.

Shortly after assuming regal authority, Zain-ul-'Ābidīn nominated his brother Muhammad Khān to the office of prime minister, and associated with him Halmat Raina and Ahmad Raina, commanders of his forces. Malik Mas'ūd was appointed minister of the interior. Mīrzā Hasan was appointed treasurer-general. On the death of Muhammad Khān, his son Haidar Khān succeeded his father as prime minister.

The king retained in his possession the office of Chief Justice till he was able to find a suitable incumbent in the person of Qāzī Jamāl-ud-Dīn who hailed from Hindustān.

Khwāja Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad and Muhammad Qāsim Firishta respectively relate the following case decided by Baḍ Shāh. The only difference in the two versions is that the two women concerned were a mistress and a maid according to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, and two co-wives, according to the *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīmī* or the *Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta.* Briefly, a woman killed one of the children and accused the other of the crime. The case went to court which confessed inability to find out the truth of the matter. On reference to the Sultān, the person alleged to be accused was called

in and severely threatened in various ways. As she was innocent, she made no confession whatsoever. At last, the Sultān said: "If you become naked, and in the presence of men go to your own house, that might be a proof of your innocence." The woman cast her head down in shame, and said: "For me it is better to die than to act in this way. I consent to my punishment but I cannot consent to behave like this." The Sultān, then, sent for the complainant in another chamber and said: "If you are honest in making this complaint, make yourself naked in the presence of men." The woman agreed and got ready to remove her garment. The Sultān stopped her, and said: "The guilt of this act is yours." And "after they had struck her a few strokes, she confessed her guilt."

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's passion for architecture.

(In the matter of architecture, Zain-ul-'Ābidīn might be called the Shāh Jahān of Kashmīr. Many important buildings and townships the remains of many of which may still be traced, *e.g.*, Zaina-lānk, Zaina-kōṭ, Zaina-paṭṭan, Zaina-kunḍal, Zaina-maṭh, Zina-pōr, Zaina-tilak, Zaina-gīr[1], and Zaina-gām, testify to his great passion for architecture and town-planning. He caused resting places to be constructed in every *pargana*,[2] and in most of the important villages. When he proceeded on his tours—and he travelled much over his dominions—the people were not subjected to any hardship on that account. He also built caravanserais and halting-places by the roadside for the convenience of travellers and thereby forestalled the Safavī kings of Īrān and the Sūr Sultāns of Hindustān.

About the origin and history of the Sultān's island in the Wulur,[3] all historians have recorded the following story:

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1. Zainagīr is now the name of the *pargana* in Kām-raja, to the north-west of Sopōr about four hours' drive from it.

Zaina Kunḍal and Zaina-Paṭṭan were on the Wulur lake.

Zaina-kōṭ is a village about four miles west of Srīnagar.

Zaina-gām is a village in the Birwa *pargana*.

Zaina-maṭh was a monastery on the Ḍal.

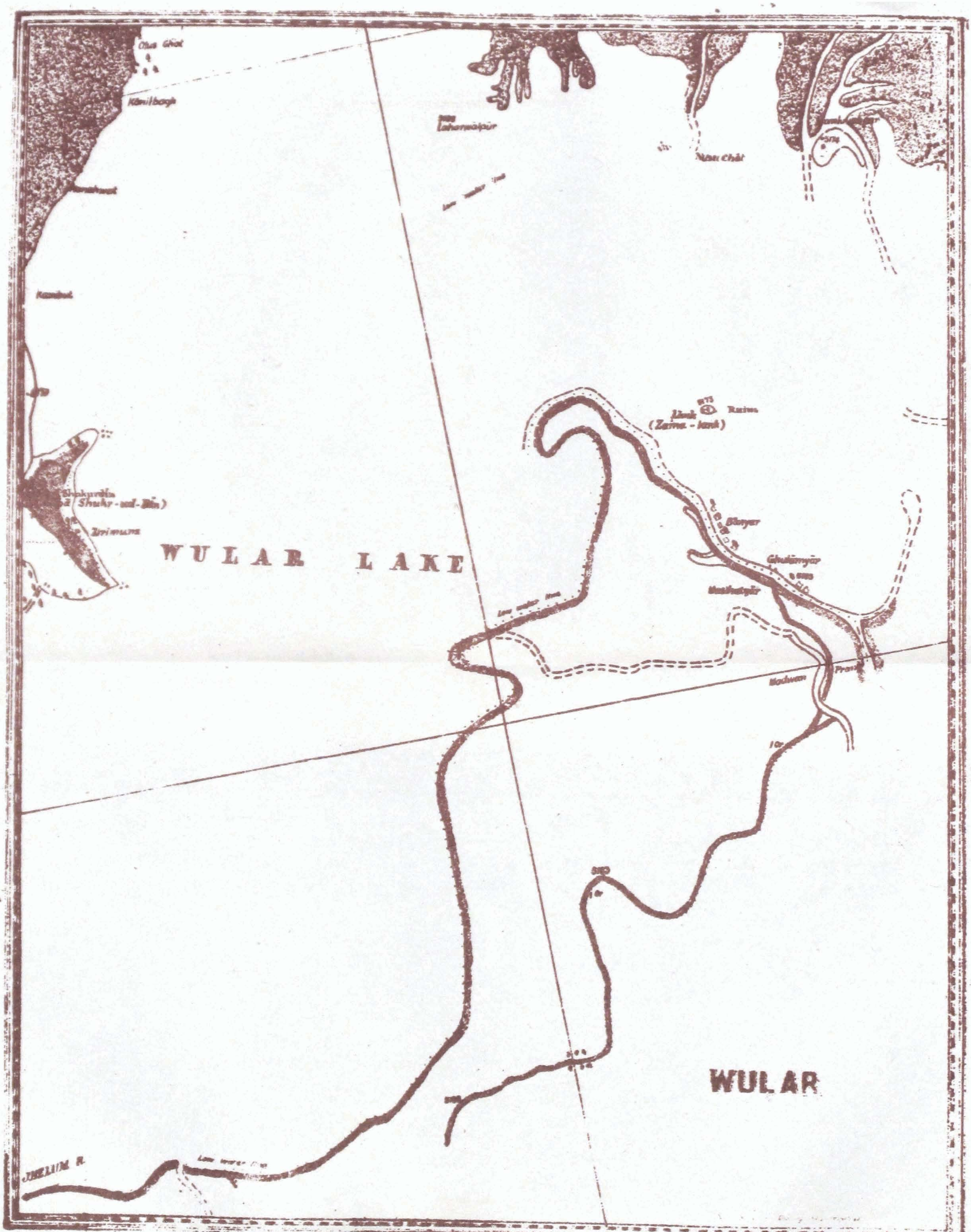
Zaina-tilak was a city built near Jayapīḍapōr (Andarkōt) on the bank of the Jhelum.

Zaina-pōr is the name of the *pargana* comprising the table-lands lying to the north-east of Shupiān.

2. A *pargana* is a tract of country comprising the lands of many villages.

The Wulur Lake.

3. The Wulur Lake is the largest in Kashmīr, and the largest fresh


Kānilbogh
WULAR LAKE
Līnk
(Zaina-lank)
Ruins
Bhoyar
Ghulāmyār
Madwan
WULAR
JHELUM R.

This island was an inhabited place* in the days of a dissolute and tyrannical rājā, Sundarsenā by name, whose subjects did not lag behind in copying him. Kalāl, a saint, who lived in those days, exhorted both the king and his subjects to give up dissolute conduct, but no one heeded the saint's exhortations. One day, at last, he left the place in disgust after warning the inhabitants of a retribution

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water lake in India. It is situated towards the north end of the Valley at a distance of about 21 miles north-west of Srīnagar. The Wulur lies, at an elevation of 5,180 feet above ase-level, and has an area of 12½ square miles, which, in years of flood, may extend over 103 square miles. In windy weather, the surface of the lake changes into a sea of rolling waves. The average depth is 12 feet, the circumference is nearly 30 miles. The outline of the lake is very regular, and its general appearance is picturesque.

The name is supposed to be a corruption of *ullola* Sanskrit for 'turbulent' or '(the lake) with high-going waves or water.' The ancient name is Mahāpadama-saras derived from the Nāga, Mahāpadama, its tutelary deity.

According to Andrew Wilson, there is something in the character of the Wulur which reminds one of Lake Leman and arises probably from the stretch of water which it presents, and the combined softness and grandeur of the scenery around. Lofty mountains rise almost immediately from its northern and eastern sides : but there is room all round the lake for the innumerable villages which enliven its shore. Calm, as it usually is, furious storms often play upon its surface, and in one of these Ranjīt Singh lost 300 of the boats carrying his retinue and effects. (*The Abode of Snow*, p. 428).

In the beginning of spring some of the wild-fowls of the Wulur and other lakes of Kashmīr take flight to the distant valleys of Yārqand and Kāshghar.

The Jhelum enters the Wulur through the east side and leaves it from the south-west corner. Captain Bates says that it " is a lake simply because its bottom is lower than the bed of the Jhelum ; it will disappear by degrees as the bed of the pass at Bārāmūla becomes more worn away by the river ; its extent is perceptibly becoming more circumscribed by the deposition of soil and detritus on its margin." In the north-west corner is the Zaina-lānk used by boatmen who dread the waves of the lake in storm though in the dry season it is no more an island. On the western shore is the scrap of Watlab on which stands the shrine of Bābā Shukūr-ud-Dīn whom people wrongly call Shukr-ud-Dīn. Fish, wild fowl and *singhāṛa* (water nut) are the chief products of the Wulur.

*Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq's Mukammal Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*, Vol. II, page 41.

which would change their habitation into a lake. His prognostication turned out to be true, and a physical disturbance is said to have turned the land into a lake!

[A striking parallel far off, here, arrests our attention. The island called Mauri-ga-Sima near Formosa, south of Japan, is also supposed to have been sunk in the sea for the crimes of its inhabitants. The vessels which the fishermen and divers brought up were sold at an immense price in China and Japan. Thomas Moore refers to it in his *Lalla Rookh* when he says:

And urns of porcelain from that isle
Sunk underneath the Indian flood,
Whence oft the lucky diver brings
Vases to grace the halls of kings.

NOTE.—Is it the Indian Ocean flood driven up to the Pacific?]

The area in question on the Wulur remained under water down to the reign of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, who conceived the idea of raising a palace in the lake. With the help of divers, he was able to lay its foundations on the remains of a temple which had once stood on this submerged land, and was now filled up with stones for the base of the structure.) In addition to the palace, now in complete ruin, a mosque was also raised. This mosque has a quarter of its old dome and a rotten door left. About forty years back the dome is said to have been seen in good condition. Had care been taken in time it could have been preserved. Mullā Ahmad Kashmīrī made this structure famous in the following verse*:

این بقعه چو بنیان فلک محکم باد
مشهور ترین زیب در عالم باد
شه زین عباد تا درو جشن کند
پیوسته چو تاریخ خودش خرم باد

[May this edifice be as firm as the foundations of the Heavens!
May it be the most renowned ornament of the Universe.
As long as the monarch Zain-i-'Ibād holds festival therein
May it be like the date of his own reign—happy.]

*Malik Haidar Chāḍura's *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*, page 145.



The Zaina-lānk in the Wulur Lake is an artificial island constructed by Sultān Zain-ul-'Abidin. The photo shows the ruins of his palace and the mosque built in 847 A.H. (1443 A.C.)

The numerical value of the letters in *khurram* (happy) is 847 A.H. (1443 A.C.), the date of the foundation of the edifice. "The stone bearing the inscription is apparently a slab of black slate well polished and furnished, and measures 21½ by 12 inches and 2½ inches thick."[1] This stone is missing.

(The king named the island Zaina-lānk. *Lānk* in Kashmīrī means an island. The expense of the work was met by the fortunate find of two idols of solid gold from the lake by divers in royal employ.)

The Sultān erected at Nau Shahr, near Srīnagar, which was in modern terminology his New Delhi, a grand palace, twelve storeys high, each consisting of fifty rooms and improved and added to the beauty of Srīnagar.[2] At Kramarājya, "he built Suratrāṇpōr graced with houses that humbled the pride of the peaks of the Himālaya."[3]

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's patronage of arts and crafts, etc.

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn invited mechanics, artisans and craftsmen from Īrān, Tūrān, Turkistān and Hindustān, and offered them good prospects and concessions to settle down in Kashmīr. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's patronage of various arts and crafts contributed very largely to the material and economic progress of the country, and considerably increased its reputation.) The products of Kashmīr industries were highly appreciated abroad and fetched high prices. An expert at fireworks taught his art to many others. Habīb—wrongly written as Jab by Rodgers—made gunpowder. "Weapons made of different metals new and hard" were devised. (A cannon was in operation.) It was "strong, well-regulated, of deep sound, and of great value."[4] Along with the serious subject of arms for the army, amusements for the people were not ignored. Acrobats were invited and they came in a large number. Music flourished to an extent never known before. It is, there-

1. Major H. S. Jarret, B. S. C., Note on an inscription found in Kashmīr, *J. A. S. B.*, No. 1, 1880, page 16.
2. Lieut. Newall, *J. A. S. B.*, No. 5, 1854, page 416.
3. *Kings of Kashmīra*, J.C. Dutt's English Translation of Jonarāja, page 94.
4. *Ibid.*, page 105.

fore, chiefly through his exertions that even today Kashmīr enjoys a high position in several arts and crafts, *e.g.*, wood-carving, paper-making, shawl-weaving and carpentry. He also sent individuals from among his own subjects to other countries to learn certain industries. Some of the arts of the time were imported from India. He forbade merchants to hide merchandise in their own houses, and compelled them to expose it for sale at a reasonable profit. He devoted his attention to medical science as well, and provided facilities for his subjects by establishing state hospitals for the treatment of disease. It is interesting to note that the great families of physicians, famous in Delhi and Lucknow, originally came from Kashmīr. Khwāja A'ẓam credits Baḍ Shāh with having imported midwives and nurses from Samarqand. This may have led to the introduction of maternity wards or conveniences to women needing them in Kashmīr, a step far ahead of several contemporaries of Baḍ Shāh.

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's patronage of letters.

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's love for letters was in no way inferior to that for arts and crafts. His interest in the intellectual growth and economic progress of his subjects was keen and unflagging. He extended his patronage to scholars in as generous a measure as to artisans and craftsmen; hence the great influx into Kashmīr of scholars and men of letters from other lands. For reasons of space, it is impossible to give an account of all the men of letters who were attached to his court or flourished in his time; therefore, a very brief account of but a few, more notable among them, is given below*:—

1. Maulānā Kabīr.—He was a Kashmīrī by birth who had, in his youth, migrated to Herāt, at which place he studied theology and all its allied sciences. The king, after several attempts, induced him to return to Kashmīr to hold the office of Shaikh-ul-Islam or Head of the Ecclesiastical Department. He was also placed at the head of the university, for the upkeep and maintenance of which the revenues of several villages in the Nāgām pargana were assigned.

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* *Ta'rikh-i-Kabir*, page 290. Also the *Ta'rikh-i-Baḍ Shāhi* by Fauq, Lahore, 1944.

2. Mullā Ahmad Kashmīrī.—He was the pupil of Sadr-ul-Mudarrisīn Maulānā Muhammad Afzal of Bukhārā who had come to Kashmīr during the reign of Sultān Sikandar. Mullā Ahmad was a profound scholar, a distinguished poet, and an excellent historian. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Waqā'i'-i-Kashmīr* and a translation of the *Mahābhārata* into Persian are among his works. Baḍ Shāh has thus the credit of the first translation of the *Mahābhārata* into Persian. Mullā Ahmad also translated into Persian Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* by command of the Sultān, who named this version *Bahr-ul-Asmār* or 'The Sea of Tales,' perhaps, in contrast to Kalhaṇa's 'River of Kings.' This translation or perhaps adaptation of Kalhaṇa's work must have been incomplete, as in 1594 A.C., Akbar asked Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī to complete it. But as Mullā Ahmad's translation must have become rather archaic Persian in Akbar's time, the Emperor, therefore, asked for a fresh, complete translation of the whole.

[Badāyūnī (p. 384) says:—"The Emperor had ordered me to re-write the Persian translation of the *History of Kashmīr* by Mullā Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābād, a learned man well versed in argumentative sciences and history. I was to write it in an easy style. This I did, and in the space of two months I presented my book, which was put in His Majesty's Library to await its turn for reading." This order was given, it appears, during Akbar's stay in Kashmīr, from the 2nd Jumādā II to 2nd Zīqa'dah, 997 A.H. (1588 A.C.), when he returned by way of Kābul in the beginning of 998 A.H. (1589 A.C.). "No copies have till now turned up of either Shāh Muhammad's *History of Kashmīr* or Badāonī's revision."*

Again Badāyūnī, on page 402, says: "I was told to complete the *Bahr-ul-Asmār*, a book containing stories which, at the command of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, had been partly translated into Persian. I translated the new portions within the next five months, all in all about sixty *juz*. Soon after, the Emperor called me once to his sleeping apartment, and asked me the whole night till dawn about these stories. He also ordered me to re-write the first volume of the *Bahr-ul-Asmār*, because it was written in ancient Persian, no longer spoken, and told me to keep the MS. of the portion which I had made. I performed the *zamīnbūsī* and commenced with heart and soul the new work. His Majesty also gave me ten thousand Murādī *tankas* (struck when Murād

**Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume XXXVIII, Part I, No. III, 1869, page 135, under—"*Badāonī and his Works*" by H. Blochmann, M.A., Assistant Professor. Calcutta Madrasah, April, 1869, pages 105-144.

was born) and a horse as a present."[1] Towards the end of the same year (1003 A.H.=1594 A.C.), 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī had to mourn the death of Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* of Kashmīr.

Dr. Charles Riéu's *Catalogue* of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum (Volume I, 1879, page 296), however, tells us that راجترنگی (Add. 24,032) is probably the work re-written by 'Abdul Qādir Bāda'ūnī, in 999 A.H.=1590-91 A.C. Abu'l Fazl's exact words in the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* are :—" The *History of Kashmīr*, which extends over the last four thousand years, has been translated from Kashmīrian into Persian by Maulānā Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābād (English Translation by H. Blochmann, M.A., Volume I, 1873, p. 106). Riéu notes that this translation was from Sanskrit into Persian for Akbar by Mullā Shāh Muhammad in the year 998 A.H. (1589 A.C.). *The History of India* by Elliot and Dowson says the translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is usually attributed to Maulānā 'Imād-ud-Dīn (Volume V, 1873, page 478). 'Imād-ud-Dīn is presumably the author of the *Rauzat-ut-Tāhirīn* which is a general history from the earliest times to 1014 A.H.=1605 A.C., containing in its fifth part a section on 'Kings of Kashmīr' (Riéu's *Catalogue*, Volume I, pp. 117-119).

Bernier states[2] that an abridged translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* into Persian was made by command of Jahāngīr and adds that he was engaged upon rendering this into French. But, says Horace Hayman Wilson,[3] we have "never heard anything more of Mr. Bernier's translation."]

3, 4. Hāfiz Baghdādī and Mullā Pārsā were two other scholars who, as lecturers, spent their lives in the royal university. They were both immigrants. The first one was from Baghdād as his name denotes and the other was from Bukhārā. The Hāfiz is buried in the tomb of Maulānā Kabīr. The Mullā found his last resting-place in Nau Shahr.

5. *Qāzī Jamāl-ud-Dīn.*—As has been stated previously, Jamāl originally came from Hindustān. He was leading an austere and secluded life at the Khānqāh of Shāh Hamadān, imparting knowledge to those who sought it. His introduction to the king's court took place in a strange manner.[4]

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1. *Badāonī and His Works*, by H. Blochmann, *J.A.S.B.*, Volume XXXVIII, 1869, No. 3, pp. 141-142.
2. *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, revised edition by Vincent A. Smith, 1914, p. 186.
3. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, 1825, p. 2.
4. *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Malik Haidar Chādura, MS., page 147.



The Khānqāh at Saidahpōr further up Sopōr.

He used to write petitions for persons who had either a law-suit, or sought redress for some grievance. The king was deeply impressed by his scholarship as he perused the petitions presented to him. This excited the king's imagination and made him all the more eager to see Jamāl-ud-Dīn.

Once a petition, in verse, from Jamāl's pen came up before the king, in which the former had deplored the demise of Sultān Sikandar, the last line of the petition was:

شہے کہ بُود مُرادش بجائے مِسکینان

بجان و دِل طلبیدے دُعاء مِسکینان

On reading this petition, the king could no longer restrain his desire to see Jamāl, and dispatched a noble to bring him to the court. He was received with marked respect and honour by the king to whom he presented a volume of one of his works. The king later appointed him Chief Justice for the whole of his kingdom.

6. Another scholar of distinction in this reign who also held the office of Qāzī, was Qāzī Mīr 'Alī Bukhārī who came from Bukhārā, and was held in high esteem by the king and received a jāgīr or assignment for his maintenance.

7. Sayyid Husain Qummī Rizavī, a learned theologian who had renounced his home to preach Islam, came to Kashmīr and was invited by the Sultān to stay in Bāgh-i-Zaina-gīr, Tahsīl Handwāra, which is now known as Sayyidpōr or Saidahpōr after the learned Sayyid.

8. Hakīm Mansūr wrote the *Kifāyah-i-Mansūrī* on medicine in Persian. It is translated into Urdu and published by the Newal Kishore Press.

9. Mullā Nādirī, according to Malik Haidar Chādura,* succeeded Mullā Ahmad as the poet-laureate of Baḍ Shāh. Nādirī was a historian too. But neither his *Dīvān* nor his *History of Kashmīr* are available.

Ta'rīkh, page 32, Pratāp Library MS. copy.

10. Shaikh Bahā-ud-Dīn Ganj Bakhsh, a well-known saint of the time, was a disciple of Khwāja Is-hāq of Khatlān, a prominent *Khalīfa* of Shāh Hamadān. The Shaikh travelled very extensively. In Kashmīr, he associated himself with Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn and Sayyid Muhammad Madanī. Stories of his profound meditation and his extreme humility, his self-abnegation and self-effacement are related. His funeral was attended by a large number of notables of the time. Baḍ Shāh's queen, Baihaqī Begam, sold an ornament of hers to erect the Shaikh's tomb when he died in 849 A.H. (1445 A.C.).[1]

11. Qāzī Hamīd came of a family that held the office of *Qazā* or administration of justice. He is reputed to be the author of a good history of Kashmīr, which unfortunately cannot be traced today. His son, Qāzī Ibrāhīm, took up the continuation of the history left by his father; but this history too is not extant.

12. Sayyid Nasīr-ud-Dīn Khanyārī is a notable of Baḍ Shāh's time. The Sayyid came originally from Baihaq, a district to the north-west of Nīshāpūr in Īrān. Baḍ Shāh entrusted him with ambassadorial duties. Nasīr-ud-Dīn is buried in *mahalla* Khanyār, Srīnagar, under a dome which contains also the grave of Yūz Āsaf. The area is known as Rauza-bal.

13-21. Yūz Āsaf believed to have been an envoy from Egypt, Bābā 'Usmān Uchchap Ganāī, a learned divine, Hājī Adham a saintly figure, Shams-ud-Dīn Andrābī a noted scholar, Sultān Muhammad a poet, Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī Balkhī who gave up sovereignty for a saintly life, Sayyid Jānbāz Valī, Mīr Sayyid Hasan Mantiqī, Bābā Zain ud-Dīn Rīshī are others who adorned the age of the Sultān.

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, whose name is sanskritized as *Jaina*, and whom Jonarāja calls Çrī Jainollābhadīna, was a student of Sanskrit, and also "a patron of Sanskrit learning and occasionally a pilgrim to the ancient *tīrthas* of the Valley."[2] During his peaceful reign, Hindu traditions re-asserted themselves while the country enjoyed a return of its old prosperity. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn is also credited with having studied Hindu philosophy (Yōga-vaçishtha). Çrīvara says

1. Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn Fauq's *Ta'rīkh-i-Baḍ Shāhī*, Ittihād Press, Lāhore, 1944, page 243.
2. Stein's Introduction to his English Translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, page 131.

the king "caused the Purāṇas, books on logic, the Mīmānsā and other books to be brought from distant lands, and distributed them to the learned. The king heard me recite the Vāshiṣhṭa Brahma-darshana composed by Vālmīki. . . . The mlechhas read the Vṛihat Kathā-sāra, the Hāṭakeshwara Samhitā, the Purāṇas and other books in their own language."[1]

The most distinguished among the Hindu scholars were the following:

1. Uttha-Soma was a Kashmīrī scholar thoroughly conversant with Persian, Sanskrit and his own language, in which he composed verses. He held a high post in the Translation Bureau and wrote, in Kashmīrī, Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's life the *Jaina-charita*.

2. Yōdhabhaṭṭa was an exceedingly intelligent person endowed with a marvellous memory. He went to Mahārāshtra to study the Atharva Veda, and was induced by Çriyabhaṭṭa to return to Kashmīr in order to spread the knowledge of that Veda. Five hundred years later, when the late Shankar Pāṇḍurang Pandit brought out his famous edition of the *Atharva Veda*, owing to the lack of the manuscript in the Dakhan, he relied on this Kashmīrī MS.[2]

3. Jonarāja was a scholar of Sanskrit and of "considerable attainments though apparently witnout much originality." He was a historian who, in his own words, made an outline of the history of kings and brought Kalhaṇa's work up to date. The king rewarded him with his customary liberality. Jonarāja received orders from the noble-hearted Çriyabhaṭṭa, the Superintendent of the Courts of Justice, "to complete the story of the kingly line." Jonarāja died in 1459 A.C.

4. Çrīvara was another of the noted historians, though "he was an imitator of Kalhaṇa." He undertook to finish the remainder of the book of kings left by Jonarāja on his death. Çrīvara, after Baḍ Shāh's death, sanskritized Jāmī's *Yūsuf-Zulaikhā* in 1505. It is entitled the *Kathā-kautuka*.[3]

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1. *Kings of Kashmīra*, pp. 145-46.

2. The *Rājatrangiṇī* by Ranjīt Sītārām Pandit, 1935, page 25, footnote 176.

3. Published in 1901, and printed at the Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, Bombay. Edited by M. M. Pandit Çivadatta, Head Pandit, Oriental College, Lahore, and Kāshināth Pāndurang Parab. Sir A. Berriedale Keith is wrong in stating that it was written under Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, *vide A History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1928, page 361.

Other notable scholars were: (5) Tilak Āchārya, the Buddhist, (6) Karpūrabhaṭṭa, the physician (7) Rupyabhaṭṭa, the astronomer, (8) Simha, the astrologer, (9) Rāmananda, the chemist, who wrote an exposition of Mahābāçya. Bhaṭṭa Avatāra wrote the *Jaina-vilāsa*. (10) Çivabhaṭṭa was the physician in personal attendance on the king and supervised his meals.

All these literary activities, with all their incidental expensės, acquired the volume they did, as the king himself was a scholar " well-versed in the literature of his age," and conversant with a number of languages. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn dictated instructions to Habīb, the Mīr Ātish, in the form of *Questions and Answers* on the composition and preparation of explosives. He composed the *Shikāyat* (plaint) " treating of the vanity of all objects," in his old age. Both these were in Persian. [Baḍ Shāh sent to Mahmūd I, the Khaljī ruler of Mānḍu, " a beautiful poem composed by himself in his own language,"[1] presumably Persian as Mahmūd could hardly enjoy a poem in Kashmīrī. Kashmīrī literature also received a great impetus.) The Sultān's activities in the domain of literature and scholarship were not confined to translations of books, among which the translation of the *Mahābhārata* holds a prominent place, he spent huge sums, sent his men to various places, and thus collected a library which compared favourably with the one collected by the Sāmānids. This library remained intact down to the day of Fath Shāh, approximately for a period of one hundred years, after which it perished.[2]

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's love of poetry.

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn loved poetry, and derived much delight from the company of poets whose number at his court was not negligible. The most brilliant among them was Malik-ush-Shu'rā, (the poet laureate), Mullā Ahmad Kashmīrī whose *nom de guerre* was "*Qutb*." Malik Haidar Chāḍura has quoted the following two lines of this poet:

اے بگرد شمع رُوبت عالمے پروانہ
وز لب شیرین تُو شُوربست در ہر خانہ
من بہ چندین آشنائی می خُورم خُون جگر
آشنا را حال این است، وای بر بیگانہ

1. *Kings of Kashmira*, page 150.
2. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haidar Chāḍura, page 135.

[Vide the *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Malik Haidar Chāḍura, page 145.]

Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq* in his *Mukammal Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*, Vol. II (page 20), has ascribed these lines to Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn, and has also given the last couplet of the *ghazal* which is as follows :—

قطبِ مسکیں گر گناهے می کند، عیش مکن

عیب نبود گر گناهے می کند دیوانهٔ

Malik Haidar Chāḍura, on the other hand, takes these fines to have been composed by Mullā Ahmad. Considering that Malik Haidar's history is an epitome of the works of Maulānā Nādirī and Mullā Ahmad, Fauq's ascription falls to the ground. But Fauq has withdrawn this ascription in his *Ta'rīkh-i-Baḍshāhī* (1944). Khwāja Qutb-ud-Dīn Bakhtlyār Kākī of Dehli is certainly not the author of these lines as suggested by some. Since the *Dīvān* of Khwāja Bakhtiyār Kākī published by the Newal Kishore Press does not contain these lines, and Khāwāja Kākī does not use *Qutb* for his *home de plume*, but generally *Qutb-i-Dīn.*

Mullā Ahmad and Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn had, at times, contests in improvisation. Once the Mullā appeared in the Sultān's presence with the tassel of his turban hanging on his forehead, whereupon the Sultān improvised the following couplet :

شاخِ پیشانی ملا احمدِ کشمیر ببیں   گر ندیدستی تو در آفاق گاوِ شاخسار

To this the Mullā replied with the couplet :

شاخِ پیشانی خدیوا گرگ* واری داشتم   تا نیایم درمیانِ ماده گاوان در شمار

The Sultān was so delighted with the ready wit of the Mullā that he rewarded him munificently.

As a result of intrigue by his enemies, the nature of which is not revealed, the Mullā fell into disgrace, and was consequently banished. After reaching Pakhlī, he sent the following couplets to the Sultān :

نے به نحوم ز مبتدا خبرے   نے به منطق ز جزو و کل اثرے

برمن این کسر و جر چرا رانند   احمد ار غیر منصرف خوانند

The Sultān was greatly moved by perusing these lines, and forthwith sent orders to the Mullā to return.

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* Another reading is کرگ meaning the rhinoceros, or the Tibetan yāk, but the wolf has the tuft of his tail drawn on his head when angry.

Baḍ Shāh's army and his conquests.

When the Sultān ascended the throne, the army numbered 100,000 foot and 30,000 cavalry. He so organized it as to leave no possibility of a rebellion or rising. Moreover, his personal treatment of the officers so charmed them that, at his bidding they were ready to march with their men bravely facing any danger. He conquered the whole of the Punjāb[1] though his army led by Jasārat Khān Gakhar failed to conquer Delhi.[2] The Punjab had then slipped from the feeble grasp of the Sayyid King of Delhī. Baḍ Shāh added Bhoṭṭaland or Western Tibet, very probably between 1460 and 1470 A.C., to his dominion. Here he rescued a golden image of Buddha from destruction in Sayā-desha or Shel (pronounced Shē), above Leh, on the Indus. This village has always been famous for its large Buddhist images. The Sultān took the town of Kulūtā or Kulū which, apparently at that time, was occupied by the Tibetans.[3] The king of Kulūtā or Kulū was a vassal of the king of Leh. After taking Kulū, Baḍ Shāh returned by way of Lāhul in Kāngṛa. There is an uncorroborated tradition that in the course of his conquest of the Punjāb, he halted at Amritsar where old Kashmīrīs repeated, until lately, this tradition about his halt, and said that he had a well dug out in the locality known after him as "Baḍ Khū" which was subsequently called " Baṭ Khū " on account of the influx of Kashmīrī Pandits in that quarter of the city. According to the *Tabaqāt*, Baḍ Shāh allowed the treasuries of all countries, which were conquered, to be plundered; and assessed the revenue on them on the same scale as that of the country round the capital.

His statesmanship and foreign relations.

Besides putting down conspiracies and removing such elements as tended to disturb the tranquillity of his realm, the Sultān further proceeded to enter into friendly relations with his immediate neighbours, as well as the potentates and rulers of distant lands. He sent ambassadors with adequate presents and letters to the kings of Khurāsān,

1. Indian or provincial historians make no mention of this conquest of the Punjāb by Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. I suppose it was a mere swoop and led to no established occupation.

2. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's edition, Calcutta, 1935, Vol. 3, page 435.

3. The *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, Volume XXXVII, July, 1908, p. 188


INDIA
AT THE TIME OF
SULTĀN ZAIN-UL-ĀBIDĪN
1420-70 A.C.
LITTLE TIBET
Gilgit
Kābul
Parashur
Bārāmūla
Gulmarg
Skardu
Leh
Shupiyan
Punch
Islāmābād
Vernag
Kishtwār
Jammu
Nagarkot
Sirhind
SHMIR
KINGDOM OF DELHI
Amritsar
R. Rāvi
R. Sutlej
Veh
RĀJPUTĀNA
Sehwān
Bukkur
SIND
SAMĀ
Ajmer
GWALIOR
R. Chambal
R. Luni
Anhilwāra
Chitor
JAUNPUR
JAUNPUR
PANDUA
Gaur
R. Ganges
BEHAR
BENGAL
MĀLWA
AHMADĀBĀD
MANDU
Hoshangābād
GARHA
GUJARĀT
R. Narbada
Kherla
KHĀNDESH
R. Mahānadi
CUTTACK
GONDWĀNA
Udayagiri
Daulatābād
BAHMANI
KINGDOM
CHANDA
R. Wainganga
R. Godāvari
Warangal
Golconda
TELANGANA
R. Krishna
VIJAYANAGAR
VIJAYA-
NAGAR
R. Kaveri
ARABIAN
SEA
BAY
OF
BENGAL

Turkistān, Āzarbāijān,[1] Gīlān,[2] Sīstān and the Sultān of Turkey, the Burjī Mamlūk of Egypt, and the Sharīf of Mecca. Sultān Buhlūl Lodī, Sultān Mahmūd Begarha of Gujrāt, and Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn (Nanda) of Sind received his embassies. The ruler of Tibet sent him a pair of extremely beautiful geese to which a strange performance was attributed, namely, that they could separate milk and water, and drink the milk and leave the water in the vessel. Between the Sultān and the Tonwār rājā of Gwālior love of music formed a bond.

The noted contemporary rulers of Baḍ Shāh in India were :

Delhi	.. From Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Mubārak son of Khizr Khān, to Buhlūl Lodī		
Sind	.. Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn (or Nanda)	.. 1437—1494	A.C.
Multān	.. Qutb-ud-Dīn Shāh	.. 1440—1456	,,
Jaunpur	.. Mahmūd Shāh	.. 1436—1458	,,
Deccan	.. Ahmad Shāh Walī	.. 1422—1436	,,
Gujrāt	.. Mahmūd Begarha	.. 1458—1511	,,
Mālwa	.. Mahmūd I (Khaljī)	.. 1436—1469	,,
Khāndesh	.. Mubārak Khān	.. 1441—1457	,,
Bengāl	.. Nasīr-ud-Dīn Mahmūd Shāh	1442—1460	,,
Orissa	.. Kapilēçvara (or Kapilendra) Deva	.. 1434—1470	,,
Vijayanagar	.. Devarāya II	.. 1419—1446	,,
Gondwāna	.. Suraja Ballāl Singh (Sher Sāh Ballāl Sāh)	.. 1437—1462	,,
Burma	.. Queen Shinsawbu	.. 1453—1472	,,
Ceylon	.. Parakkama-Bāhu VI	.. 1409—1466	,,

1. Āzarbāijān is now a province of north-western Īrān with an area of 40,000 square miles. The population is estimated at 2,000,000. The capital is Tabrīz which has a population of 200,000. Āzarbāijān was also a province in the empire of the Caliphs. It consists generally of lofty mountain ranges. The principal river is the Araxes which enters the Caspian.

The former Russian provinces of Bākū and Elizavetpol on the coast of the Caspian Sea are also now called Āzarbāijān and declared a Socialist Soviet Republic since 30th September, 1920 A.C., with Bākū as its capital. This second Āzarbāijān was a part of the old one.

2. Gīlān, a province of Īrān south of the Caspian Sea and north of the Alburz chain, is now a *vilāyat* with Rasht as capital. The population numbers 250,000. Gīlān, independent for long, was conquered by Hulāgū, and finally incorporated in Īrān by the Safavids. Arabs call it Jīl or Jīlān.

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's European contemporary rulers were:

England	.. Henry VI	.. 1422—1461 A.C
Scotland	.. James II	.. 1437—1460 ,,
France	.. Charles VII	.. 1422—1461 ,,
Spain	.. Henry IV	.. 1454—1474 ,,
Empire	.. Emperor Frederic IV	.. 1439—1498 ,,
Pope	.. Eugenius IV	.. 1431—1447 ,,

Some of the Muslim contemporaries were :—

Among the Nasrids of Granada (Spain)—

(*i*) Muhammad VIII Al-Mutamassik ibn Yūsuf III 1417-1427 A.C.
(*ii*) Muhammad IX—As-Saghīr ibn Nasr
(*iii*) Muhammad VIII (again)
(*iv*) Abu'l Hajjāj Yūsuf IV ibn Muhammad VI.
(*v*) Muhammad X—Al-Ahnāf ibn 'Usmān
(*vi*) Sa'd Al-Musta'īn ibn 'Alī
(*vii*) Muhammad X (again). (*viii*) Sa'd (again)
(*ix*) Abu'l Hasan 'Alī ibn Sa'd 1461-1482 A.C.

In Morocco and Algeria—Abū Muhammad 'Abdul Haqq ibn Abī Sa'īd 'Usmān II and Abū-Zakariyā Yahyā ibn Zayān Al-Wattāsi.

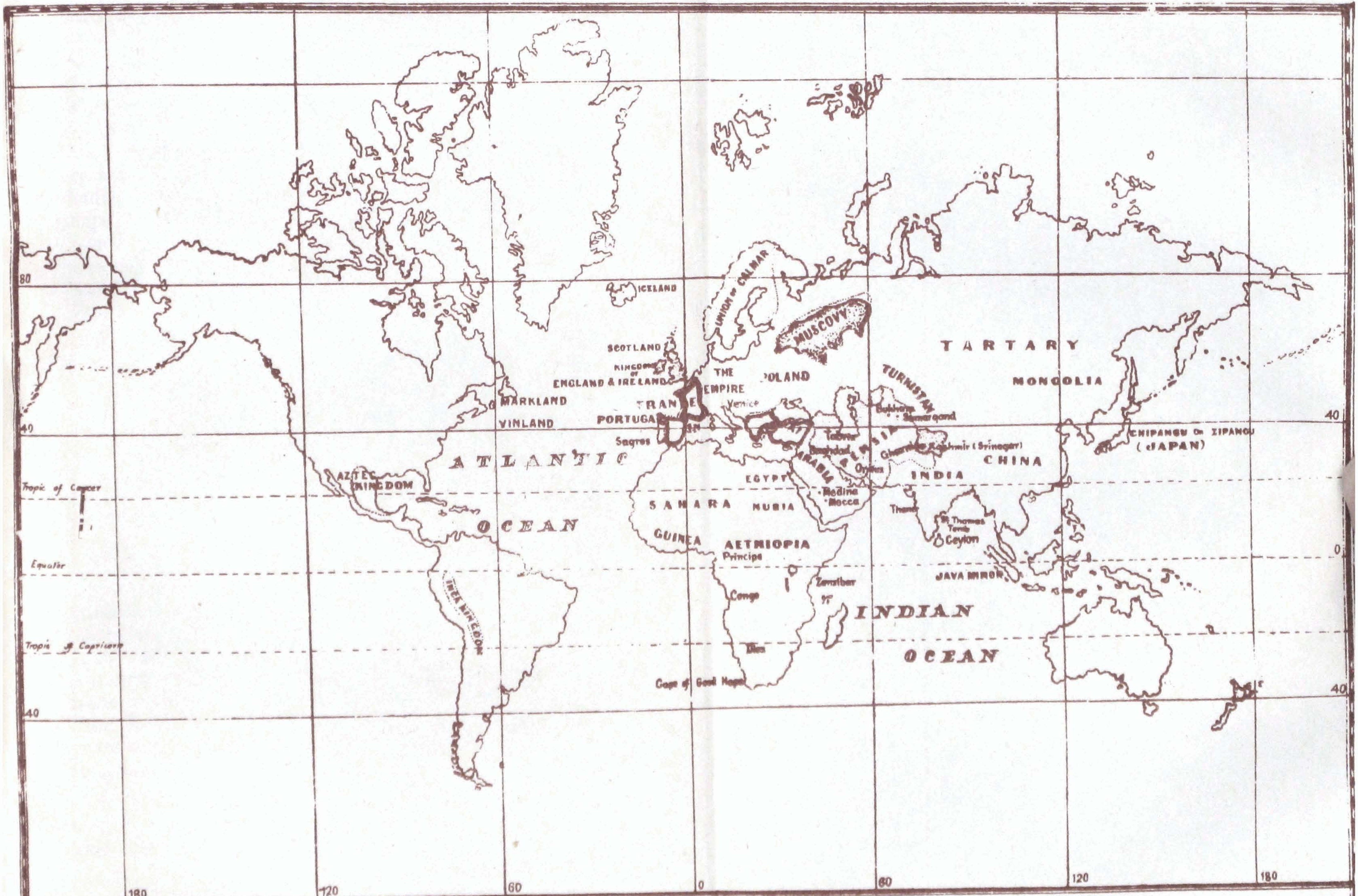
In Egypt and Syria, among the Burjī Mamlūks—(1) Ashraf Saif-ud-Dīn Barsbaī (2) Al-'Azīz Jamāl-ud-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Barsbaī (3) Az-Zāhir Saif-ud-Dīn Jaqmaq (4) Al-Mansūr Fakhr-ud-Dīn 'Usmān ibn Jaqmaq (5) Al-Ashraf Saif-ud-Dīn Ināl (6) Al-Muayyad Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad (7) Az-Zāhir Saif-ud-Dīn Khushqadam (8) Az-Zāhir Saif-ud-Dīn Bilbaī (9) Az-Zāhir Timurbughā (10) Al-Ashraf Saif-ud-Dīn Qaītabāī.

In Āzarbāijān among the Qara-Quyunlīs, the Turkomān clan known as the Black Sheep from the device on their standards—(*i*) Sikandar ibn Yūsuf (2) Muzaffar-ud-Dīn Jahān Shāh ibn Yūsuf (3) Hasan 'Alī. Among the Aq-Quyunlī's, the Turkomān clan of the White Sheep—(1) Nur-ud-Dīn Hamza ibn Qara Yūluq (2) Mu'īzz-ud-Dīn Jahāngīr (3) Uzun Hasan ibn 'Alī.

The Sharīfs of Mecca at the time were—(1) 'Alī ibn 'Inān (1423 A.C.) (2) 'Alī ibn 'Ajlān, (3) 'Alī ibn Al-Hasan (4) Abu'l Qāsim ibn Al-Hasan, and (5) Muhammad ibn Barakāt.

Bad Shāh's attitude towards Hindus.

Among measures adopted by the Sultān, there were certain laws relating to the Hindus which vouchsafed to them a just administration and a trial of their cases according



THE WORLD at the time of SULTĀN ZAIN-UL-'ĀBIDĪN'S rule in KASHMĪR 1420-70 A.C.

Ram narayan Dube Hoshangabad

to their own laws. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*[1] says the Sultān took an agreement from Brahmans that they would not act in contravention of what was written in their books. After this the odious measures of persecution instituted by Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Sikandar's prime minister, were revoked, and a general toleration of all religions was proclaimed. The Brahmans and other Hindus who had migrated during the last régime were recalled. Complete religious independence was granted. Some of the temples which had been demolished in the last reign were re-built, and permission was accorded to erect new ones. Within the palace known as Siddhapurī, Baḍ Shāh repaired dilapidated temples by props, or re-built them, says Çrīvara.[2] Pāthashālas were opened for Hindu boys to study their own scriptures. Scholarships were awarded to students for the study of Sanskrit and they were deputed to the Deccan and to Kāshī (Benares).[3] The Sultān remitted the poll-tax and granted *jāgīrs* or assignments to Hindus and discountenanced the killing of cows. He further encouraged his Hindu subjects by taking into his service such of them as deserved his patronage and recognition. It is also remarkable that the Kārkun (state service) and Bāchh Baṭ (priestly) classes[4] of Brahmans came into being, and obtained recognition in this reign. These two sections continue to be two distinct groups and do not intermarry even to this day. A third section is the Jotish or astrologer class which intermarry with the Kārkun. According to Munshī Muhammad-ud-Dīn *Fauq* (*The Ta'rīkh-i-Aqwām-i-Kashmīr*, Vol. I, p. 43) the Brahmans who first took to the study of Persian and Muslim learning in Kashmīr were the Saprūs, the forefathers of the caste that in our day produced (*i*) the late Sir Muhammad Iqbāl whose family embraced Islam in the days of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, and migrated to Siālkōt, (*ii*) the Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahādur Sapru whose family migrated from Kashmīr, according to Sir Tej himself, "about 130 years or more and settled down in Delhi," and then moved to Allāhābād.

(Hindu and Muslim subjects of Bad Shāh lived at peace with each other undisturbed by religious dissensions. In case there occurred any occasional friction it was

1. De's Calcutta edition of 1945, Vol. 3, page 436.
2. *Kings of Kashmira*, page 142.
3. The *Hamdard*, Srīnagar, 25th January, 1942.
4. *The Valley of Kashmīr* by W. Lawrence, 1895, p. 192.

amicably settled by *panchāyats* at which the monarch* himself presided.

Baḍ Shāh's suavity in effecting reforms.

The Sultān provided his subjects with a code of laws, and had them all engraved on copper-plates and placed in public markets and halls of justice. He was in this respect, perhaps, the first systematic lawgiver of Kashmīr. He abhorred every kind of bloodshed and never put to death any one for a petty crime. It is recorded of him that he gave away some camel loads of money and cloth for the repose of the soul of a man whom he had executed because he had been guilty of the wanton death of his wife. Perhaps Jonarāja refers to this case. "Though the king was kind-hearted," writes Jonarāja, "yet for the sake of his people, he would not forgive even his sons, or a minister, or a friend if he were guilty. Mereshaya the Yāvana (*i.e.*, Muslim) was once drunk, and killed his wife without any fault, and though he was the king's favourite, yet the king caused him to be executed." (Similarly, according to Firishta, Baḍ Shāh executed his own foster-brother Sher on Sher's killing his own brother Mas'ūd. Arbitrary fines imposed by provincial governors were abolished, says Firishta The Sultān released all the prisoners of former kings. When the Chaks set fire to his grand Zaina Ḍab, a magnificent palace twelve storeys high, he drove them back and had their leader Pāndū Chak flogged to death, but took his younger son, Husain Chak, the younger brother of Himmat Chak, into favour. We shall meet this Husain Chak later in our history when he becomes Shī'a under the influence of Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī. This mildness of temper and leniency shown to people did not, however, encourage any crime in the country though perhaps, in later days, strife among the Sultān's sons could be said to have been due to this undue mildness of disposition.)

A system of prison industries like pottery and others was instituted. The brandishing of prisoners was stopped, and they were required to work on road construction. He devoted particular attention to the agriculturist class, and adopted many measures which enormously improved their condition. He did not even spare himself. He personally

*Major H. S. Jarrett, *B. S. C.*, Note on an inscription found in Kashmīr, *J. A. S. B.*, No. I,—1880, page 22.

supervised the construction of several bridges, canals and aqueducts, rendering thereby a large portion of Kashmīr arable and irrigated.) His Zaina-gīr canal has been recently reconstructed. (He added to the length of the *jarīb* or the chain, and the yard but the detail is not available. What the *Tabaqāt* records is: "In kindness to the *ra'īyat* he increased the length of the yard measure and of the chain beyond what had been customary." In simple language we may understand that he standardized the *jarīb* and the yard. Land assessment was revised, being reduced to a seventh in some places. Village-folk and farmers were further protected from the exactions of revenue officers by a law which prohibited the latter from accepting any gifts. The price of commodities were regulated by monthly notifications. Sale deeds were stamped with the king's seal. Rest-houses were built on principal roads, and shelters were set up within forests. The Sultān took a further stride in raising the status of those placed low in life.

Baḍ Shāh's sources of income.

For a great court, for a galaxy of eminent scholars, for a number of structures, some of which were indeed magnificent and for his army, the Sultān needed money. This he found by the working of copper mines, the collection of gold dust in the Ladākh rivers, and the construction of an extensive system of canals which irrigated large tracts of arid land.

ز هر کس ناید این کز امرِ همّت نهالِ عهد را سرسبز دارد

—طبقاتِ اکبری

[To every one does not come such strength of resolution].
That he can keep the plant of his time verdant.]

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn and Akbar compared.

Historians have sometimes drawn a comparison between Zain-ul-'Ābidīn and Akbar. It is essential, in the first place, not to forget that they were not contemporaries. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn was, moreover, the Sultān of Kashmīr, and parts of Tibet and of the Punjab, while Akbar held under his sway a kingdom which far exceeded many times that of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. There is, therefore, no comparison between the two in the matter of the extent of their kingdoms. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn did not lack Akbar's enterprise and physical vigour, but the field for their display was

comparatively limited for Baḍ Shāh. A very great point of similitude between the two was the popularity, particularly with Hindus, enjoyed by both. A more careful observation, however, will clearly show that, even in gaining popularity, their approach was quite dissimilar to each other. Akbar had favoured the development of an eclectic faith of his own to which he gave the name of "Divine Faith" and matrimonial alliances with Rājput princes. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's greatness lies in this, that without compromising his religion, or having recourse to any of such measures of policy, he was able to command as much love and respect from his Hindu subjects, perhaps more than Akbar did. In his aims and objects, the monarch stood for what Akbar always pursued and kept in view. As Sir Wolseley Haig has well put it, Zain-ul-'Ābidīn "possessed a stock of learning and accomplishments from which Akbar's youthful indolence had, to a great extent, excluded him, his views were more enlightened than the emperor's and he practised a tolerance which Akbar only preached."

شہنشاہِ مُعظّم شاہِ زینُ العابدیں بڈشاہ
کیا اکبر نے جس سے کسبِ آئینِ جہانبانی

—مہجُور

H. Beveridge[1] who spent over twenty years in translating the historical part of the *Akbar-nāma* feels driven to say that Akbar has been over-praised. Akbar had the defects of his age and race, and of his own idiosyncrasy. He was both ruthless and self-indulgent. He ordered a lamp-lighter to be flung over the battlements for the crime of having fallen asleep in the imperial bed. He flung into the river a man who failed to trace out a ford on the Indus on one occasion. On another occasion, Akbar in anger at a person, coming into his presence drunk, had him drenched with cold water with the result that the poor man eventually died of shock. V. A. Smith's special study of Akbar made him assert that, on many occasions, Akbar would get rid of people he considered dangerous by assassination or secret execution.[2]

It is true that Akbar, after he became half a Hindu or half a Pārsī, expressed horror at Jahāngīr's cruelties but

1. English Translation of the *Akbar-nāma* of Abu'l Fazl, Vol. III, Introduction, page XIII-IV.
2. *Akbar the Great Mogul* by V. A. Smith, second edition, 1937, page 343.

it was Akbar, points out Beveridge,[1] who hanged the innocent and able Mansūr Shīrāzī, and it was he who killed or connived at the killing of his old and once venerated teacher! Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's life was free from such cruelty. He was no Tartar. His veins were not tainted with blood from the bloody Chingīz.

Akbar's own son, Jahāngīr, writing about the piety of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn says that he passed many periods of 'forty days' in his Zaina Lānk, and adds that the Sultān is said to have performed many miracles (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, page 306). Akbar experienced trouble from Jahāngīr. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn had likewise trouble from his sons.

The family lives of Bād Shāh and Akbar.

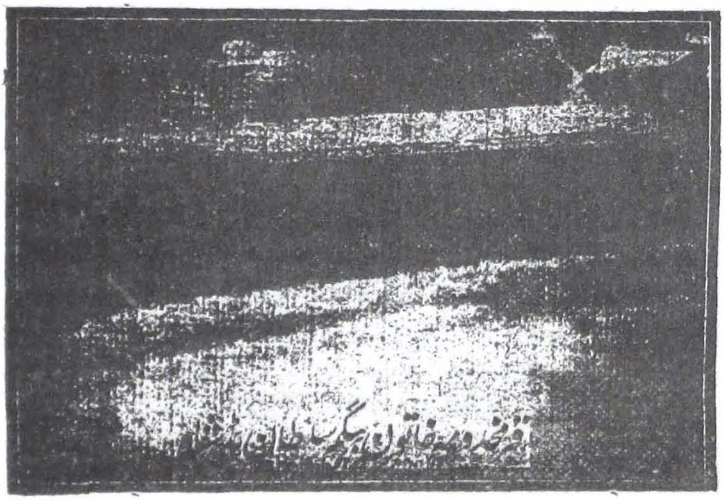
(Akbar had more than 300 wives.[2] Baḍ Shāh had but two. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn possessed the virtue so rare among medieval monarchs whether of the East or of the West, of contenting himself, as just noted, with only two wives because the first one had no male child. Akbar's own historian, Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad writes that Baḍ Shāh "never looked at the face of a strange woman.")

The following incident throws further light on this aspect of Baḍ Shāh's character. "Tributary Hindu chiefs observed the practice of sending a daughter to the harem of the lord paramount, and it is related that Sundarasena, the chief of Rājapurī (the ancient name of Rajaurī) whose accession is fixed at about 1450 A.C., sent his eldest daughter, Rajya Devī, to Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. On her arrival in Kashmīr, the king was engaged in sport on the Wulur Lake. Seeing the ladies' party coming, he asked one of his attendants the question: "What mother's *ḍolī*[3] is that?" On hearing that it was the Rājapurī princess sent to him, he said, "As I have already called her *mother* how can I receive her as a *wife*?" She was sent over to live with the ladies of the harem, where she afterwards became a Muslim. The Rājwīr, or Rajaurī Kadal, a bridge over the Mār canal in Srīnagar, was built by her."[4]

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1. The *Akbar-nāma*, Introduction, page XV.
2. *Ibid.*, page XVIII.
3. A kind of palankeen or covered litter for a person, usually carried by four or five men.
4. J. Hutchinson and J. Ph. Vōgel, *Journal of the Panjāb Historical Society*, Vol. IX, part II, page 145.

"The king's beloved queen named Vodha Khātonā died," writes Pandit Çrīvara. "She was to the family of Saidas (Sayyids) what the moonlight is to the sea. It was by union with her that the king had thought his life happy, and now by her separation his body became burnt with sorrow and all things appeared to him as nothing."*



The grave of Makhdūma Khātūn, the Queen of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn or Bāḍ Shāh, is situated in the Mazār-i-Kalān or Hazrat Bahā-ud-Dīn Ganj Bakhsh Mausoleum, among the graves of the Baihaqī Sayyids. She died in 870 A.H. (1465 A.C.).

This Vodha (or Boḍ, meaning big) Khātonā was Tāj Khātūn Baihaqī Begam, the daughter of Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqī Kāndhāmī. She lies buried in the *ziyārat* of Qutb-ul-'Ālam Shaikh Bahā-ud-Dīn Ganj Bakhsh, outside Nāgar-nagar, Harī-parbat, Srīnagar. Her tomb is now a protected monument.

Baihaqī Begam had two daughters, one was married to Sayyid Hasan Baihaqī, her own nephew, and the second was married to the Sultān of Pakhlī. Baihaqī Begam had no son. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, then, married a second wife. She was the daughter of the ruler of Jammu, and by her Baḍ Shāh had four sons: (1) Ādam Khān (2) Hājī Khān (3) Jasārat Khān (4) Bahrām Khān. Jasārat probably died early as we hear nothing further about him. The tomb of the Dogrā queen of Jammu, the second wife of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, is beside the grave of her eldest son Ādam Khān according to Çrīvara. She died in 856 A.H. (1452 A.C.) if the inscription on this grave, near Ādam's, correctly refers to her.

**Kings of Kashmīra*, page 157.

Baḍ Shāh and Akbar in their general habits.

(Unlike Akbar who spent freely of public funds, Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn expended only the proceeds of his own copper mines for his private use. Akbar was fond of hunting, Zain-ul-'Ābidīn forbade hunting. In fact, during the month of Ramazān, he never ate flesh, and never executed persons for theft: in this respect, in Rodger's words, 'he was three hundred years ahead of England.' In Jonarāja's language "beauty dwelt in his person, and the goddess of learning on his lips, fortune rested in his breast, and patience in his mind."* Such, in brief, was this king—princely in appearance, the patron of arts and crafts, a friend to the cultivators, promoter of learning and scholarship, and benefactor of the Hindus. And truly he was the 'Glory of the Devout' or the 'Ornament of the Adorers as his name implied.

To borrow the words of Col. Malleson used for Akbar, when we reflect, what Zain-ul-'Ābidīn did, and the age in which he did it, we are bound to recognize in the Sultān one of those illustrious men whom Providence occasionally sends in the hour of a country's need to re-conduct it into those paths of peace and toleration which alone can assure the happiness of its inhabitants.)

لوٹ اِک بار پھر آئے دَورِ زینُ العابدین
جنّتِ کشمیر کو پھر دیکھے آئے جنّت نشیں

—محمدالدین فوق

Baḍ Shāh's closing days and death.

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's life was somewhat embittered towards its close owing to jealousy among his sons. Unfortunately they did not prove the worthy sons of the worthy father. The wise king realized, with dismay, that it would be better to separate them. He, therefore, probably in 1451 A.C., placed the eldest son Ādam Khān, whose manners always repelled the king, at the head of a large army, and charged him to invade Ladākh or Western Tibet. In those days, Tibet was to Kashmīr what Algiers or Tunis was to France during

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**Kings of Kashmīra*, Vol. III, page 76.

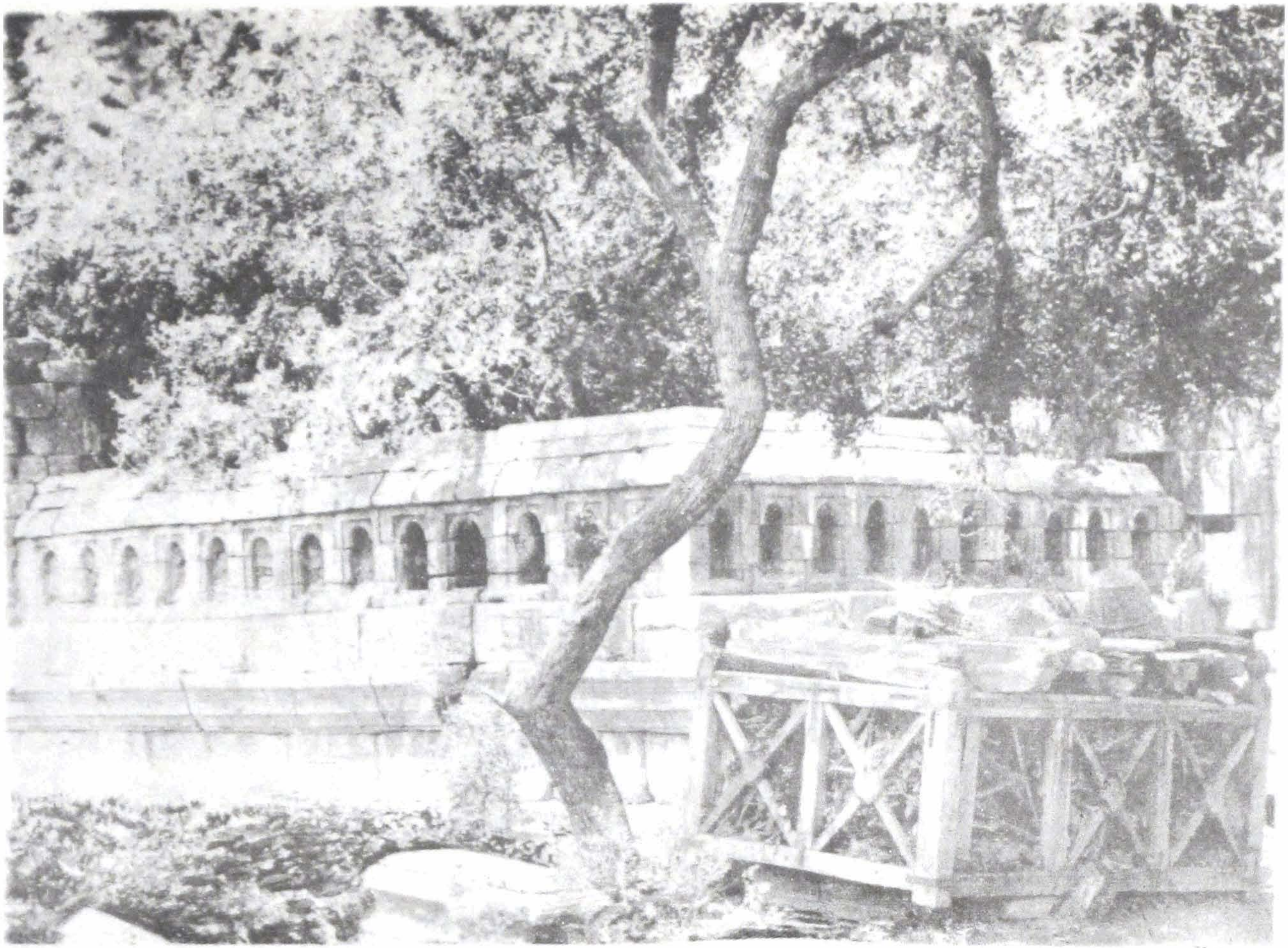
the latter part of the nineteenth century. Hājī Khān, the second son, was ordered to proceed against Lohkōt in Pūnch ; the youngest, Bahrām Khān, remained with the king. Both sons were victorious and returned covered with glory. Hājī Khān who was also the king's favourite son, turned his arms against his father.[1] The two armies met on the plain of Pallaçilā in Badgām Tahsīl in 1452 A.C. (856 A.H.). Ādam Khān, the elder, stood by his father who, at first, tried to bring round the rebellious son through persuasion. Hājī's army attacked the Sultān's and the fight continued from sunrise till sunset. Hājī being unable to withstand the royal forces, fled to Hūrapōr[2] about seven miles south-west of Shupiyān. Thence he fell back upon the town of Nārwān which stands on the road leading into Kashmīr by the Būdil[3] pass. Ādam Khān followed him, but orders from the Sultān restrained his pursuit.

The Sultān, however, ordered Ādam Khān to march against Sopōr, the fort of Kamrāj—which place was reduced to subjection. Such of its inhabitants as had instigated Hājī Khān to rebellion were remorselessly executed. This last step caused a good number of Kamrāj soldiers from Sopōr in Hājī's army to desert him. Ādam Khān was declared the king's successor for his gallant behaviour at this critical juncture. But he proved a failure. His maladministration of Kamrāj was repeatedly reported to the Sultān to whose admonitions he sent an unfilial rejoinder by raising the standard of revolt at Qutbuddīnpōr. He invited Hājī's co-operation, who tried to turn the situation to his own advantage by attacking the elder brother, but suffered a severe reverse at Sopōr. The Sultān, then, sent his army against Ādam Khān. It was now Ādam's turn to sustain a defeat with considerable loss, after which he fled to Sopōr hotly pursued by the Sultān. Hājī followed the fortunes of war with shrewdness and at this time arrived at Bārāmūla. The Sultān sent his youngest son Bahrām

1. Briggs, Vol. IV, page 471. It might be assumed that the object of this move was Ādam Khān, as the two brothers were never on good terms with each other.

2. Jahānārā, daughter of Shāh Jahān, built a hospice at Hūrapōr.—The *Bādshāh-nāma* of 'Abdul Hamīd, Vol. II, page 469. Population 1535.

3. The Būdil (Budhil) or Sedan pass crosses the Pantsāl range towards the south-west corner of the Valley of Kashmīr. Būdil is the name of a village (Population 827) situated to the south of the Pīr Pantsāl on one of the upper tributaries of the Āns River. It has given its name to the pass.



The grave of Baḍ Shāh or Sultān Zain ul Abidin in the Mazār-us-Salātīn, Zaina Kadal, Mahārāj Ganj, Srīnagar.

Khān to welcome him on his arrival. Ādam Khān sought safety in flight to the banks of the Nil-āb, the Kashmīrī name of the Indus. Hājī, now penitent and submissive, was declared heir-apparent in place of his elder brother, and also tried to make amends for his past misbehaviour.

The Sultān, however, was sorely troubled to observe that his favourite son paid no heed to his admonitions, and persisted in his licentious habits and drinking. He further showed a total disregard of statesmanship in taking to a course of bloodshed. His opponents, now thinking the time opportune, secretly invited Ādam Khān, but the Sultān refused to pardon him when he came to the capital. However, the eldest son was not dismayed by this, and continued his intrigues and his propaganda. The nobles, now in view of the desperate situation and the declining health of the Sultān, urged him to nominate his successor. Hājī Khān, being supreme at the capital, and still retaining the Sultān's favour, was proclaimed successor to the throne.

Shortly after this, the Sultān passed away in his sixty-ninth solar year in 1470 A.C., or 874 A.H., after a "reign of fifty-two years," at noon on Friday, the 12th day of the moon, in the month of Jaishṭha (corresponding to June-July) with prayers on his quivering lips as noted by Pandit Çrīvara.[1] The Pandit saw the dead body of the king, and noticed 'the beauty of the flowing black beard on his face.' "At the time of his death," writes Pandit Çrīvara, "Fortune seemed to abandon all his limbs and appeared on his face, and I saw him in that state. His face methought was the dwelling-place of the Goddess of Fortune, and perspiration issued from it, even like a stream of good luck. His breath left him, taking his life with it, and as if afraid of having stolen that jewel. After life had departed, tears still issued from his eyes, as if his eyes, which were like the sun and the moon, melted away and his affection for his subjects trickled down."

The Sultān was buried beside his father, Sultān Sikandar. "A long crystal stone was placed on the grave, it was the highest," says Çrīvara,[2] "among those that were there, and was like the figure of the king in a recumbent position, and it was illumined with verses." The tomb is below the fourth bridge called the Zaina Kadal.

1. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 175.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

The locality is called Baḍ Shāh, after this great sovereign. But the condition of the tomb evoked from the late Pīrzāda Muhammad Husain *'Ārif*, ex-Chief Justice, Kashmīr:

شکستہ حال زینُ العابدین کا مقبرہ دیکھا

And Fauq has the following:

تیرے روضے کے آئینہ نما پتّھر کا وہ کتبہ
کہ روشن تھی مہ تابان سے ہر جا جس کی زیبائی
مگر اب ہے نہ وہ کتبہ نہ وہ اشعار کتبے کے
کہ پڑھ لیتے اگر اُن کو تو مٹ جاتی یہ خُود رائی
تیری عظمت کی شُہرت کو مٹا دینا ہے نا ممکن
کہ تُجھکو موت بھی شکلِ حیاتِ جاوداں آئی

—نغمۂ گُلزار، صفحہ ۹۱

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn was deeply mourned by all his subjects. Poets and historians wrote to commemorate his unprecedented reign of peacefulness and glory. The following chronogram,* while aptly eulogising the king, also gives the year of his death, 874 A.H. (1470 A.C.)—

سُلطان زینُ العابدین، زد خیمہ در خُلدِ برین
بے نُور شُد تاج و نگیں، بے حُور شُد ارض و سما
از بہرِ تاریخش، جہان بے سر شُدہ، اندر جہاں
عدل و کرم، علم و حِکَم، ضبط و حشم، صُلح و صفا

Malik Haidar Chāḍura and Jahāngīr have recorded an interesting miracle about Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. The Sultān had gone out for a pleasure trip to the Wulur Island. His elder

*In the second line of the second couplet, the first letters of all words as well as the four should not count; the numerical value of the remaining letters should be taken and added to obtain the date of the Sultān's death, *viz.* 874 A.H. The words given in Hasan's *History* are not quite correct as they total up 879. عمل and جاہ in his chronogram should have been replaced by حِکَم and ضبط

son accompanied him on this occasion. He advised the Sultān to enjoy a trip in a boat, calculating the chances of throwing him overboard and thus doing away with him. The Sultān evinced no suspicion. After covering a mile, he asked Ādam Khān to fetch his rosary which he had left behind in his prayer-room. On his return to the prayer-room, the prince observed with consternation that the Sultān himself sat in the room, and was deeply absorbed in meditation. He returned to the Sultān and confessed his guilty intention, whereupon the former pardoned him, but at the same time recited this couplet* and how true it proved in that Ādam, though the eldest, was not destined to succeed his father:—

پدرکُش بادشاهی را نشاید   وگر شاید، بجز شش مه نپاید

[A patricide does not deserve to wear a crown. Even if he does, he cannot hold his sceptre for more than six months.]

This recalls to mind Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr's letter to one of his sons who likewise prayed for his royal father's death and did not succeed to the crown. Sir Muhammad Iqbāl has put it in verse:

ندانی که یزدانِ دیرینه بوُد   بسے دید و سنجید و بست و کشود
زما سینه چاکانِ این تیره خاک   شنید است صد نالهٔ دردناک
بسے همچو شبّیر در خون نشست   نه یك ناله از سینهٔ او گسست
نه از گریهٔ پیرِ کنعان تپید   نه از درد ایوب آہے کشید
مپندار آن کهنه نخچیرگیر   بدامِ دعاے تو گردد اسیر

—پیام مشرق۔صفحه ۱۵۳

Ādam Khān once again exerted himself to secure the throne. But Hājī Khān's resourcefulness and the timely appearance of his son, Hasan Khān, on the scene, again shattered Ādam Khān's schemes and he was forced to fly to Hindustān.

***_Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr_ by Malik Haidar Chādura, page 152. Jahāngīr has also repeated this incident with a slight variation.—_Elliot and Dowson_, Vol. VI, page 306.**

SULTĀN HAIDAR SHĀH

[874 *to* 877 *A.H.* *or* 1470 *to* 1472 *A.C.*]

Hājī ascended the throne with the title of Haidar Shāh. (According to Firishta, the Sultān, following the family tradition, appointed his younger brother, Bahrām Khān, his minister with Nāgām as his jāgīr. His own son, Hasan Khān, was nominated as his successor, as well as Amīr-ul-Umarā' or Chief of the Noblemen, with the district of Kamrāj as his personal estate, bestowed upon him in perpetuity.[1] From the very outset the new king abandoned himself to a life of debauchery and licentiousness. He proved himself to be, in every way, the reverse of his father, and left the administration of the country entirely in the hands of Bahrām Khān. Haidar Shāh's fame was tarnished by the undue favour he showed to a barber, Lūlī[2] by name, who secured the beheading of Hasan Kuchche, treasury officer, who had worked on behalf of the Sultān in securing his accession to the throne. Ādam Khān, the Sultān's eldest brother, tried to take advantage of this incident, but was killed by a party of Mughuls.) His body, however, received a decent interment at the hands of Haidar Shāh. The tomb of Prince Ādam Khān is situated at Sehyār, Nau Kadal, Srīnagar, opposite to that of Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn. (The nobles, at this time, offered to help Bahrām Khān if he wished to seize the throne. He had arrived at no decision. In the meantime Hasan Khān, the Sultān's son, who had conquered, according to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, many fortresses in India, but according to the *Cambridge History of India* had been raiding the Punjāb, and had acquired much booty, appeared at the court with the so-called intention of laying at the feet of his father the spoils he had collected from his expeditions. But his real aim was to try his fortune. His sudden appearance filled the minds of the nobles with suspicion, and they advised the king, say Firishta and Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn, not to give audience to him.[3] The Sultān's behaviour cannot be clearly understood except that he was afraid of Bahrām.

1. Briggs, Vol. IV, page 475. Also the *Tabaqāt*, De's Translation, Vol. 3, page 673.

2. Pandit Çrīvara calls him Riktetara in one place and Pūrṇa in another, and says this "cunning man kept concealed, by the sweetness of his tongue, the hardness of his heart, which led him to oppress the people."—*Kings of Kashmīra*, page 186.

3. Briggs, Vol. IV, page 476. Also the *Tabaqāt*, De's Translation. Vol. 3, page 675.

During this time confusion and turmoil prevailed in Kashmīr. Intrigues and plots were rampant. The beginning of the decay of the rule of the Sultāns of Kashmīr was marked by the death, in 1472 A.C., of this Sultān who, after a brief reign of fourteen months, fell from a terrace whilst intoxicated. But Pandit Çrīvara, the Sultān's contemporary, however, says people suspected that a certain Yōgī gave Haidar Shāh medicine which contained poison.) Çrīvara praises the king for his love of music and poetry.

SULTĀN HASAN SHĀH

[877 *to* 889 *A.H. or* 1472 *to* 1484 *A.C.*]

(With the active support of Ahmad Abū or Aswad,[1] the commander of forces, Hasan Khān, Sultān Haidar Shāh's son, ascended the throne with the title of Sultān Hasan Shāh.)

Çrīvara describes (page 208) Hasan Shāh's coronation in glowing terms, and says "all the wealth of his father, his grandfather (Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn) and his uncle (Bahrām Khān), flowed to this fortunate king even as rivers flow to the sea." Hasan Shāh on this occasion, liberated the captives taken by his father and grandfather from the Bhoṭṭa country. Hayāt Khātūn, according to Çrīvara, was the Sultān's beloved queen. She came of the noted Sayyid family, and was the daughter of Sayyid Hasan Baihaqī son of Sayyid Nasīr-ud-Dīn Baihaqī of Baḍ Shāh's days. When she gave birth to prince Muhammad Shāh, "silk clothes were distributed to the poor." Hasan Baihaqī was made a minister.

In return for his services to the Sultān, Ahmad Aswad received the title of *Malik* and the office of prime minister while his son, Naurūz, was appointed Amīr-i-Dar[2] or the Lord Chamberlain. Bahrām Khān, the uncle of the king, consulted his safety in a self-imposed exile to Hindustān.)

Hasan Shāh revived the edicts and practices of his grandfather, Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, which had suffered temporary abeyance during the brief reign of Haidar Shāh. Çrīvara says that Hasan Shāh learnt the six schools of

1. Firishta and Bakhshī write Ahmad Aswad. *Aswad*, besides 'black,' means 'powerful' and 'illustrious.'

2. The Amīr-i-Dar was analogous to the Vakīl-i-Dar in the Sultanate of Delhi who controlled the entire household and supervised the payment of allowances and salaries to the sovereign's personal staff. The queens, the princes, the kitchen and even the stables were under his care. It was he who reported all affairs requiring royal sanction. In fact, the Vakīl-i-Dar exercised great influence, and in many respects was considered to be the king's deputy.

philosophy, and "the different works of these six schools became one in him" (page 208).) This looks as if Hasan Shāh was anticipating the uncrowned Dārā Shukūh after Akbar. Rājānaka Çiti Kanṭh wrote several books and sanskritized[1] several others from Arabic and has spoken well of Hasan Shāh for his wise and liberal rule. The *Stuti Kusmānjali* (Offering of Prayer-Flowers) was written during this time. Bābā Ismā'īl Kubravī, a scholar and saint, was the Shaikh-ul-Islam.

The Jāmī' Masjid and Shāh Hamadān's Khānqāh that had been destroyed by fire were re-built. The year of the erection, 885 A.H.=1480 A.C., of the mosque attached to the *Khānqāh* is embodied in these words:—

مسجدٌ اُسِّسَ علی التّقویٰ

[The Mosque raised on the Foundation of Piety]

The words were, later on, versified as follows:—

مسجدٌ اُسِّس علی التقویٰ　　خانقاهِ امیرِ همدان است

(Evidently some malcontents wanted to turn the new order of things to their own advantage, and did not favour the revival of the beneficent old practices. They summoned Bahrām Khān, the king's uncle, to occupy the throne. He accordingly penetrated Kashmīr as far as the province of Kamrāj. Malik Tāzī Baṭ who held the office of Guardian of the Crown Prince Muhammad Khān, however, stemmed the tide of Bahrām's advance, and inflicted a crushing defeat on him. Bahrām Khān expected active support and co-operation from the notables of Kashmīr, but these failed him at the last moment.[2] He fled to Zaina-pōr, but he and his sons were soon taken prisoners and brought to the capital where Bahrām's eyes were put out. He did not survive this violence more than three days. Historians refer to increasing jealousy between the minister Sayyid Hasan Baihaqī and the commander, Malik Ahmad. Ahmad's end is, however, sad. He died in prison.)

زین جهان رفتیم و دِل برداشتیم
با جهانداران جهان بگُذاشتیم
ایمنی جُستیم از دستِ اجل
اےِ دریغا ما غلط پنداشتیم

1. The *Hamdard*, Srinagar, dated 25th January, 1942.
2. Briggs, Vol. IV, page 478.

This inscription on the grave of Malik Ahmad testifies to his tragic end. (The Sayyid's party was powerful.) And yet Sayyid Amīn *Uwaisī*, a great poet and saint of this period, also lost his life in a skirmish in 1484 A.C. Before his death he said—

صورتِ قبرم ز بعدِ مرگ ویرانی

نامرادے همچو من باخاك یکساں خوشتر است

About 1483 A.C. or 888 A.H., the Sayyid dispatched an expedition to conquer Baltistān and Ladākh under Jahāngīr and Nāsir, two Sayyid commanders. Both did not act promptly together. The result was the failure of the invasion and the defeat of the Kashmīr forces at the hands of Bhôṭṭas. The consequence of this miserable defeat was that the soldiers of Kashmīr were never more sent on raiding expeditions into Ladākh during the rule of the Shāh Mīrīs.[1]

Malik Haidar Chāḍura tells us that Hasan Shāh's court had twelve hundred Hindustānī musicians, and an equally large number of concubines.[2] The king ignored his duty to his subjects. He neglected the administration of justice, and left the inspection of his army to certain of his nobles.

افسوس آن سلطان حسن   خاقان لقب قیصر حشم

بگذشت از بزمِ زمن   سوئے شبستانِ عدم

از بهرِ سالش یك قلم   بےدِل شد از اندوه و غم

رقص و طرب ناز و ادا   نوش و جِبا ماه و صنم

—از تاریخِ حسن به ترمیم

The last line gives the date, *viz.* 889 A.H., if the second letters of words and *wāvs* are omitted.

The struggle between Muhammad Shah and his father's cousin, Fath Shah, for the throne of Kashmir

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH (i)

[*889 to 892 A. H. or 1484 to 1486 A. C.*]

Sultān Hasan Shāh, on his death-bed, instructed Sayyid Hasan Baihaqī, his father-in-law, and Baḍ Shāh's son-in-

1. *The Indian Antiquary*, July 1908, pages 190-191.
2. *The Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Malik Haidar Chāḍura, page 139.

law, and prime minister of the state, to set on the throne either Fath Khān, son of Ādam Khān or Yūsuf Khān, son of Bahrām Khān. But, obviously spurred by ambition, the minister set up on the throne in 889 A.H. or 1484 A.C. Prince Muhammad Shāh, the son of Sultān Hasan Shāh and Hayāt Khātūn, the minister's own daughter. The prince was then a child of seven, having been born in 1477 A.C. or 882 A.H. Sayyid Hasan's regency on account of the king's minority excited considerable jealousy, and resulted in hostile activity among the malcontents. Encouraged by these factions and with the collusion of Tāzī Baṭ, Fath Khān collected a force and attacked Kashmīr. Jahāngīr Māgre with the strong support of the Sayyids was able to inflict a defeat on Fath Khān. A second attempt proved equally futile. After these failures, Fath Khān occupied Jammu, whence he launched a far more formidable attack. This attempt, too, proved fruitless. Fath Khān, however, did not despair. He again advanced with an army. In this battle which occurred in 895 A.H. (1489 A.C.), Jahāngīr Māgre was wounded. He had to retire from the field, and Fath Khān gained a complete victory in consequence of which Muhammad Shāh, after his nominal sovereignty of two years and seven months, vacated the throne.[1] He and his *entourage* sought refuge in flight, but were captured and handed over by certain zamīndārs or farmers to Fath Khān who kept Muhammad Shāh in close confinement.

"Just about this time in England," writes Rodgers,[2] "Edward V and his young brother were murdered in the Tower. Fath Shāh was not so bad as Richard III. He ordered the food and drink of the prince to be prepared according to his order, and gave him a place in the palace." It is perhaps, in gratitude for this early fostering care that Sultān Muhammad Shāh honoured the interment of Fath Shāh's last remains by a befitting burial on bringing his dead body from Naushahra near Bhimbar on the Pīr Panjāl route. These kings, despite their differences and depositions, did not cease to be human to each other. Rather their

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1. Lt. Newall, too, in his article, *A Sketch of the Muhammadan History of Kashmīr*, has placed Muhammad Shāh's first dethronement two years and seven months after his accession.—*J. A. S. B.*, No. 5, 1854, page 417. Firishta, on the other hand, assumes it to have taken place in 902 A.H. (1496 A.C.) in the eleventh year after accession.—Briggs, Vol. IV, page 486.

2. *The Square Silver Coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr.—J. A. S. B.*, No. 2, 1885, page 110.

depositions, though, no doubt attended with bloodshed, look more like the fall of ministries in France or the changes of cabinet in England.

SULTĀN FATH SHĀH (i)

[892 *to* 898 *A.H.* *or* 1486 *to* 1493 *A.C.*]

Fath Khān ascended the throne with the title of Sultān Fath Shāh in 1486 A.C. It could have been expected that, with a new king on the throne, who possessed grit and strength enough to contest the crown, all dissensions would cease, and all disintegrating elements in the kingdom would be controlled. But, as a matter of fact, Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's successors lacked the necessary qualities of administration and leadership. Fath Shāh was unequal to the task of restoring peace and tranquillity. His weakness brought the Chaks to the forefront. This led to the undoing of his own authority, and finally the extinction of his family as the dominant and ruling factor in Kashmīr.

Malik Saif-ud-Dīn Ḍār or Saif Ḍār was the king's chief minister. He conducted the affairs of the state wisely and in a statesmanlike manner. In his pay was the redoubtable Chak, Shams-ud-Dīn, who, at first, had entered the service of Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqī, the son of Sayyid Hasan Baihaqī, and then took Malik Naurūz son of Malik Ahmad for his master, and finally joined the service of Saif Ḍār. Shams-ud-Dīn Chak married the daughter of his uncle Husain Chak, gaining strength from the alliance. After this, he began to traffic in intrigue. He won over Shankar or Shringār or Sarhang Raina and Mūsā Raina, both brothers, descended from Rāmachandra the father of Koṭā Rānī. Shams-ud-Dīn Chak openly set them up as rivals of Saif Ḍār. Fath Shāh, too, withdrew his favour. Soon the factious struggle ended in the death of Saif Ḍār and one of his rivals, Sarhang Raina. Shams-ud-Dīn Chak succeeded to his master Saif Ḍār's share of authority and administration. He was not satisfied with the removal of one master. He dreaded Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqī whom he brought into clash with Kājī Chak and others. The Sayyid soon realized the *parvenu's* intentions. Consequently, he entered into an intrigue with the deposed king, and also won over to his side Ibrāhīm Māgre, Hājī Paḍar, and Malik 'Īdī Raina son of Mūsā Raina. An engagement fought in the vicinity of the tomb of Bulbul Shāh resulted in the flight of Kājī Chak and Shams-ud-Dīn

Chak to Kamrāj. Sayyid Muhammad gave them a hot pursuit for some distance, and, on his return, burnt down their homes. Fath Shāh, too, left for the Punjāb. Shams-ud-Dīn Chak now better known as Shams Chak returned to avenge himself. On finding Muhammad Shāh and other opponents, he, however, abstained from an open fight. He carried out a night attack and, suffering defeat, rejoined his former master, ex-Sultān Fath Shāh, in the Punjāb, who, after a sway lasting for two years and eleven months, was again a fugitive.

The struggles of Muhammad Shāh and Fath Shāh during the period of 32 years from 1484 to 1516 A.C. show that history was repeating itself in Kashmīr. Both of them remind us of the disgraceful struggles of Pārtha and Chakravarman for 31 years from 906 to 937 A.C. It was, as it were, a re-incarnation in Kashmīr of the ferocious Wars of the Roses lasting for 32 years from 1455 to 1487 A.C., when English kings Henry VI, Edward IV and Richard III were enthroned and dethroned by factions.

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH (ii)

[898 *to* 911 *A.H.* *or* 1493 *to* 1505 *A.C.*]

Muhammad Shāh, now 16 years old, re-gained his throne through the exertions of his maternal uncle Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqī. Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqī's keen eye did not fail to detect the rising power of the Chaks. He discovered the further possibility of danger from the same tribe in their Shī'ite tendencies which had been successfully promulgated among them by Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī. This religious leader had found asylum in Kashmīr from the exile inflicted upon him by the governor of Khurāsān. So successful was his propaganda that all the big chiefs among the Chaks particularly, and several of the public too had willingly embraced his doctrines. Therefore, Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqī perceived a danger in his preachings which, he thought, would add religious fervour to the fire of Chak opposition, the embers of which were still smouldering. He, therefore, banished Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī. But as this step was taken too late, the Chaks keenly felt the compulsory exodus imposed upon their religious leader. In their turn, they retaliated by starting an intrigue with Fath Shāh and Shams Chak.

Fath Shāh and Muhammad Shāh again met on the battlefield of Khāmpōr, in Tahsīl Pulwāma. Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqī's bravery, a first, seemed to decide victory

in Muhammad Shāh's favour, but owing to Baihaqī's accidental fall into a ravine, the tables turned. The adversaries, taking courage in both hands, charged and routed the royal forces. The natural consequence was that Fath Shāh again seized the throne, and wreaked vengeance on the family of Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqī.

Malik Haidar Chāḍura ascribes the Chak defection* to Muhammad Shāh who, on account of his meanness and parsimony, failed to give due reward to Mūsā Raina for his brave services which had, to a great extent, contributed to the defeat of Fath Shāh.

It was in 1505 A.C. that Pandit Çrīvara sanskritized Mullā 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī's *Yūsuf-u-Zulaīkhā* for the edification of Sultān Muhammad Shāh as the Sultān's court-poet. Sir A. Berriedale Keith's misstatement that it was written under Zain-ul-'Ābidīn has already been pointed out in the footnote on page 167

SULTĀN FATH SHĀH (ii)

[911 *to* 920 *A.H. or* 1505 *to* 1514 *A.C.*]

On re-ascending the throne, Fath Shāh rewarded Shams Chak by appointing him his minister, and also invested Mūsā Raina with considerable authority. Shams Chak could not brook the presence of a rival at court. He, therefore, tried to encompass the downfall of Mūsā Raina, but only succeeded in finding himself entangled in the meshes of the net he had spread for his rival. He was disgraced, arrested in the open court, and thrown into prison. Mūsā lost no time in disposing of so formidable and scheming a rival. Armed men were sent to the prison to kill Shams Chak who, however, first killed quite a number of them, before he fell under the relentless blows of his assailants. This feat of Shams Chak has been made famous in the following couplet :—

بچوب و بسنگ و بخشت و بمشت
ملک شمس چک شصت کس را بکشت

**[By stick and by stone, by brick and by blow
Did Malik Shams Chak lay sixty men low.]**

**Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Malik Haidar Chāḍura, page 158.

Mūsā Raina, however, was too astute a person to take the blame of this murder upon himself. He managed to lay the blame at the door of the Māgre notables who were therefore exiled.

Mūsā Raina filled the position which Shams Chak had occupied. His accession to power was a signal to Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī to return from Skardū. The latter soon inaugurated a religious campaign for the spread of Islam among the Hindus. In this respect, he tried to emulate Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, the minister of Sultān Sikandar. These religious persecutions carried out by the Shī'as continued unchecked by Mūsā Raina, and justly aroused the anger of Ibrāhīm Māgre who now stood as the leader of the Sunnīs. The king, himself being unable to do anything, secretly warned Ibrāhīm to settle matters with Mūsā Raina who was forced to flee towards the Punjāb. In his precipitation and hurried flight on horseback, Mūsā Raina got his neck so inextricably entangled in a vine-creeper and the horse took such fright, that he died on the spot in 1513 A.C.

Now it was Ibrāhīm Māgre's turn to enjoy authority. He recalled Malik 'Usmān, Dānī Malik and others of his tribe who had previously been accused of bringing about the death of Shams Chak, and had been banished. But, after a space of forty days, he vacated his post for Malik 'Usmān. Malik 'Usmān, too, was forced to withdraw after three months.

These constant changes of ministers were as baneful as those of kings. Fath Shāh seemed to be no more than a figurehead, and was powerless to keep one minister long enough. He felt so overpowered that, accompanied by several councillors, he left for Hindustān. Ibrāhīm Māgre took advantage of this situation and instituted himself as minister. He, then, recalled Fath Shāh. Kājī Chak and Jahāngīr Paḍar, the king's adherents, retired to the Punjāb. In the meantime, Muhammad Shāh's army came into conflict with that of Fath Shāh at Ghāzīkōt, in Pakhlī, with the result that Fath Shāh's army had to retreat. For a year, the situation remained unchanged. Ibrāhīm Māgre, however, continued to wield authority as minister. Malik 'Usmān, who had been set free by Ibrāhīm Māgre, then replaced him. On relinquishing his post, Ibrāhīm Māgre accompanied by Kājī Chak and Jahāngīr Paḍar, joined Muhammad Shāh. A coup cleverly carried out by 'Alī

Raina, however, decided the day in Muhammad Shāh's favour. Fath Shāh had to flee again, after a reign of twelve years and eight months, during which period revolutions and constant changes of ministers had sapped the very foundations of authority and administration.

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH (iii)

[920 *to* 921 *A.H.* *or* 1514 *to* 1515 *A.C.*]

Although installed by Ibrāhīm Māgre, Muhammad Shāh was not able to hold the throne for more than five months. When Fath Shāh made his appearance with a large army, Muhammad Shāh retired in safety to Naushahra with Sayyid Ibrāhīm Baihaqī, son of the late minister, Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqī.

SULTĀN FATH SHĀH (iii)

[921 *to* 922 *A.H.* *or* 1515 *to* 1516 *A.C.*]

The third phase of Sultān Fath Shāh's rule lasted for a period of one year and one month. Remembering his old trouble, he resolved to divest himself of all regal authority, and divided the country into four parts. Three of these he handed over to Jahāngīr Paḍar, Kājī Chak and Sunkur Raina, and retained only one portion for himself, hoping thereby to pass his days in peace. His co-partners, however, soon revolted against him, and invited Muhammad Shāh together with Ibrāhīm Māgre to fight for the throne. The result of the battle which took place was, in no way, favourable to Muhammad Shāh, because Ibrāhīm Māgre, who was the mainstay of his power, was slain with his sons. Muhammad Shāh did not lose heart at his discomfiture. He sought help from Sikandar Lodī of Delhi. In the meantime, Jahāngīr Paḍar and Sunkur Raina also welcomed Muhammad Shāh. They enabled Muhammad Shāh to drive out Fath Shāh who died in exile at Naushahra a town on the Pīr Panjāl route—after three years in 925 A.H. or 1519 A.C. *Fath Shāh fanā* is the satirical chronogram. Muhammad Shāh caused his remains to be interred by the side of his father Ādam Khān, Baḍ Shāh's son. The cap which was a gift from Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī (Shāh Hamadān) was

according to Fath Shāh's wishes, also buried with him.[1] The grave of Sultān Fath Shāh lies in the burial-ground[2] of Baḍ Shāh. Fath Shāh, in all, ruled over 17 years.

Pandit Çuka[3] closes his account of Fath Shāh with these lines: "The great king Phatāh Shāh (Fath Shāh), the moon among sovereigns, died in a country outside Kashmīra. Mahmadashāha (Muhammad Shāh) did not take his meal on the day in which he heard of this event, nor did he sleep or bathe, but spent his time in thinking of that king. Where could be found a king like him experienced, truthful, patient, a great politician, a lover of men of worth, and one who loved his servants? The king was born in a country outside Kashmīra, and he died there. The work of fate is extraordinary! The corpse was then placed in a litter, and was brought here within a few days by his servants and chiefs in order to give it its last funeral rites."

Muhammad Shāh, now about 39 years of age, or 40 according to lunar months, gained the throne for the fourth time through the ability and exertions of Kājī Chak. In reward for his services the king appointed him Madār ul-Muhāmm or the chief minister.

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH (iv)

[922 *to* 934 *A.H. or* 1516 *to* 1528 *A.C.*]

Kashmīr, it seems, had now become fertile soil for jealousy, dissensions, rivalry and blood-thirstiness. Factions grew up, temporarily strengthened themselves and caused constant feuds among the nobles. Kājī Chak became the target of a faction of nobles which included Nusrat Raina, Lohur Māgre and Jahāngīr Paḍar. Kājī Chak was, however, able to inflict a defeat on his opponents and kill Nusrat Raina. This confederacy being broken, Abdāl Māgre, then, began to devastate the country, and was put to flight by Mas'ūd Chak, Kājī's son. Soon after this, another body of nobles consisting of Sikandar Shāh, Fath Shāh's eldest son,

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1. Cunningham in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VI, page 37, says: "On the same night, Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī appeared to a *faqīr*, and told him that the cap had been given by him to Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn for good luck, and that, along with it, the kingdom had been transmitted from father to son down to the present generation; but that, as Fath Shāh had now taken the cap with him to the tomb, so likewise had the kingdom gone to the tomb and departed from his family."—*The Ancient Coinage of Kashmir* is the title of the article.

2. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 354.

3. *Ibid.*, page 354.

Jahāngīr Paḍar, Lohur Māgre and 'Īdī Raina made its appearance with the avowed object of securing the throne for Sikandar Shāh.

Mas'ūd Chak was again dispatched to suppress the rising. The insurgents secured no tangible results beyond the death of Mas'ūd Chak, and the king was left again in peace for some time.

It was during Sultān Muhammad Shāh's reign that Bābur, the founder of the Mughul dynasty in India, took advantage of internal confusion, and sent his army to attack Kashmīr. Kājī Chak, who had already retired from state affairs, was fired with patriotism, and taking an army went out to meet the invaders who had to retire before the onslaughts of Kājī Chak. This success re-installed Kājī Chak in the king's favour. But Kājī Chak now deposed the king and put Ibrāhīm Shāh, Sultān Muhammad Shāh's son and his own nephew, on the throne.

The great scholar Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* was born in 1521 A.C., during this reign of Sultān Muhammad Shāh. We shall hear of the greatness of Sarfī later.

SULTĀN IBRĀHĪM SHĀH I

[934 *to* 935 *A.H.* *or* 1528 *to* 1529 *A.C.*]

According to Firishta, during Ibrāhīm's reign, Abdāl Māgre[1] who, after his flight, resided at Bābur's court, appeared on the scene. He came with a large army officered by 'Alī Beg and Muhammad Khān, two Mughul nobles. Nādir Khān, the younger brother of Sikandar Khān and the son of Sultān Fath Shāh, was used as a pawn in order that the Kashmīrīs might not imagine that a foreigner was being imposed upon them as their king. Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh's army marched out to meet the Mughul army, but suffered a heavy defeat at Tāpar, below Paṭan, in Tahsīl Bārāmūla, and Ibrāhīm fled from the country.

SULTĀN NĀZUK SHĀH (i)

[935 *to* 936 *A.H.* *or* 1529 *to* 1530 *A.C.*]

Nādir Khān then ascended the throne as Sultān Nāzuk Shāh, and appointed Abdāl Māgre as his chief minister. The officers of the Mughul army were also generously rewarded, and they afterwards returned to Hindustān.[2]

1. Briggs, Vol. IV, page 491.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, page 492.

Abdāl Māgre maintained the pursuit against Kājī Chak until he fled from Kashmīr.

Abdāl Māgre, curiously enough, then re-instated Muhammad Shāh,[1] having sent for him from Lohkōt, where he was a prisoner. Evidently as a pawn in the game, Nāzuk had served his purpose and was no longer required.

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH (v)

[936 *to* 943 *A.H. or* 1530 *to* 1537 *A.C.*]

The fifth or the last phase of Muhammad Shāh's reign might appropriately be called the Māgre domination, inasmuch as Malik Abdāl, the Māgre chief, after his elevation to the post of prime minister, divided Kashmīr among his adherents and influential partisans. Abdāl thus reduced Muhammad Shāh to the subordinate position of a stipendiary.

If one compares the glorious past enjoyed by Kashmīr with the sordid plight to which she had now been reduced, one cannot help being amazed. A succession of incompetent rulers, and ambitious nobles—constantly engaged in internecine warfare, and all its concomitants—left the country a prey to foreign invaders. Bābur twice directed his cohorts against her with a fair measure of success. Then, with Humāyūn's consent, Kāmrān led an expedition of thirty thousand horse from Naushahra[2] in 1531. Mahram Beg—wrongly called Mujrim Beg—and 'Alī Beg, his generals, penetrated within sight of Srīnagar, whence Mahram Beg sent a congratulatory poem to Kāmrān, of which the following lines have been quoted by Malik Haidar Chādura[3] :—

بحکم پادشاہے کز حریمش بفہم آسان شود تفہیم فردوس

سفر کردم بسوئے شہر کشمیر کہ از خوبی دهد تعلیم فردوس

چو کردم فتح نیم او بتاریخ خرد گفتا کہ فتح نیم فردوس

1. Briggs, Vol. IV, page 492.

2. Naushahra is a town on the Pīr Panjāl route into Kashmīr, and is 27 miles north of Bhimbar and 122 miles south-east of Srīnagar. There is a fine old Mughul sarāī in the middle of the town, a part of which is now an official residence. Naushahra has a cantonment of 511 sepoys.

3. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*, page 175. Malik Haidar Chādura quotes only two, while Hasan (in his *History*, folio 134) has quoted the third line which is not without interest. I am giving the قطعہ as it appears in the *Ta'rīkh-i-A'zamī*.

It is noteworthy that, while Kashmīr nobles at this time displayed a tendency to cut each other's throat, they did not exhibit any want of patriotism for their country. And in spite of personal feuds and grievances, they were able to rally round an outcast leader to defend their country. Kājī Chak came to the rescue on this occasion. He rallied all the disaffected or hostile nobles, and led his forces so capably that Mahram Beg had to retreat after concluding peace. Soon after this, disintegration set in again. The result was that, Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā, king of Kāshghar, sent his second son Sultānzāda Sikandar Khān accompanied by Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt from Tibet by way of Lār with a cavalry twelve thousand strong to conquer Kashmīr. Mīrzā Haidar calls the Sultānzāda *Iskandar Sultān*.

In this project, Iskandar Sultān was fortunate. He won his spurs by effecting a triumphant entry into the capital. The victorious army satiated their lust for rapine and plunder. According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, the Kāshghar army "razed the grand edifices which had been built by the old Sultāns to dust, and set fire to the city and the villages." The treasury was plundered. Buried treasures were searched and seized. All the soldiers loaded themselves with goods and gold. Kashmīrīs were pursued, and slain or imprisoned. These hordes remained in occupation for three months according to the *Tabaqāt*. In the following spring, a new spirit was infused into the benumbed Kashmīr nobles who united themselves to drive the foreigners from their land. But in this attempt, they sustained a signal defeat involving considerable loss of life. Not disheartened by this defeat, they again combined under the leadership of Kājī Chak and Abdāl Māgre, and pressed the invaders so hard that they were compelled to sue for terms of peace. Firishta does not assign victory to either side. Mīrzā Haidar giving details of this campaign (pp. 437—442, English Translation) says: "In a word the *Khutba* was read and coins were struck in the exalted name of the Khān (Abū Sa'īd Khān Mīrzā). The revenue of Kashmīr, which was due to the Mughuls, we took. One of Muhammad Shāh's daughters was wedded to Iskandar Sultān. And everyone, according to his rank, made acquaintance with the Sultān or Maliks of Kashmīr. I, for example, established contact with Muhammad Shāh. In accordance with the Mughul practice we called each other 'friend.' Similar contact was established between Mīr Dā'im 'Alī (Mīrzā

Haidar's lieutenant) and Abdāl Māgre......Bābā Sārik Mīrzā and Kājī Chak......Numerous presents and offerings were interchanged." (p. 441).

Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt* sent his congratulations to Sultān Abū Sa'īd of Kāshghar, and a court-poet of Kāshghar rendered them into verse:

الحمد لله کان شاهِ عادل   سُلطان سکندر خاقانِ دوران
بر کسرِ اعداء در رُوزِ هیجا   قادر شُد آن دم از لُطفِ یزدان
تاریخ فتحش ، الحق ، همین است   رُوزِ چهارم از ماهِ شعبان

After concluding a peace so advantageous to themselves, the invaders departed from Kashmīr. On return from Kashmīr, Mīrzā Haidar was naturally, in his own words, most affectionately welcomed by Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā, king of Kāshghar. But the Mughuls left b hind them such traces of desolation and hunger, as revived the memories of Zulchū or Ḍulcha's sojourn in this fair land. Two comets rose on the horizon. A famine, too, ensued.

Thousands perished of hunger and hundreds of thousands were rendered homeless. The next crop, however, provided some sustenance, and saved the remainder of the population from starvation. Sultān Muhammad Shāh also befriended his perishing subjects in their struggle against starvation. Unfortunately he did not live long to sustain these ameliorative efforts. Struck with typhoid fever, he died on Thursday the first of the month of Jayaishṭha, in the bright fortnight, in 943 A.H. or 1537 A.C., at the age of 60, "having given away all the gold that he had to the poor and the needy." In his chequered reign of over thirty-four years—or to be precise—thirty-four years, eight months and ten days, he had faced many changes of fortune, as have rarely been the lot of any other king perhaps in the whole history of royalty in the world.

SULTĀN SHAMS-UD-DĪN II

[943 *to* 944 *A.H. or* 1537 *to* 1538 *A.C.*]

Shams-ud-Dīn II was Muhammad Shāh's second son. Like his father, he retained the character of a stipendiary

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******The Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* **by Malik Haidar Chāḍura, page 179.**

king, being guided by his all-too powerful minister, Kājī Chak. Shams-ud-Dīn is the Second, because Shāh Mīr the founder of this dynasty is Sultān Shams-ud-Din the First. During the reign of Shams-ud-Dīn II there was the usual strife between the Chaks and the Māgres, but this was successfully controlled by Kājī Chak.

It was due to the sagacity and foresight of Kājī Chak that he established matrimonial relations with the ruling family. This diplomatic move ultimately led to accession of power to his own family.

SULTĀN ISMĀ'ĪL SHĀH I

[944 *to* 945 *A.H.* *or* 1538 *to* 1539 *A.C.*]

Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn II was succeeded by his brother, Ismā'īl, who was Kājī Chak's son-in-law. The veteran Chak continued to retain his position and influence as the prime minister, but his overbearing attitude towards the other nobles eventually destroyed his influence. For safety he fled towards the Gakkhar hills, whence, aided by Sayyid Ibrāhīm Baihaqī, he returned and regained his power. On his return, he divided Kashmīr into three equal parts, two of which he assigned to the Sultān and Sayyid Ibrāhīm Baihaqī retaining the third for himself. The Sultān's position, therefore, remained entirely unchanged; and he was no more than a stipendiary like his immediate predecessors.

When Kājī Chak considered himself to be free enough, he imposed on the whole of Kashmīr Shī'ite doctrines, promulgated by Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī. In this respect, he took upon himself the *rôle* of Mūsā Raina, and offered a treatise of Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn as a code of law for all the subjects. After a brief reign of eighteen months, Ismā'īl Shāh I passed away.

SULTĀN IBRĀHĪM SHĀH II

[945 *to* 946 *A.H.* *or* 1539 *to* 1540 *A.C.*]

Ismā'īl I was succeeded by his son, Ibrāhīm II, Muhammad Shāh's son being Ibrāhīm I. The brief reign of four months of Ibrāhīm Shāh II was characterized by two noteworthy events. The first of these was Kājī Chak's flight due to his own high-handed behaviour to others. The second event was of far greater importance. It was the third attempt on the part of Bābur's descendants to conquer

Kashmīr. The Māgres sought help from Humāyūn to get rid of Kājī Chak. That monarch was himself sorely harassed by Sher Shāh Sūr at this time. But, however, Humāyūn allowed Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt to lead an expedition to Kashmīr on behalf of the Māgres. Mīrzā Haidar was a cousin of both Bābur and Sultān Abū Sa'īd Khān of Kāshghar. Besides being a soldier, the Mīrzā was also a scholar and well-known as the author of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*. The Kashmīrīs were engaged in fighting against each other at the time. Therefore, Mīrzā Haidar had what might be called an easy victory over all the desperate resistance offered by Kājī Chak, who, after his defeat, was astute enough to appear at the court of Sher Shāh Sūr for help against his adversaries. Meanwhile, the brief reign of Ibrāhīm II was terminated by his untimely death.

Mīrzā Haidar effected no change in the division of the country already brought into force by Kājī Chak. The Mīrzā retained but one-third for himself. The remaining two-thirds were shared by Abdāl Māgre and Malik Raina, probably as a reward for their services.

Mirza Haidar Dughlat

As several references have been made to Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt in the course of this book, a brief note on his life will not be inappropriate here, when we are discussing the period during which he played an important part in the history of Kashmīr.

Mīrzā Muhammad Haidar Dūghlāt (or Oghlāt) Gurgān[1] Chaghatāī Mughūl, to give him his full name, was born in the year 905 A.H. = 1499[2] A.C.—at Tāshqand, Tāshkend or Tāshkīnt, the capital of the province then known as Shāsh (or Chāch). His father, Muhammad Husain Gurgān Dūghlāt, had been made governor of Shāsh some six years before by Mahmūd, the titular Khān of Mūghulistān and Kāshghar. On his mother Khūb Nigār Khānam's side, Mīrzā Haidar was related to the Emperor Bābur. Khūb Nigār was a daughter of Yūnus Khān Mughūl and a younger sister of Qutlugh Nigār Khānam, the mother of Bābur.

1. Information given here about Mīrzā Haidar and his *History* is extracted from the Introduction by Mr. Ney Elias to Sir Denison Ross's English Translation of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* and from Bābur's *Memoirs*. Ross's is a good translation, on the whole, except that certain passages have been mistranslated.

2. Actually 1500 A.C., as the year 905 began on 8th August, 1499 A.C.

Mīrzā Haidar began his life "in the midst of strife and adventure." His father—a treacherous and intriguing man—had been convicted of a mischievous plot against Bābur at Kābul, but had been pardoned on account of his blood relationship. After some time, Muhammad Husain Gurgān Dūghlāt was murdered at the instigation of Shāhī Beg Khān, otherwise known as Shaibānī Khān, the Uzbek leader. In 1508, when about nine years of age, Mīrzā Haidar was taken charge of by one of his father's faithful friends, who took him to Khān Mīrzā, a cousin and dependant of Bābur. Here Haidar remained for a year, when Bābur summoned him to Kābul. On his arrival at Kābul, Mīrzā Haidar was made a member of the royal household, and seems to have been treated with much consideration.

It was about the beginning of 920 A.H. or 1514 A.C., that Mīrzā Haidar, led away by youthful ambition, left Bābur to go to Andījān, then the capital of Farghāna.* Here he entered the service of his kinsman, Sultān Sa'īd Khān. It is in regard to this period that Bābur writes: "Haidar Mīrzā excels in penmanship, in painting, in fletchery, in making arrow-heads and thumblets for drawing the bow-string. He is remarkably neat at all kinds of handiwork. He has also a turn for poetry, and I have received an epistle from him the style of which is by no means bad." Abu'l Fazl adds music to the Mīrzā's accomplishments. Though at this time only 15 years of age, Mīrzā Haidar was raised to a high position, and thus began the most active part of his life. For the ensuing 19 years of Sultān Sa'īd Khān's reign, the Mīrzā served him in various capacities, but chiefly as a soldier. While in the service of Sultān Sa'īd, Mīrzā Haidar undertook an invasion first of Ladākh, then of Kashmīr, and then of Baltistān, and afterwards of Tibet proper. After subduing Ladākh, a rapid march was made into Kashmīr in about 1531 A.C., but the Mīrzā was obliged to leave Kashmīr. Later, Mīrzā Haidar marched towards Lhāssa and fought with the Nepālese. It was one of his most remarkable exploits. But he had to retrace his steps because of mortality among his horses, want of supplies, and of the general distress caused by cold and

* Farghāna is a province of Turkistān and consists mainly of a valley surrounded by high ranges of mountains and traversed by the Sir Daryā and its tributaries. The area of Farghāna is 55,483 square miles and the population is about 2,169,600. The present capital of Farghāna is Khūqand.

high elevation. It was in the early months of 1534 A.C. that he reached a position of safety in Ladākh. From Ladākh, it appears, that he repaired to Kābul by way of Badakhshān on account of Sultān Sa'īd Khān's death, which occurred in 1533. Mīrzā Haidar thereafter abandoned Kāshghar and transferred his services to the Mughuls in India and proceeded to Lāhore.

Here Mīrzā Haidar was received by Bābur's son, Mīrzā Kāmrān, who raised him to a position of honour and dignity, namely, the governorship of the Punjāb. Mīrzā Haidar resided at Lāhore for a year, when differences arose between Mīrzā Kāmrān and Humāyūn. Mīrzā Haidar became an adherent of the latter. When Sher Shāh Sūr pursued Humāyūn to the Beās and Mīrzā Haidar was governor at Lāhore, he suggested to Humāyūn to conquer Kashmīr. At this time, Mīrzā Haidar according to his own statement was approached by Kājī Chak, Abdāl Māgre and Rīgī (Ross's *Translation* has Zangī) Chak of Kashmīr, who were at variance with the reigning Sultān and had found refuge in the Punjāb. They endeavoured to procure, through Mīrzā Haidar's influence, the assistance of a body of Mughul troops to invade their own country, and expel the obnoxious ruler. The scheme seems to have commended itself to the Mīrzā's judgment. After some delay, he was able to descend into the Valley in about November 1540 A.C. or 947 A.H. The chronogram of this date Mīrzā Haidar says he "discovered in *Julūs-i-Dār-ul-Mulk-i-Kashmīr.*" He obtained possession of Kashmīr without striking a blow, thus at once becoming, to all intents and purposes, king of the Valley. As, however, the fate of Humāyūn was uncertain, Mīrzā Haidar, on account of his faithfulness to Humāyūn, did not declare himself king of Kashmīr, nor did he think it discreet to declare Humāyūn as the overlord of Kashmīr.

During the ten years, counting from the battle of 2nd August 1541 A.C., over which Mīrzā Haidar's regency extended, he is stated, in the *Akbar-nāma,** to have devoted himself, when not actively engaged with his enemies, to the restoration of the Valley and the improvement of its resources. It is said that he found it in a state of ruin and desolation, and raised it into a land abounding in cultivation

*Persian text, Calcutta, 1877, Vol. I, p. 198.

and flourishing towns. He extended the frontiers also, and ruled with moderation and justice. "He (Mīrzā Haidar) sent for," writes Abu'l Fazl, "artists and craftsmen from all quarters, and laboured for the renown and prosperity of Kashmīr. Especially was music in brisk demand, and varieties of instruments were introduced. In short, the outward condition of the country, that is, its worldly state, acquired solidity."* The government of Kashmīr was, however, carried on in the name of Sultān Nāzuk Shāh. This was the time when Humāyūn was a refugee in Īrān.

The Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī.

It was during these years of his stay in Kashmīr that Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt wrote his *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* which is a history of the Mughuls of Central Asia, the eastern branch of the Chaghatāīs or the Mughuls proper. The first part of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* is called by its accomplished author *Ta'rīkh-i-Asl*, or the Real History. It was written in Kashmīr in 1544 and 1545 A.C., and was completed about February 1546, or five years after his installation as Regent of Kashmīr. The second part which the Mīrzā styles *Mukhtasar* or the 'Epitome,' was written in 1541-42 A.C., and is twice the extent of the first. The first part was written after the second part had been completed, and the *History* was named after 'Abdur Rashīd Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar and the eldest son and successor of Sultān Sa'īd Khān. It was Sultān Sa'īd Khān who dispatched Mīrzā Haidar to Kashmīr with his second son Iskandar Sultān. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* ends with the year 948 A.H. (1541 A.C.).

The *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* was not written "for effect or for the indulgence of a taste for literature." The work is an earnest one. The author, no doubt, intended that it should be, before everything else, a clear and complete exposition of the times he had set himself to chronicle.

Bābur has been represented as at once a soldier, a historian and an autobiographer. His kinsman Mīrzā Haidar may justly be described in the same way. Bābur, however, was a better autobiographer than Mīrzā Haidar, and was incomparably a greater soldier. Mīrzā Haidar, on the other hand, may clearly be acknowledged a better historian. While Bābur made history incidental to his

*The *Akbar-nāma*, Persian text, 1877, Vol. I, page 198.

Memoirs, says Mr. Ney Elias, in his Introduction to Sir Denison Ross's translation of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, the reverse was the case with Mīrzā Haidar. The Mīrzā, continues Mr. Elias, wrote the history of his race and family with a definite purpose; and when he came to his own days, he wove in his personal adventures as those of an actor and participator in the events he was recording—making the one illustrate the other; so that it may, with truth, be said that his life belongs to history. The Mīrzā wrote in Persian. Bābur wrote in the Chaghtāī Turkī.

Mīrzā Haidar was 16 years younger than Bābur and was killed at the age of 52 near Khānpōr, 12 miles from Srīnagar, on the old Mughul road. He was buried in 1541 A.C., in Srīnagar. Bābur died at the age of 48 at Āgra in 1530 A.C., 11 years before Mīrzā Haidar, and lies buried at Kābul.

SULTĀN NĀZUK SHĀH (ii)

[946 *to* 958 *A.H. or* 1540 *to* 1551 *A.C.*]

Mīrzā Haidar did not feel himself secure enough to assume kingship. He thought it safer to have a titular king on the throne, and himself to enjoy all real power. He, therefore, elevated Nāzuk, the son of Fath Shāh, to the throne, and ruled the country to the entire satisfaction of almost all sections of the people for a period of time.

Barely a year had passed after the marriage of his niece with Sher Shāh Sūr that Kājī Chak obtained from him two elephants and five thousand horsemen commanded by Husain Khān Shirwānī and 'Ādil (or according to the *Akbar-nāma* 'Alāwal) Khān, and invaded Kashmīr. Kājī Chak now found Kashmīr stronger and better able to defend herself against a foreign invasion. He therefore lost the day. In the words of Mīrzā Haidar, "at noon-day prayers on Monday, the 8th Rabī'-us-Sānī 948 (2nd August, 1541 A.C., and not 20th Rabī' II=16th August as noted in Beveridge's *Akbar-nāma*, Vol. I, p. 403), we routed an army of 5000 cavalry and several thousand foot with a body of only 300 men. *Fath-i-Mukarrar*[1] or 'Victory Repeated' (948 A.H.=1541 A.C.) composed by the Khatīb of Kashmīr, Maulānā Jamāl-ud-Dīn Muhammad Yūsuf,[2] yields the date of Mīrzā Haidar's

1. & 2. Abu'l Fazl's *Akbar-nāma*, Persian text, Calcutta, 1877, Vol. I, page 198. Also Ross's Eng. Trans. of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 486. "Repeated Victory" has reference to Mīrzā Haidar's previous successful invasion of Kashmīr as the agent of Sa'īd Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar.

victory. Two years later, Rīgī Chak rebelled and, suffering a defeat, fled from the country and joined Kājī Chak. The two then united their forces and marched again upon Kashmīr. Mīrzā Haidar was again able to inflict such a crushing defeat upon them as hastened the death of Kājī Chak, whose date is embodied in the expression *Faut-i-Sardār*, 951 A.H.=1544 A.C.

Free from all anxiety of rivals, Mīrzā Haidar tried to revive the industrial glories of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's reign. By his territorial conquest, he again added Little Tibet, Pakhlī, Rajaurī and Kishtwār to the kingdom of Kashmīr. He further resorted to various measures to revive and re-establish the industries for which Kashmīr had created a name for herself. In statesmanship, too, he tried to follow in the footprints of that illustrious monarch, and very largely succeeded in his object by meting out equal treatment to all sections of the people. He successfully reconciled public opinion and pacified the qualms of those who regarded him as a foreigner. But unfortunately peace did not continue for long.

Rightly or wrongly, Mīrzā Haidar conceived the idea that the prevailing religious schism was solely responsible for all the intrigues and dissensions which marred the progress of Kashmīr. The trouble caused by the inroads of Kājī Chak and his comrades was there. The Mīrzā also observed that the adherents of the new Shī'ite faith had made themselves conspicuous in all reactionary measures. In the words of Abu'l Fazl,* "the Mīrzā transgressed the laws of justice 'the watchman of dominion' and let fall from his hands prudence and forbearance, the two arms of felicity." He, therefore, resolved to crush out of existence this new faith ; hence his changed attitude and changed line of action. He quarrelled with Malik Rīgī Chak, whose fall was precipitated by the factions of Malik 'Īdī Raina and Husain Māgre. They at first, helped Mīrzā Haidar but, later on, filled the whole of Kashmīr with stories of Mīrzā Haidar's oppression and high-handedness. No wonder this incident chafed the Mīrzā, and further strengthened him in his attitude of hostility towards all adherents of the Shī'a faith. Mīr Dāniyāl, the son of Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī, was executed after a year's imprisonment, according to Hasan, on the *fatwā* (ruling) of Qāzī

*The *Akbar-nāma*, Persian Text, Calcutta, 1877, Vol. I, page 199.

Ibrāhīm, Qāzī 'Abdul Ghaffūr. The promising career of usefulness of the young man was thus rudely cut short. Dāniyāl's date of death is touchingly *Dasht-i-Karbalā* (957 A.H.=1549 A.C.). The grave of Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī at Jaḍī-bal was desecrated and hence the transfer of the dead body of Mīr Shams to Chāḍura. Malik 'Īdī Rīna or Raina, Husain Māgre, Malik Muhammad Nājī and Khwāja Hājī Bānḍe formed a faction—possibly aided by Islām Shāh Sūr, which the Mīrzā thought it was his duty to crush.

Qarā Bahādur Khān, the Mīrzā's cousin,[1] accompanied by a combined army of Mughuls and Kashmīrīs, was dispatched, to reduce to subjection Muhammadkōt, their stronghold, which might be located in the hilly tract, higher up Khānpōr or Āwanpōr, near about Rajaurī. On his arrival there, Qarā Bahādur Khān found the Kashmīrīs wavering and the nobles disaffected. He, therefore, warned Mīrzā Haidar against the folly of the measures he had embarked upon. But Mīrzā Haidar felt that he could not now retract the step he had already taken, and therefore ordered an assault which ended disastrously. Qarā Bahādur Khān and his followers fell captives to the Kashmīrīs. Aggravated by this failure, the Mīrzā resolved upon a night attack to release Qarā Bahādur Khān, when an arrow from his own armour-bearer Shāh Nazīr, struck him fatally.[2] Malik Haidar Chāḍura,[3] however, asserts that, while the Mīrzā was in the act of entering the gate of the fort a butcher or, according to another version, Kamāl Dūlī (wrongly transcribed in Abu'l Fazl's and Nizām-ud-Dīn's versions as Kamāl Dūbī), who happened to be at the gate, challenged him. The Mīrzā's ignorance of the Kashmīrī language proved fatal. Dūlī discovered that the Mīrzā was a Mughul because of his foreign accent and brought down his heavy axe upon him. Since, however, only an arrow wound is stated to have been visible on the dead body of Mīrzā Haidar, the strong presumption is that it was Shāh Nazīr who by mistake killed

1. Some writers call Qarā Bahādur Khān, Mīrzā Haidar's brother, others call him his nephew. Pandit Çuka calls him Humāyūn's son in one place, and Mīrzā Haidar's servant in another. Even Abu'l Fazl calls him Haidar's برادر in the *Akbar-nāma*, Persian Text, Vol. II, page 128 (See for this correction, Beveridge's English Translation, Vol. II, page 197n).

2. Briggs, Vol. IV, page 503.

3. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Malik Haidar Chāḍura, page 188. See also Lieut. Newail's article entitled: *A Sketch of the Muhammadan History of Kashmir, J. A. S. B.*, Volume 23, No. 5—1854, page 424.

his own master by an arrow in a dark cloudy night. Ney Elias says the locality where the Mīrzā fell "must have been somewhere near Bārāmūla on the Jhelum."[1] This is wrong. Mīrzā Haidar fell near Khānpōr on the old Mughul road. Khānpōr is pronounced by Kashmīrīs as Khāmpōr and is in the Pulwāma Tahsīl. Khānpōr is now a small village of 100 souls and is about 12 miles from Srīnagar.

The fire of strife thus ignited could not be quelled without claiming its full due. Mullā Qāsim, Mullā Bāqī, Mullā 'Abdullāh Samarqandī, Muhammad Nazar and Yūsuf Mīrzā, Mīrzā Haidar's foster-brother, who were among the foremost and most gallant of the Mīrzā's nobles, and had respectively recovered Little Tibet, Pakhlī, Mānglī[2] (between Mansehra and Abbotābād), and Kishtwār, also suffered at the altar of a policy which aimed at the total extirpation of the Shī'ites in Kashmīr. The conceiver of this policy himself fell. The date of Haidar's death, *viz.* 958 A.H. (October 1551 A.C.), is expressed in the following chronogram:—

شہِ گورگان میرزا حیدر آخر   علمِ شہادت زده کوسِ شاہی

قضائے الٰہی چنیں بود، تاریخ شد   شده بہرِ وصلش قضائے الٰہی

It is said that the rebels had decided to treat Mīrzā Haidar's remains with disrespect. The dead body of Mīrzā Haidar could not be buried at Khānpōr where he fell, or Āwanpōr (with 221 souls, now in Tahsīl Baḍgām), where an engagement also seems to have taken place. Khānpōr and Āwanpōr are only two miles from Chāḍura (population 1,064, Baḍgām Tahsīl), the residence of noted Shī'as. But when the rebels found their confederates of the Sunnī faith resolved to resist them, they had to give way. They, however, wreaked their vengeance on Mīrzā's descendants. Firishta is silent on this point. But Malik Haidar Chāḍura (page 188) asserts that, accompanied by Mīrzā Qarā Bahādur Khān, Mīrzā Haidar's family, his sons and others were allowed to repair with honour to their home, Kāshghar, with all their property untouched. Chāḍura's statement is not accepted in its entirety for the reason that he also espoused the Shī'ite faith. It is not improbable that in the flush of victory

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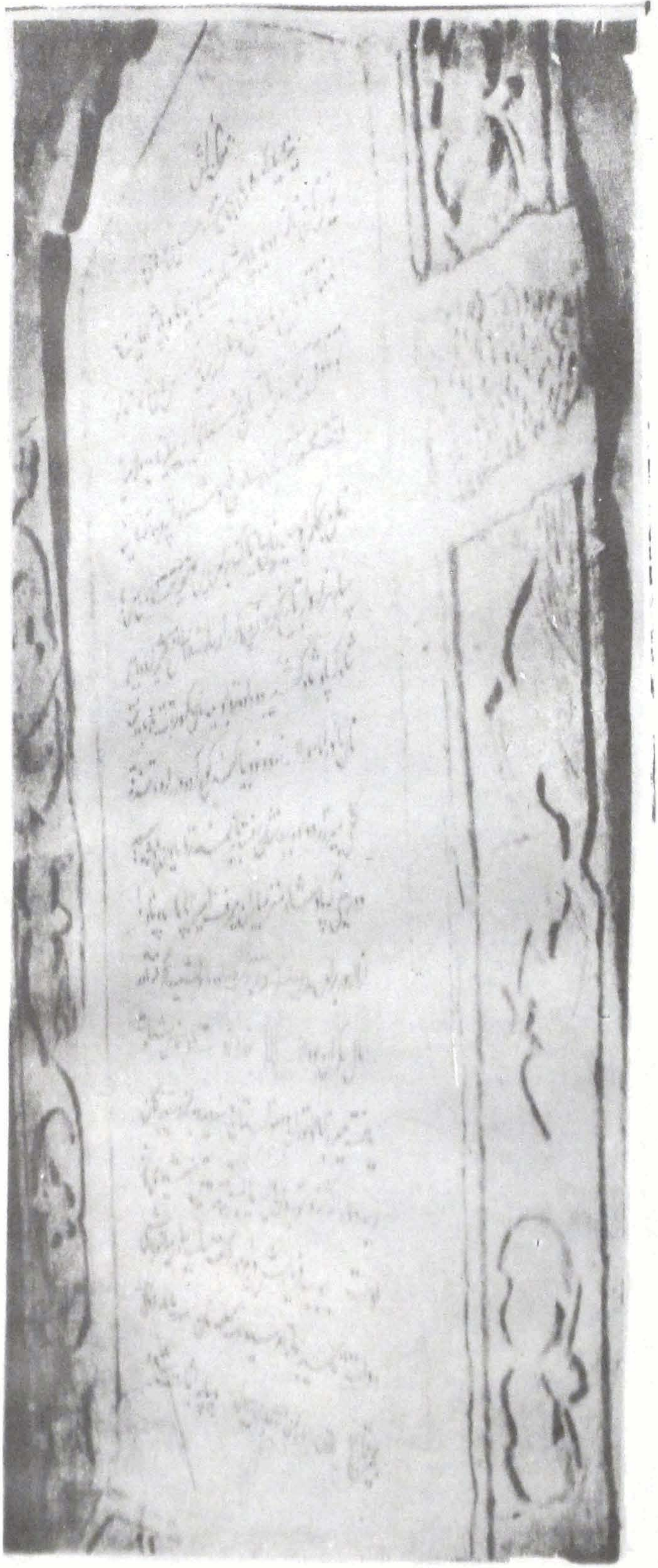
1. *The Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdi*—English Translation by Ross and Elias —Introduction, page 22.

2. Unless Dānagal, a Ghakkar hill fort on the lower Jhelum, is meant. But the locality of Mānglī was in the outskirts of Pakhlī as Abu'l Fazl's notes, *Akbar-nāmā*, Vol. III, page 627.

and goaded by bigotry, the Chaks did not act as chivalrously as could be desired. We learn from Hasan, that Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqī had to guard the Mīrzā's grave for a month against its possible desecration by the Chaks. According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* the remnant of the Mughul following of Mīrzā Haidar fled back to Andarkōṭ where the Mīrzā's wife Khānam and his sister Khānjī were staying. The Mughuls fortified themselves but Mīrzā's wife and sister said to the Mughuls : "As Mīrzā Haidar has gone away from us, it is better to have peace with the Kashmīrīs." All furniture and goods from Andarkōṭ were removed by the victors. The remains of Mīrzā Ḥaidar are buried outside the enclosure of the graves of Baḍ Shāh and others in Srīnagar. The grave was repaired at the instance of William Moorcroft,*

*William Moorcroft, English traveller, was born in Lancashire about 1770 A.C. He was educated at Liverpool in medicine and then turned to the study of veterinary science, which he later practised in London. In pursuit of veterinary work he went over to France for a time and then returned to London. Forced by his private circumstances he became Inspector of the Bengāl stud of the East India Company in 1808. In this capacity he undertook a journey into Central Asia to obtain a stock of Turkomān horses as he regarded the Turkomān horses from Balkh and Bukhārā superior to the Arab variety. With Captain William Hearsey (afterwards General Sir John), he left Josimath, well within the mountains, on May 26, 1812. Crossing the frontier pass of Niti, they struck the main upper branch of the Indus near its source, and on August 5 arrived at the sacred lake of Mānasarowar. Returning by Bhutān, he was detained some time by the Gurkhas, and reached Calcutta in November. Moorcroft set out on a second journey in October 1819. On August 14 the source of the Beās (Hyphasis) was discovered, and subsequently that of the Chenāb. Leh, the capital of Ladākh, was reached on September 24, and a commercial treaty was concluded with the Government of Ladākh, by which the whole of Central Asia was virtually opened to British trade. Kashmīr was reached on November 3, 1822, Jalālābād on June 24, 1824 Kābul on June 30, and Bukhārā on February 25, 1825. At Andkuī, in Afghān Turkistān, Moorcroft was seized with fever, of which he died on August 27, 1825 and was buried outside the walls of Balkh. His companion George Trebeck,—the son of a London solicitor settled in Calcutta —interested in the preparation of geographical notes, survived him only a few days. But according to the Abbé Huc, Moorcroft reached Lhāsa in 1826 and lived there 12 years, being assassinated on his way back to India in 1838. In 1841, Moorcroft's papers were obtained by the Asiatic Society and published under the editorship of H. H. Wilson, under the title of *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara from* 1819 *to* 1825.—[Based on the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th edition, London, 1929, Volume 15, page 782.] Mr. H. L. O. Garrett in the *Asiatic Review* for October 1941 (page 785) says : "Most probably he was an intelligence officer sent to Bukhārā to spy out the land" (Central Asia) in 1825.

The Grave of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, Zaina Kadal, Srinagar.



This long inscription is on the actual grave.



The Grave of Mirza Haidar Dughlat with the long inscription in Persian put up at the instance of William Moorcraft an English Veterinary Surgeon under the East India Company, who visited Kashmir in 1824 A.C. by Sayyid 'Izzatullah Khan, attache to Dr. Moorcraft. The grave is in the Mazar-us-Salatin, Zaina Kadal, Srinagar. Mirza Haidar Dughlat desired Emperor Humayun to conquer Kashmir, but as he did not come, the Mirza himself governed it from 1541 to 1551 A.C. in the name of Sultan Nazuk or Nadir Shah of Kashmir, as Mirza Haidar did not feel himself secure enough to assume kingship.

The above on the right is a monolith at the north of the grave

the traveller, in 1823, and a stone slab with an inscription set up on it by 'Izzatullāh Khān, an attaché of Moorcroft.

Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt entered Kashmīr with the sword and the spear, but ended his sovereignty with the fire of religious strife and burnt himself by it.

From the *Akbar-nāma*,[1] it appears that Humāyūn had resolved to invade Kashmīr, an intention he had cherished for years. His officers, however, thought it inadvisable. Humāyūn sought an omen from the Qur'ān. It chanced that the story of Hazrat Yūsuf came up. Khwāja Husain Marvī, a courtier, submitted that Kashmīr was likened to a well or a prison as was the fate of Hazrat Yūsuf (Prophet Joseph). Humāyūn was thus compelled to abandon his intention of invading the Valley. Had the courtiers desired to invade Kashmīr, they could certainly have interpreted the omen as referring to Yūsuf's subsequent sovereignty of Egypt!

After the death of Mīrzā Haidar, power devolved on to the shoulders of 'Īdī Rīna or Raina who had long been desirous of it. Under him, Kashmīr was attacked by Haibat Khān Niyāzī, who was deputed by Salīm Shāh Sūr[2] the son and successor of Sher Shāh Sūr after Niyāzī had patched up his quarrel with Salīm Shāh Sūr. Daulat Chak, the chief commander, beat the enemy back and won distinction for his exploits. Then followed a hard tussle for power between 'Īdī Raina and other Chaks led by Daulat Chak.[3] Most of 'Īdī Raina's partisans deserted him. Sayyid Muhammad Ibrāhīm Baihaqī and Husain Māgre who remained faithful were captured by Daulat Chak. The inevitable consequence of the resultant disintegration of 'Īdī Raina's party was a defeat which ultimately ended in 'Īdī Raina's death at Srīnagar in 1551 A.C., and the ascendancy of the Chaks.

This ascendancy definitely marks the beginning of their accession to power. Daulat Chak having taken all authority

1. The *Akbar-nāma*, Persian text, Volume I, pages 329-30.

2. Lieut. Newall asserts that the party had Ghāzī Khān, Husain Khān and 'Alī Khān, Kājī Chak's sons, as their leaders.—*J.A.S.B.*, No. 5—1854, page 424.

3. Salīm Shāh Sūr had a Kashmīrī wife and had a daughter by her. The wife and the daughter proceeded to Hajj with Bairam's caravan. Bairam was killed by an Afghān *en route*.—*Akbar-nāma* (English translation by Beveridge, Vol. II, page 201).

in his own hands now released Sayyid Muhammad Ibrāhīm Baihaqī and Husain Māgre, and made them his councillors. His assumption of power was so certain that he actually dethroned Sultān Nāzuk Shāh in 1551 A.C.

SULTĀN ISMĀ'ĪL SHĀH II

[958 *to* 961 *A.H.* *or* 1551 *to* 1554 *A.C.*]

Firishta[1] differs from Malik Haidar Chāḍura about the next succession. Firishta asserts that, after Nāzuk Shāh, his son Ibrāhīm, was placed on the throne, but was deposed after a reign of only five months, and Ismā'īl Shāh II, son of Ibrāhīm Shāh I, who was the son of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, was raised to kingship. Firishta designates Ibrāhīm, Nāzuk's son, as Ibrāhīm II.

Daulat Chak imposed his will and the Shī'ite tenets on the country in a high-handed manner, compelling the imāms (priests) of mosques, on pain of death, to recite the names of the Twelve Imāms of the Shī'as in Friday sermons. But his ascendancy did not last long. In those days of decentralized kingship, intrigue had become an integral part of the temperament of the Kashmīrī nobility, and it was carried on irrespective of considerations of caste and creed. Ghāzī Chak and Daulat Chak, although both Shī'as, were greatly at variance with each other, because the latter had the hardihood to marry[2] Kājī Chak's widow, *i.e.*, Ghāzī Chak's mother. Daulat Chak had to flee, but was caught and handed over by a shepherd to Ghāzī Chak's soldiery and put to death.

Many stories are related of Daulat's deeds of prowess and strength. It is said that once he caught with one hand a falling beam twenty-four yards long and two yards thick. When at Delhi, he caught an elephant by the tail in the presence of Sher Shāh Sūr, and the animal could not move at all. Daulat is also credited with having shot an arrow two *kōs*.

As soon as Daulat Chak's star waned, Ismā'īl's reign also came to a close.

1. Briggs, Vol. IV, pages 505-06.
2. Lieut. Newall,—*J.A.S.B.*, No. 5,—1854, page 424.

SULTĀN HABĪB SHĀH,

THE LAST OF THE

SHĀH MĪRĪS.

[961 *to* 962 *A.H. or* 1554 *to* 1555 *A.C.*]

Ghāzī Chak deposed Ismā'īl Shāh and placed on the throne his own nephew, Habīb Shāh the son of Ismā'īl Shāh II, the grandson of Sultān Muhammad Shāh. Habīb Shāh had also, in 945 A.H., owed his temporary accession to Kājī Chak who, in turn, had his own selfish designs for it. Habīb Shāh goes down to history as the last of his line, though, strangely enough, he expected more of his dynasty to follow him as this inscription shows :

در زیارتِ روضهٔ اجدادِ خود سلطان حبیب
دید و گفت این جایِ شاهان تنگ گردد عنقریب
صفّه و دروازه دیگر به پهلوش فزود
تا ازین روضه نه گردد هیچ شاهے بے نصیب
گاهِ تعمیرِ بنائے نو شنیدم از سروش
سالِ تاریخش مزارِ ثانی سلطان حبیب

Ever since the days of Muhammad Shāh and Fath Shāh, the descendants of the great Shāh Mīr were mere figure-heads, who were enthroned or dethroned according to the whim of the noble in power. The Chaks, however, at first entertained no ambitious designs to usurp kingship until the accession of Habīb Shāh. This, it seems, was now their objective and for this they staked their lives and their purse.

Ghāzī Chak now began to work out his policy. He started by accusing the Sultān of various misdemeanours and possibly of acts of faithlessness. The Sultān was powerless to say or to do anything. At last, one day in open court, Ghāzī Chak's brother, 'Alī Chak, took off the crown from the king's head, and placed it on his brother's. The courtiers hailed Ghāzī Chak as their monarch. Habīb Shāh was removed from the throne and kept as a prisoner. All this happened in 963 A.H. (1555 A.C.).

This event in Kashmīr history is not unlike that in English history, when seventy years earlier, Richard III's crown, struck from his head on Bosworth Field (August 22, 1485), was presented to Henry Earl of Richmond who became Henry VII.

There appears to be no cause for lamentation over the displacement of the Shāh Mīrī dynasty in Kashmīr. Its rulers had become quite effete. They sadly lacked the essential qualities of initiative and capacity to command. They also displayed weakness of character, and were not, therefore, capable of holding their place. It was only by a divine mercy, or it might be said, the diffidence of the Chaks, that they were allowed to maintain the *rôle* of supernumerary kings under Chak domination. As a matter of fact, they should have long been displaced to make room for kings of vigour and virility.

Addenda to Chapter IV

A short note on Lāhul, which is mentioned on page 170, is given here. Lāhul, with its rich pastures for sheep and the famous *pashmīna* goats, is a mountainous country between Western Tibet and North Punjāb, and never descends below 10,000 feet. It is a *Wazīrī* or canton of the Kulū sub-division of the Kāngṛa district, in the East Punjāb. On the north, Lāhul is bounded by the Ladākh province of Kashmīr, and on the west by the Chamba State. The population in 1901 was 7,205. Hiuen Tsiang notices it as a district lying north-east of Kulū and calls it Lo-hu-lo. The Lāhulīs hold in their hands the trade between Ladākh and Central Asia, and also of Kulū and the East Punjāb. The rigours of climate and country have produced a sturdy people. A Lāhul woman's choice of jewels on festive occasions is an amazing collection of amber, turquoise, coral, and silver ornaments daringly worn together.

1. THE SHAH MIRI DYNASTY

[Chronology and Genealogy of the Muslim Kings of Kashmīr by T. W. Haig, C.M.G., *J.R.A.S.*, 1918, page 468. This same is reproduced in *The Cambridge History of India*, Volume III, Turks and Afghāns, edited by Lt. Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig, Cambridge University Press, 1928, pp. 698, 699 and 700.]

A.H.			A.D.
747	1	Shāh Mīrzā, Shams-ud-Dīn	1346
750	2	Jamshīd	1349
751	3	'Alī Shīr, 'Alā-ud-Dīn	1350
760	4	Shīrāshāmak, Shihāb-ud-Dīn	1359
780	5	Hindāl, Qutb-ud-Dīn	1378
796	6	Sikandar, Butshikan	1393-94
819	7	Mīr Khān, 'Alī Shāh	1416
823	8	Shāhī Khān, Zain-ul-'Ābidīn	1420
875	9	Hājī Khān, Haidar Shāh Nov.-Dec.	1470
876	10	Hasan Shāh Dec. 1471 or Jan.	1472
894	11	Muhammad Shāh	1489
894	12	Fath Shāh	1489
903	11	Muhammad Shāh, *restored*	1497-98
903-04	12	Fath Shāh, *restored*	1498
904-05	11	Muhammad Shāh, *again restored* ..	1499
932	13	Ibrāhīm Shāh I	1526
933	14	Nāzuk Shāh	1527
935	11	Muhammad Shāh, *again restored* ..	1529
941	15	Shams-ud-Dīn Shāh II	1534-35
947	14	Nāzuk Shāh, *restored* June-July,	1540
947	16	Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt, *usurper* Nov. 22,	1541
958	14	Nāzuk Shāh, *again restored*	1551
959	17	Ibrāhīm Shāh II	1552
962	18	Ismā'īl Shāh	1555
964-968	19	Habīb Shāh	1557-1561

2. THE CHAK DYNASTY

968	1	Ghāzī Shāh	1561
971	2	Nāsir-ud-Dīn Husain Shāh	1563-4
977	3	Zahīr-ud-Dīn 'Alī Shāh	1569-70
986	4	Yūsuf Shāh	1578-9
993-997	5	Ya'qūb Shāh	1585-1589

(Mughul Emperors)

Note.—E. de Zambaur in his *Manuel de Généalogie et Chronologie pour l'Histoire de l'Islam* (Hanovre, 1927),—Part II, page 293, has different dates; for instance, 735 A.H. for the accession of Shams-ud-Dīn Tāhir Mīrzā Swātī, 820 for that of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, and so on.

DATES OF THE SHAH MIRIS AND THE CHAKS

According to

THE 'A'in-i-Akbari' OF ABU'L FAZL.*

Thirty-two princes reigned 282 years, 5 months, 1 day.

A.H.	A.C.		Y.	M.	D.
..	..	Rinjan of Tibet, a native of that country, 10 years and some months.			

THE SHĀH MĪRĪS

A.H.	A.C.		Y.	M.	D.
715	1315	Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, minister of Sinha Devā	2	11	25
750	1349	Sultān Jamshīd, his son	1	10	0
752	1351	Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, son of Shams-ud-Dīn	12	18	13
765	1363	Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn	20	0	0
785	1386	Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn, son of Hasan-ud-Dīn(?)	15	5	2
799	1396	Sultān Sikandar, his son, whose name was Sankār	22	9	6
819	1416	Sultān 'Alī Shāh, his son	6	9	0
826	1422	Sultān Zainu'l 'Ābidīn, younger brother of Alī Shāh	52	0	0
877	1472	Sultān Hājī Haidar Shāh, his son ..	1	2	0
878	1473	Sultān Hasan Khān, his son	12	0	5
891	1486	Sultān Muhammad Shāh, his son ..	2	7	0
902	1496	Sultān Fath Shāh, son of Ādam Khān, son of Sultān Zainu'l 'Ābidīn	9	1	0
911	1506	Sultān Muhammad Shāh, a second time ..	0	9	9
		Sultān Fath Shāh, a second time ..	1	1	0
		Sultān Muhammad Shāh, a third time ..	11	11	11
		Sultān Ibrāhīm, his son	0	8	25
942	1535	Sultān Nāzuk Shāh, son of Fath Shāh ..	1	0	0
		Sultān Muhammad Shāh, a fourth time ..	34	8	10
		Sultān Shamsī, son of Muhammad Shāh ..	0	2	0
		Sultān Ismā'īl Shāh, his brother ..	2	9	0
		Sultān Nāzuk Shāh, a second time ..	13	9	0
		Sultān Ismā'īl Shāh, a second time ..	1	5	0
948	1541	Mīrzā Haidar Gūrgān	10	0	0
		Sultān Nāzuk Shāh, a third time ..	1	0	0

THE CHAKS

A.H.	A.C.		Y.	M.	D.
		Ghazī Khān, son of Kājī Chak ..	10	6	0
971	1563	Husain Chak, his brother ..	6	10	0
		'Alī Chak, brother of Husain Chak ..	8	9	0

*Cf. English Translation by Colonel H. S. Jarrett, Vol. II, pages 379-80.

A.H.	A.C.		Period of reign Y.	M.	D.
986	1578	Yūsuf Shāh, his son ..	1	0	20
		Sayyid Mubārak Shāh, one of his nobles ..	0	1	25
		Lohar Chak, son of Sikandar, son of Kājī Chak	1	2	0
		Yūsuf Shāh, a second time	5	3	0
		Ya'qūb Khān, his son	1	0	0

NOTE.—The Kashmīr Sultāns, as given in Princep's Tables,† follow the above order of the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* of Abu'l Fazl except that, between 948 A.H.=1441 A.C., and 971 A.H.=1563 A.C., we find—

A.H.	A.C.	
960	1552	Ibrāhīm
963	1555	Ismā'īl
964	1556	Habīb

Also that a few details of names of rulers are omitted between 891 A.H.=1486 A.C. to 911 A.H.=1505 A.C., which are given by Abu'l Fazl.

DATES OF THE SHAH MIRIS AND CHAKS

ACCORDING TO JONARAJA, CRIVARA, PRAJYABHATTA & CUKA.

[*See* the List of Kings at the end of Vol. III of *Kings of Kashmīra* by Jogesh Chander Dutt, Elm Press, Calcutta, 1898, pp. XXI, XXII, XXIII and XXIV at the end.]

	A.C.	Period of reign		
Riñchana (Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn)	1320	3	1	19

THE SHĀH MĪRĪS

	A.C.			
Shahamera alias Shamshadena (Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn I, Shāh Mīr) ..	1339	3	0	5
Jamsara (Jamshīd) ..	1342	0	1	10 (?)
Alāvadīna ('Alā-ud-Dīn) ..	1343	12	8	13 (?)
Shāhāvadīna (Shibāb-ud-Dīn) ..	1354			
Kumbhadīna (Qutb-ud-Dīn) ..	1373			
Shekandhara (Sikandar) ..	1389			
Alīshāha ('Alī Shāh) ..	1413			
Jainollābhadīna (Zain-ul-'Ābidīn) ..	1420	52	0	0
	(By calculation 50 years)			
Haidara Shāha (Haidar Shāh) ..	1470	1	10	0

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† *The Copper Coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr* by C. J. Rodgers, *J.A.S.B.*, Volume XLVIII, Part I, No. 4, 1879, pages 283-4.

Hasana Shāha (Hasan Shāh)	..	1472	12	0	5
Mahmada Shāha (Muhammad Shāh)	..	1484	2	7	0
Phataha Shāha (Fath Shāh)	..	1486	9	0	0
Mahmada Shāha (2nd time)	..	1514	0	9	9
Phataha Shāha (2nd time)	..	1515	1	1	0
Mahmada Shāha (3rd time)	..	1516	11	10	10
Ibrāhima Shāha (Ibrāhīm)	..	1528		———	
Nājoka Shāha (Nāzuk Shāh)	..	1529	1	0	0
Mahmada Shāha (4th time)*	..	1530	5	0	0
Samsha Shāha (Shams-ud-Dīn II)	..	1537	23	0	0
Habhebha (Habīb Shāh)	..	1560	0	1	0

THE CHAKS

Gāja Shāha (Ghāzī Shāh)	..	1560	2	0	0
Hosaina Shāha (Husain Shāh)	..	1562	7	0	0
Ale Shāha ('Alī Shāh)	..	1569	9	0	0
Yosobh Shāha (Yūsuf Shāh)	..	1578		———	
Momāra Khāna (Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī)		1578	0	1	7
Lahvara Chakka (Lohur Shāh)	..	1578	0	11	0
Yosobha (2nd time)	..	1579	8	0	0
Yākobha (Ya'qūb Shāh)	..	1587		———	

THE CHAK DYNASTY

[1555-1586 A.C.]

Lankar Chak migrates from Dardistān to Kashmir

- Pāṇḍū Chak
  - Halmat or Himmat Chak
  - Husain Chak
    - **Hasan Chak** = wife = Kājī Chak (Qāzī Chak)
      - (Hasan Chak and wife) **Ghāzī Shāh 1555 to 1563**
        - **Haidar**
        - Ibrāhīm or Iba Khān killed by Yūsuf Khān
          - **Husain**
        - **Ahmad**
      - (wife and Kājī Chak)
        - **Queen of Sultān Ismā'īl Shāh and mother of Sultān Habīb Shāh**
        - **Muhammad**
        - **Mas'ūd**
        - Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Husain Shāh 1563 to 1570
          - Yūsuf
        - 'Alī Shāh 1570 to 1579
          - **Yūsuf Shāh (i) 1579 (ii) 1580 to 1586**
            - **Ya'qūb Shāh 1586**
            - Ibrāhīm or Iba Chak
            - **Haidar**
          - Husain
        - **Abdāl**
          - **Ibrāhīm**
          - **Habīb**
        - **Shankar (or Shakūr)**
          - **Badī'-ud-Dīn or Gauhar or Lohur Shāh 1579 to 1580**
          - **Shams**
          - **Muhammad**
    - Sālih Mōjī, Queen of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, great-grandson of Baḍ Shāh
    - Tāj Chak or Tāzī Chak
      - Daulat Chak
        - Habīb Chak
        - Nusrat Chak
      - Not known
        - **Nāzuk**

CHAPTER V

KASHMĪR UNDER THE CHAKS

[1555 *A.C. to* 1586 *A.C.*]

From a perusal of its history, Kashmīr appears to be a land of hospitality. Shāh Mīr, the founder of the Shāh Mīrī dynasty, and Lankar or Langar Chak, the progenitor of the Chak dynasty, were well received. Though Lankar or Langar himself had not the distinction of wearing a regal crown, his descendants gradually so strengthened themselves that they were able to exert very great influence on the politics of Kashmīr: to enthrone and dethrone kings, and finally to wield the sceptre.

The history of the Chaks,[1] to whom a Dardic origin is ascribed, bears a strange resemblance to that of the Marāthas. [For the history of the word *Dard*, see Chapter VIII, section Kashmīrī language.] The Chaks—called the Chakreças or Chakras in the Kashmīr *Chronicles*—gradually rose from obscurity, and forced their existence even upon the attention of a wise ruler like Sulṭān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn,[2] whose penetrating eye enabled him to predict the sovereignty they finally acquired. They sought and entered service with the nobles. They thus strengthened and consolidated their position till, at last, they were able to assert themselves under the redoubtable leadership of Kājī or Qāzī Chak (called by the *Chronicles* Kāñchana Chakreça or Kācha Chakra) and became an important factor in the politics of Kashmīr.

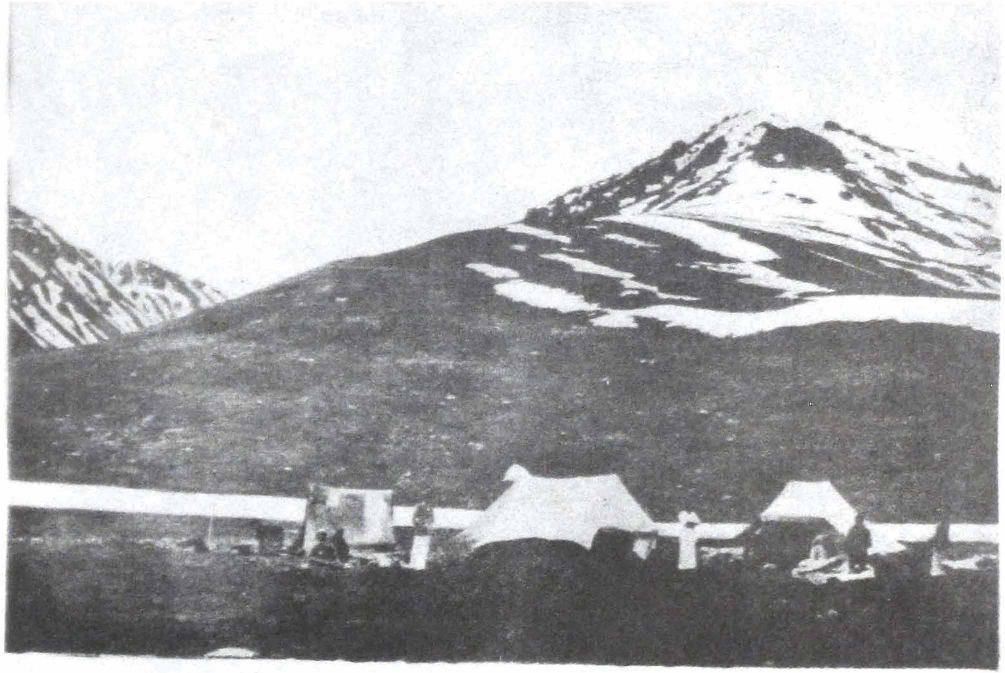
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1. The word Chak is written by Sir Wolseley Haig as Chakk but the more correct Kashmīrī pronunciation is something like Tsak or Tschak.

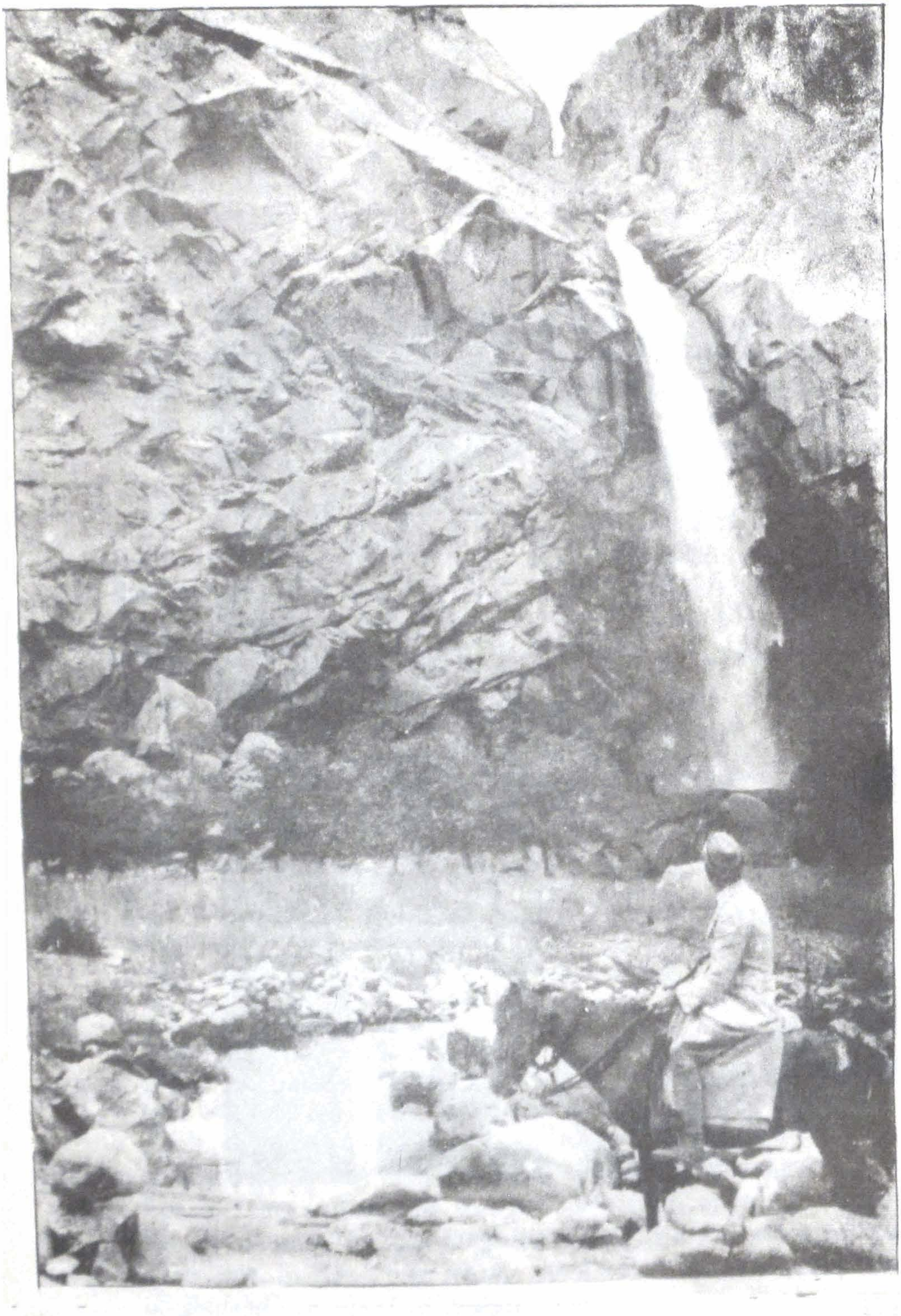
2. Lt. Newall's *A Sketch of the Muhammadan History of Kashmīr.—J. A. S. B.*, No. 5, -1854, page. 146

It is noteworthy that the rise of the Chaks synchronizes with their conversion to the Shī'ite doctrine promulgated by Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī, whom Malik Haidar Chāḍura calls Shaikh Shams-ud-Dīn Muhammad 'Irāqī, in the first reign of Sultān Fath Shāh when Husain Chak became a Shī'a. And Husain's descendants continued to be Shī'as. To clarify the link it may be stated that Lankar or Langar Chak's fourth descendant, named Pāṇḍū Chak, had flourished as a feudal lord in the time of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. Pāṇḍū had two sons, Himmat and Husain. Husain, as we said, became Shī'a while Himmat remained Sunnī. Himmat, however, had no sovereignty among his descendants, though they occupied high positions in civil and military employ. Shams, Rigī, Mas'ūd and Bahrām are notable instances in this line of Himmat. It would be incorrect to say that change over to Shī'ism by Husain's line had fired the Chaks with an ambition for the throne. History has not yet proved it. The fact must not, however, be omitted that they were already strong enough to interfere in the trend of events and exert their influence when internecine war between Muhammad Shāh and Fath Shāh gave them time to make hey.

All through their career, either as partisans of a particular king, or as wielders of regal authority, they did not give much promise of their statesmanship. They showed narrow-mindedness too. No Shāh Mīrī showed such religious bias against Shī'as as Ghāzī Chak and Husain Chak displayed against the Sunnīs of Kashmīr. The bitterness of feeling resulting in a number of serious clashes between Shī'as and Sunnīs—and their number is put down at eighteen—earned for the Shī'a of Kashmīr the notoriety of *Bē Pīr* like the Sunnī of Balkh. The Chaks were clever at intrigue too. But it must be admitted that they were good soldiers on the battlefield. Their exploits cannot be easily forgotten. Their patriotism and martial spirit were a great advantage to Kashmīr. One can, therefore, emphatically suggest that but for them, Kashmīr would have fallen an easy prey to the ambition of Haidar Dūghlāt or Bābur and his immediate successor, in rivalry of whom the Chak rulers took the title of *Bādshāh* in place of *Sultān* adopted by the Shāh Mīrīs.



Camping on the snows before entering Deosai on the way to Skārdu. Dr. Sufi, Dr. Bashir, Professor Beg and some Ph.D. scholars of the Panjab University Institute of Chemistry



A waterfall on tne way to Skārdu. Dr. Sufi on horseback.

GHĀZĪ CHAK

[962 *to* 970 *A.H. or* 1555 *to* 1563 *A.C.*]

It is not necessary to recapitulate the circumstances which installed Ghāzī Chak as the first ruler of his line. He started his regal career with discretion, and devoted his attention to the removal of evils which had, for long, paralysed the administration of the country.

Ghāzī Chak re-conquered or annexed such territories as had fallen off from the kingdom. In this attempt, he attained marked success in recovering Skārdu, Gilgit, Kishtwār, Pakhlī and Māṅglī (near Pakhlī), besides bringing into subjection the chief of the Gakkhars. In order to ensure efficient administration of these territories, he appointed experienced and intelligent governors to control them.

[Ladākh or Ladāg or Great Tibet is one of the most elevated regions of the earth. Cultivation is sparse and is carried on uplands ranging from 9,000 to 14,000 feet high. The climate is very dry and healthy and the air is invigorating. There is a remarkable absence of thunder and lightning. Leh is the only place of importance. The people style themselves Bhots. With the exception of one village of Shī'a Musalmāns in Chhachkōt and of the Arghūns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist among whom polyandry prevailed till recent years; it is now stopped by legislation. The Arghūns are the result of the union between Ladākhī women and Kashmīrīs or Yārqandīs. There are also some Turkī caravan drivers and Dogrās. In the waterless wastes of sand, says Major Gompertz (*Magic Ladakh*, 1928, page 45) are to be found the remains of old towns, of old civilizations, paintings and writings in scripts whose very names are unknown.

Baltistān, or Little Tibet, is a tract under the Wazīr-i-Wazārat of Ladākh. The rainfall is about 6 inches in the year. The air is dry and bracing. The snowfall is often considerable and is of great importance to the villages which depend on the snow for their irrigation. The old rulers of Baltistān were known as Gialpos or Rājās. 'Alī Sher Khān built the fort which lies in the tahsīl of the same name which is an important tract of Baltistān. In the early seventeenth century, 'Alī Mīr, chief of Skārdu, successfully invaded Bāltistān. The Bāltīs are of the same stock as the Ladākhīs.

Though Ladākh and Baltistān are geographically similar, and their people ethnologically the same, the Baltīs are generally Muslims while the Ladakhīs are Buddhists.

Tibet proper, the land of the Lāmas, is called Tibet only.]

Ghāzī was a just but somewhat stern ruler. In meting out justice, he showed no compassion even to his kith and kin. Once a servant belonging to his son, Haidar Khān,

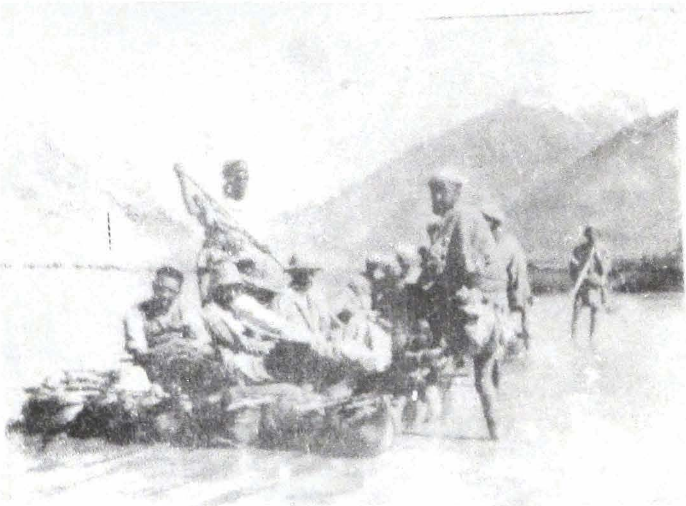
plucked *'unnāb* (fruit of the jujube tree) while accompanying the Sultān. The Sultān observed this act of pilfering, and had the delinquent's hands cut off, a punishment which both grieved and incensed Haidar Khān. Later on, when Ghāzī Chak sent Muhammad Malik, the youth's uncle, to admonish him for the sullenness he had displayed, the youth, in a fit of rage, stabbed his uncle. On this, Ghāzī Chak caused him to be hanged, and his remains were exhibited on the gibbet for eight days.

Ghāzī's sternness roused his own tribesmen against him. Nusrat Chak and Yūsuf Chak, sons of Rīgī Chak, rose in rebellion against him, but were successfully repressed. Later on, Shankar Chak, Bahrām Chak and Fath Chak, sons of Rīgī Chak,—who by the way, had seven or more sons—raised the standard of revolt at Sopōr, but were defeated and dispersed. Then, Shams Raina, son of 'Īdī Raina and the grandson of Mūsā Raina, whom we met under Fath Shāh in his second term on pages 191-2, proceeded to Delhī to seek help from Humāyūn. Unfortunately for him, however, Humāyūn died as the result of a fall on the day of his arrival. On his return, he met Abu'l Ma'ālī, Humāyūn's favourite, who had been driven out by Bairam Khān, and had found refuge in the mountains of Gakkhar. Shams Raina induced him to invade Kashmīr. Encouraged by the previous success of Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt, Abu'l Ma'ālī proceeded to invade Kashmīr without hesitation. Ghāzī Chak, however, won over Sayyid Ibrāhīm Baihaqī and his followers to his side, and successfully defeated the invaders. Shams Raina's brother Muhammad Raina next year led a joint insurrection of the Rainas and some disaffected Chaks, but sustained a defeat.

In 1559, Ghāzī's possession of the throne was again disturbed by Qarā Bahādur, cousin of Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt, whom Yūsuf Chak the son of Rīgī Chak and others had induced to fight. It is stated that Qarā Bahādur took 10,000* horse with him. The battle took place in the Rajaurī mountains. Ghāzī Chak advanced in person to meet the enemy, and promised his men a gold coin for each head captured. The king was completely victorious, and 7,000 heads were presented to him after the engagement. It is said that he exceeded this promise and disbursed two gold coins per head.

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*J.A.S.B., No. 5,—1854, page 426.



The "Zakh", or inflated skin, used on the river Shigar which joins the river Indus near Skārdu. Dr. Sufi, with a hat, on the right.



An apricot garden in Skārdu.

Ghāzī Chak was an able and energetic ruler. He was also a poet.* After reigning for over eight years, he abdicated the throne in favour of his brother Husain Chak on account of a very severe form of leprosy which prostrated him for about two years after which he died. His pride in his Shī'ite doctrine is expressed by Mullā Mīr 'Alī *Sairfī* in the following quatrain :

گه دُشمنان به رفض مرا نام بُرده اند

گه دُوستان موالیِ حیدر نوشته اند

شُکرِ خُدا که دُوست و دشمن به اتّفاق

نامِ مرا به نامه اُو در نوشته اند

Some time after his abdication, he divided equally his effects and gave half to his son and other descendants, while he sent the other half to the merchants for sale. The price he demanded for these effects from the merchants was so exorbitant that they complained to Husain Shāh, who, on taking the matter up with Ghāzī Chak, so angered him that he sought to re-establish himself but was cleverly checkmated by Husain Shāh. Some time later, Husain Shāh, for reasons of personal safety and removing a rival from his path, thought of putting out the eyes of Ahmad Khān, Ghāzī Chak's son. Ghāzī naturally interceded for his son but failed, and died of a broken heart. He had already severely suffered from virulent leprosy as stated above.

HUSAIN SHĀH CHAK.

[971 *to* 978 *A.H.* *or* 1563 *to* 1570 *A.C.*]

Husain Shāh ascended the throne in 970 A.H. (1563 A.C.). *Khusrav-i-'Adl* is the chronogram of his accession. He was, comparatively speaking, a mild ruler, less bigoted than his brother, and solicitous about the well-being of his subjects. He regulated the efficient organization of his state finances. In the year 972 A.H. (1564 A.C.), Husain Shāh sent his brother Shunkar Chak as governor of Rajaurī. The brother gathered an army and rebelled to seize the throne for himself. He was defeated by the minister Malik Muhammad Nājī,—the grandfather of Haidar Malik Chāḍura, our historian,—and the king's younger brother 'Alī

*Malik Haidar Chāḍura's *History of Kashmīr*, page 201.

Khān Chak. This victory secured considerable favours for Malik Muhammad Nājī from the king.

The trouble, it appears, did not end here. Next year, in 973 A.H. (1565 A.C.), the Bādshāh happened to be hunting at Vethnār, in Tahsīl Islāmābād (Anantnāg). In his absence, Fath Chak, called also Khwāja Fath Baqqāl and surnamed Khān-uz-Zamān, a minister of the state, rebelled with his son Bahādur Khān. Fath Chak attacked the king's palace to seize the treasure and proclaim himself king.

Malik Muhammad Nājī who had been left in charge of the palace was, however, able by recourse to a clever stratagem to beat back Khān-uz-Zamān, and to kill his son. In the course of this contest, Mas'ūd Nāyak, an officer of the king's bodyguard, made himself conspicuous by his gallant and fearless behaviour. Khān-uz-Zamān was taken prisoner. On the Bādshāh's return he was led in chains to his presence. The Bādshāh rewarded Mas'ūd Nāyak with the title of Mubāriz Khān, and the *pargana* of Phāk on the Ḍal as his *jāgīr* or assignment. Khān-uz-Zamān was, of course, executed for his treachery.

Mubāriz Khān, however, became rather proud of his power in course of time. The king had therefore real cause not only to be jealous but also to be afraid of him. On some pretext, the king imprisoned him, and appointed Malik Lūlī Lōn* in his place. Lūlī, too, did not enjoy his new office for long. He was detected in an attempt to embezzle forty thousand *kharwār* of *shālī* or unhusked rice and was dismissed. 'Alī Koka was then appointed prime minister.

In 976 A.H. (1568 A.C.) Yūsuf Manḍav, a Shī'a fanatic, attacked and somewhat seriously wounded Qāzī-ul-Quzzāt Sayyid Habībullāh Khwārizmī, a Sunnī Khatīb (or Sermonizer) of the Jāmi' Masjid, who was saved from being killed by Maulānā Mīr Kamāl-ud-Dīn, his son-in-law. We shall later meet Mīr Kamāl-ud-Dīn as Mullā Kamāl the teacher of 'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm Siālkōṭī, Mujaddid Alf-i-Sānī and 'Allāmī Sa'dullāh Khān in Chapter VIII under "Men of Learning." The king issued orders for Yūsuf's arrest. A jury of divines consisting of Mullā Shams-ud-Dīn Almās (known also as Mullā Yūsuf) and

Lond written by mistake by Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn in his *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, litho, pp. 626-27 and De's Persian Text, Vol. 3, page 493.

Mullā Fīrūz Ganāī appointed by the king, had Yūsuf Maṇḍav stoned to death.

Soon after this, there arrived in Kashmīr an embassy from Akbar's court led by Mīrzā Muhammad Muqīm and Mīr Ya'qūb, both of Shī'a persuasion. The Bādshāh welcomed them in person, and had his own tent pitched for their reception at Hūrapōr.* They then proceeded by boat to Srīnagar, and were lodged in the house of Husain Māgre, a nobleman. Mīrzā Muqīm committed an act of great indiscretion by interfering in the matter of the stoning to death of Yūsuf the Shī'a fanatic, referred to above. Purely an internal affair, it should have been settled by Husain Shāh himself. But unfortunately Husain Shāh absented himself from the city on this occasion to escape the clamour of the contending Shī'a and Sunnī parties whose passions were now roused against each other. Mīrzā Muqīm instigated making over the divines, who had acted as judges in Yūsuf's case, to Fath Khān, a Shī'a official. Fath Khān had them executed, and dragged their dead bodies through the streets. After his return to the city, Husain Shāh, in his anxiety to avoid misrepresentation by Mīrzā Muqīm at the court of Akbar, and lest the Emperor should be displeased at Husain Shāh's own hesitation to punish the divines, gave them suitable presents. Husain Shāh also agreed to give his own daughter for the emperor's son Salīm to wed. A deputation of Kashmīrīs, headed by Hāji Ganāī, waited upon Akbar to report the disgraceful treatment of the dead bodies of the divines, and seek redress at his hands. The deputation was successful in rousing Akbar against Mīrzā Muqīm and against Husain Shāh Chak. On Mīrzā Muqīm's return, Akbar had him executed for religious bigotry, and sent back Husain Shah's presents. The emperor also sent back Husain Shah's daughter. Husain Shāh received such a shock at Akbar's insult that, as a result of it as well as of his son's death, he did not survive more than a few months. Çuka, however, states that Husain Shāh died of epilepsy.

Husain Shāh seems to have had, in general, very catholic views. He set aside three days in the week to listen to the discourses of Muslim and Hindu religious scholars and

*Hūrapōr village in the Pīr Panjāl valley is about seven miles south-west of Shupiān. The ancient name of Hūrapōr was Çūrapura. Hūrapōr is the entrance and exit to and from Kashmīr towards Rajaurī. Population 1635.

itinerant friars. The remaining three days he devoted to the inspection of the army, to hunting, music and dealing out justice. Husain Shāh also possessed a taste for poetry. It is related that a poet, who usually received from him gifts and a robe of honour every 'Īd, sent him this line[1] before a particular 'Īd—

خلعتِ شاهی مرا اسپے رسد یا زین رسد

The Bādshāh wrote back the following line:—

این چنین فهم را نے آن رسد نے این رسد

Khwāja A'zam and Pīr Hasan Shāh quote other couplets of Husain Shāh—

آں تُرک آل پُوش سوارِ سمند شُد
یاران حذر کُنید کہ آتش بلند شُد
حائل کردہ تیغ و بستہ خنجر یار می آید
دِلا برخیز و کارے کُن کہ جان در کار می آید

It was the set practice of Husain Shāh, after Friday prayers, to order his treasurer to put aside a sum which he gave away in charity. Çuka says: "The goddess of wealth, though insulted by large expenditures, went with him." The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* says, Husain Shāh founded a college and lived in the society of pious and learned men in its precincts, and he allotted them the *pargana* of Zaina-pōr as their *jāgir*.

Before he died, the nobles at the court began to intrigue about the next successor. Some favoured a choice between Husain Shāh's brother, 'Alī Khān and Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī, while others preferred to have the youthful prince Yūsuf Khān as their next king. 'Alī Khan retired to Sopōr and returned with an army. Daulat Chak then advised the king to send the royal insignia to 'Alī Khān to avoid bloodshed. The king followed his advice, abdicated on account of epilepsy in 1570 A.C., and thenceforward remained at Zaina-pōr where he passed away in 1572 A.C.

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1. *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Malik Haidar Chāḍura, page 203.
2. *Ibid.*, page 202.

‘ALĪ SHĀH CHAK

[978 *to* 987 *A.H.* *or* 1570 *to* 1579 *A.C.*]

‘Alī Khān ascended the throne as ‘Alī Shāh Chak. Like his brother Husain Shāh, ‘Alī Shāh too was a just and wise ruler. He showed great respect towards saints and friars. As Bābā Dā‘ūd Khākī says—

والی دُوران علی شاه ، دُوستدار صالحان

پُور او شهزاده یُوسف با جاه و جلال

Although the Chaks were Shī‘as, and the Shī‘as of Kashmīr are condemned like the Sunnīs of Balkh in the satirical Persian couplet—

دُو گروه اند در جهان بے پیر

سُنّی بلخ و شیعهٔ کشمیر

it appears on the testimony of a great Sunnī leader, the lieutenant of Sultān-ul-‘Ārifīn Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm, namely, Bābā Dā‘ūd Khākī, that this ruler was good to the Sunnīs.

An impostor from Īrān dressed in the garb of a darvīsh and named Shāh ‘Ārif came to Kashmīr. He claimed relationship with the reigning Safavī king, but was found out.

Soon after his accession, ‘Alī Shāh put an end to all feuds among his nobles. He appointed Sayyid Muhammad Mubārak Baihaqī, who was a Sunnī, as his prime minister. Sayyid Muhammad Mubārak Baihaqī was the grandson of Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqī whom we have known in the course of the struggle between Muhammad Shāh and Fath Shāh. Sayyid Muhammad Mubārak was the son of Sayyid Ibrāhīm Baihaqī. These Baihaqīs descended from Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqī, the father-in-law of Bad Shāh and had migrated to Kashmīr during the time of Sultān Sikandar from Baihaq a district to the North-West of Nīshāpur in Īrān. They took a very prominent part in the politics of Kashmīr during the days of the Later Shāh-Mīrīs.

(Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī, ‘Alī Shāh's prime minister, a brave man indeed, seems to have been a person singularly disposed towards peace, and settling affairs by tact. He showed great wisdom on several occasions: notably

in securing the king's pardon for 'Alī Chak, son of Naurūz Chak, who had been imprisoned for rebellion. He also restored peace and amity between the monarch and his son Yūsuf Khān who had killed, in an altercation, Ibrāhīm Khān, popularly known as Ibbā Khān, the son of Ghāzī Chak.)

Bahādur Singh, the rājā of Kishtwār, who had ascended the *gaddī* in 1570 A.C. was defeated twice in succession. After his first defeat in 1572 A.C., the rājā offered to the Bādshāh's grandson, Ya'qūb Khān, his sister Shankar Devī. This lady, later on, gained the sobriquet of Fath Khātūn and subsequently took her husband, when he was defeated by Akbar, to Kishtwār. The rājā also promised to maintain the annual tribute. When he was defeated the second time in 1574, the rājā gave his son Nārāin Singh as hostage, and renewed his pledge for payment of tribute. The same year, 'Alī Shāh received Qazī Sadr-ud-Dīn and Maulānā 'Ishqī, Akbar's ambassadors, with a message of matrimonial alliance. He thereupon sent his niece, Husain Shāh's daughter, who had previously been sent back by Akbar, along with presents. He also included Akbar's name in the Friday sermon and struck coin in the Emperor's name, (indicating that he owned Akbar as his suzerain.

Haidar Khān and Salīm Khān, sons of Nāzuk Shāh, allied themselves with certain nobles of Hindustān and proceeded to invade Kashmīr in 1575 A.C. 'Alī Shāh sent his nephews, Lohur Chak and Muhammad Chak, against the enemy. Muhammad Chak, cleverly as a mere matter of show and to hoodwink the adversary, took Lohur Chak prisoner, and boldly joined the enemy. Finding the earliest opportunity he turned the tables on Salīm Khān and put him to the sword, at which Haidar Khān fled. Thus ended this final attempt of Shāh Mīr's descendants to regain the throne.

In 984 A.H. (1576 A.C.) Kashmīr suffered from a famine which lasted for three years. Food had become so scarce that, at times, people actually stooped to cannibalism. Zaitī Chak, popularly known as Zait Shāh, was a zealous darvīsh and a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm. When 'Alī Shāh asked Zaitī how long the famine was to last, Zaitī frankly told him that the cessation of famine would synchronize with his death. The king met his death while playing polo in the plain of the 'Idgāh, as the

pommel of his saddle entered his stomach.[1] Before his death, however, he saw his son, Yūsuf, crowned king to prevent Abdāl Khān Chak, his own brother, from creating any mischief. Abdāl Khān Chak was eventually killed by Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī, the Vazīr-i-A'zam.

YŪSUF SHĀH CHAK (i)

[987 *A.H.* or 1579 *A.C.*]

Yūsuf Shāh continued to have Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī as his prime minister. But the king abandoned himself to the career of a voluptuary, which so estranged his minister that he resigned his post. Muhammad Baṭ was appointed in his place, and the king continued indifferent to the state.

The nobles banded themselves together and sought help from Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī who advised them to avoid rebellion. At the same time, he sent word to the king through Bābā Khalīl, a Shī'a divine, requesting him to treat the insurgents mildly in order that the revolt may not grow in volume. The king exhibited a lack of diplomacy when he asked Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī, on pain of death, to hand over the insurgents in chains to him. It was both a direct affront and a challenge which the Sayyid accepted readily.

Malik Muhammad Nājī[2] advised the king to be generous in order to win over to his side even his opponents. But to this Yūsuf would not listen. On the other hand, he dispatched soldiers under two Sardārs, Habīb Khān Chak and Muhammad Khān Chak, to fight Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī. Malik Muhammad Nājī lost his son in this contest. The king too lost his throne. Malik Nājī pined and died within a few weeks. Yūsuf relinquished the insignia of royalty and betook himself to the mountains of Briñal-Lāmar between Tahsīl Kulgām and the Pīr Pāntasāl range.

[Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī is known in Kashmīr history as Sayyid Mubārak Khān Baihaqī, the title of *Khān* being applicable in Kashmīr to those notables who were concerned with the control of the army, and to princes of the royal blood. *Khān* may be supposed to be, more or less, somewhat analogous to *Duke* in English usage except that a dukedom is hereditary but not a khānate in Kashmīr in that sense.]

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1. C. J. Rodgers, *J.A.S.B.*, 1885, page 135.
2. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Malik Haidar Chāḍura, page 217.

SAYYID MUBĀRAK KHĀN BAIHAQĪ

[986 *A.H.* or 1578 *A.C.*]

Sayyid Mubārak, now installed as a ruler, started his short régime in a somewhat unceremonious way, rather Lenin-like in a socialist manner. He broke up the crown and divided its gems amongst the poor. His manifest disregard of his nobles, however, seriously offended them. They plotted for the return of Yūsuf Shāh. Sayyid Mubārak however, sent Dā'ūd Mīr, a courtier, with an invitation to the exiled king, who sent his sons, Ya'qūb Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān, intending to follow them himself. But he was secretly warned against this by Abdāl Baṭ, the commander of forces, who explained that the invitation was a ruse played by Sayyid Mubārak. Eventually, however, he gave battle and was severely defeated, whereupon he disappeared behind the Briñal hill in Tahsīl Kulgām.

Abdāl Baṭ, the commander, manœuvred so successfully that he threw both Yūsuf Shāh and Sayyid Mubārak into utter confusion, and also caused them to fight each other. The result was that Abdāl's clever machinations secured the throne to Lohur Chak, since Sayyid Mubārak willingly offered to abdicate, after a sway of six months and two days according to Hasan, and eight months and fifteen days according to Khwāja A'zam, though Haidar Malik Chāḍura and Khalīl Marjānpurī set down the period as two months and fifteen days only. Sayyid Mubārak at his abdication recited the following lines :

شها فقر و غنا از ما و مُلك و عِزّ و جاه از تُو

كه دُنيا را وفائے نيست خواه از ما و خواه از تُو

Yūsuf was balked of the prize of kingship for which he had been invited. The death of the Baihaqī took place in 1591 A.C., five years after the advent of Mughul rule in Kashmīr.

LOHUR SHĀH CHAK

[987 *A.H.* or 1579 *A.C.* to 988 *A.H.* or 1580 *A.C.*]

Badī'-ud-Dīn or Gauhar Shāh, better known as Lohur Chak, was Yūsuf Shāh's cousin, being the son of Shankar Chak. Abdāl Baṭ received the coveted office of prime minister under the Pādshāh.

Yūsuf Shāh Chak, on losing the crown which seemed to be within reach, repaired to Akbar's court at Fathpur-Sīkrī, on January 2, 1580 A.C., to solicit help to regain his kingdom. That Emperor, it is needless to say, was only awaiting an opportunity like this to turn it to his own advantage. Akbar, therefore, willingly sent Rājā Mān Singh and Mīrzā Yūsuf with an army with the exiled king, and they were joined by Muhammad Baṭ, Yūsuf Shāh's vazīr, at Lāhore with an army one thousand strong. Yūsuf Shāh, on Muhammad Baṭ's advice, suspected that Akbar would usurp the kingdom himself, and was now smitten with remorse for unnecessarily seeking foreign help. He left Rājā Mān Singh and Mīrzā Yūsuf behind, on the pretext that it would be better for him to march alone with a view to sound his countrymen. We shall meet Mān Singh later.

Through the efforts of Muhammad Baṭ, Yūsuf was able to rally four thousand men around him before reaching Kashmīr. He crossed the river Jhelum, near the village Dalna, seven miles from Bārāmūla, to avoid Yūsuf Ḍār's three thousand soldiers deputed by Abdāl Baṭ. Yūsuf Shāh entered Srīnagar triumphantly. Abdāl Baṭ was killed. Lohur Chak sought safety in abdication by flight and subsequent death. Lohur had reigned for about thirteen months during which Malik Haidar, practically an eye-witness, remarks that plenty ruled the land and that a *kharwār* of shālī or unhusked rice was available for a *falas* (pice), and the people enjoyed prosperity.

YŪSUF SHĀH CHAK (*ii*)

[988 *A.H. or* 1580 *A.C. to* 994 *A.H. or* 1586 *A.C.*]

After an exile of a year and a half, Yūsuf Shāh re-established himself on the throne. In the beginning, he devoted his attention to the affairs of the state, freed the country from schism, and re-entered into friendly relations with Sayyid Mubārak Khān Baihaqī to whose son he gave one of his daughters in marriage. Malik Haidar Chāḍura, the historian, entered Yūsuf Shāh's service and continued in it for twenty-four years in Kashmīr and in Yūsuf's exile in Bihār.

It was Yūsuf Shāh who used to visit Gulmarg during the hot weather, and changed its name from Gaurīmarg (the *mārg* or path or pass of Gaurī, wife of Çiva) or popularly Gurmarg or Horse's Meadow (from *Gur*, a horse) to Gulmarg.

'the Meadow of Flowers.' He used to visit Sonmarg, Ahrabal, and Achabal too. Yūsuf had his *Zulīkhā* in Habba Khātūn to whom he was attached as a prince. Their love romance is one of the most poetic episodes in the romantic literature of Kashmīr. On one brief separation, Yūsuf Shāh, cried out—

بر یادِ دُو زُلفِ بُتِ کشمیر نژادے

شُد تار سر و مار سر از گریہ دو چشمم

[Tārsar and Mārsar are two lakes in the *pargana* Phāk. Tārsar is stated to mean the lake of Tārā, a goddess. Mārsar is the lake of Cupid.] Habba or Hub will receive notice, later on, among the 'Noted Women of Kashmīr' in Chapter VIII.

[Gulmarg is about 28 miles east of Srīnagar, and 13 miles due south of Bārāmūla. The *Marg*, which is shaped somewhat like the figure 8, is about 3 miles long, and varies in width from a few hundred yards to more than a mile. It is enclosed, on all sides, by hills densely wooded by deodār. The whole of its surface is dotted with flowers of every hue. The elevation of the Marg is about 3,000 feet above the level of the Valley of Kashmir, and above 8,700 feet above the sea. The climate is cold, bracing and salubrious. The rainfall is three times as much as at Srīnagar and yet it is not more than two-thirds of that of Murree. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān, it is said, used to itch their tents for picnics on the stream that winds through Gulmarg, as, before them, Yusuf Shāh and Habba Khātūn used to enjoy life in their own days. Gulmarg is thus a land of Kashmīr's royal lovers.]

Peace did not reign long. Yūsuf Shāh's nobles soon began to show restiveness on account of his indifference to state affairs. Prominent conspirators like Shams Chak, 'Ālam Sher Māgre and Sayyid Yūsuf were hauled up. Later, Muhammad Baṭ, the Vazīr, and his brother Husain Baṭ, along with Yūsuf Chak, son of Husain Chak, were suddenly discovered in their designs against the king, and were imprisoned. But Yūsuf Chak, son of Husain Chak, escaped from prison, and joined Haidar Chak, a commander of Lohur Chak's troops, at Lāhore, whence they quietly decided to proceed to Ladākh or Western Tibet. From that country they attacked Kashmīr, but were defeated, captured, and punished by having their eyes put out. The king's son Ya'qūb Khān also rebelled and joined Haidar Chak. Both were defeated, but Haidar Chak fled to Lāhore to Rājā Mān Singh. The Rājā already owed Yūsuf Shāh a grudge for the manner in which the latter had spurned his help. To checkmate Haidar Chak's designs, Yūsuf Shāh sent



GULMARG
Club
Hotel
GOLF COURSE
PTO
Nahar Pathri
GULMARG
Reproduced from the Survey of India map with the permission of the —
Surveyor-General

Khwāja Qāsim with presents to Rājā Mān Singh. The Khwāja, on his return, pretended to have achieved success in his political mission, while Rājā Mān Singh had already assigned the districts of Naushehra and Bhimbar to Haidar Chak as jāgīr.

A little detail from Abu'l Fazl about this campaign will be reproduced here. "When the envoys,* Mīr Tāhir and Sālih 'Āqil, returned from Kashmīr, Akbar dispatched Shāh Rukh Bahādur, Rājā Bhagvān Dās, Shāh Qulī Mahram, Mādhū Singh, Mubārak Khān and others under the charge of Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar Shāhī, Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī, Haidar Chak and others . . . . When the army marched to conquer Kashmīr, the idea of the leaders was that they would go by Bhimbar, as large armies could march by that route with ease and celerity, as also some of the landholders there were well-disposed." "The idea was that when the roads were cleared of snow and the winter had come to an end, they would advance through the passes. When the enemy were off their guard, the Mughul army was to proceed by the Paklī route where snowfall is less." (p. 723).

"On this news, Yūsuf Shāh Chak resolved to give battle, and sent off many experienced men in order that they might construct a fort near a gorge of the river Kunhār, a tributary of the Jhelum. In every defile they were to establish a strength and to prepare for war." The force that was sent had passed Bārāmūla by six *kōs*. To the good fortune of the Mughul army Yūsuf Shāh, however, suddenly recalled his men, setting store on the difficulty of crossing the passes, the advent of snow and rain, and the invading army belonging to a hot country. Yūsuf Shāh accordingly revised his plan.

But Yūsuf Shāh learnt rather late that Akbar's delegation had arrived near Pakhlī or Hazāra, and the Mughul troops had traversed heights and hollows, and had come near Būlīyāsa (old Bolyāsaka, perhaps now called Bunyār) on the right bank of the Jhelum some 50 miles away from Bārāmūla and six marches to Abbottābād. The expedition of Muhammad Shāh Rukh and Rājā Bhagavān Dās marched from the west and followed the bed of the Jhelum and the line of the modern road. But they did not get beyond the borders of Kashmīr. Jahāngīr refers to this when he says (*The Tūzuk*, Vol. II, p. 132) that Ya'qūb Shāh fought

*Based on the *Akbar-nāma*, Beveridge's English Translation, Vol. III, Chapter LXXXV, pages 715-25.

with Bhagavān Dās' army at Būlīyāsa which he calls Bhūlbās and which he says is the boundary of Kashmīr. The fact is that Yūsuf behaved with great pusillanimity and deserted his army and country. Ya'qūb, however, fought vigorously; and the Mughul army suffered terribly from the cold, the dearness of provisions, the difficult roads, and the rain and snow, and were glad to retreat on any terms.

Meanwhile, Akbar sent Tīmūr Beg to Yūsuf Shāh. Yūsuf Shāh, in turn, sent his son Ya'qūb Khān, who had now composed his differences with his father, with presents, to Akbar's court at Fathpur-Sīkrī. On receiving the news of the death of Mīrzā Hakīm, Akbar's step brother, then governing at Kābul, the emperor resolved to proceed thither, and desired to interview Yūsuf Shāh on his way. When Yūsuf Shāh failed to put in an appearance, Akbar directed Mīr Tāhir and Sālih 'Āqil Dīwāna to present Yūsuf at court. Ya'qūb Khān reached Kashmīr after forced marches to apprise his father, who, spurred on by Khwāja Qāsim, was very angry at the insult Akbar had offered him. Yūsuf Shāh's nobles dissuaded him from going to Akbar's court. Yūsuf was not actually materially helped by Akbar in gaining the throne of Kashmīr. But, at the same time, it is true Yūsuf would not have been successful so easily had it not been known that Akbar was prepared to aid him. Akbar's historians henceforth treat Yūsuf as a vassal and call him Yūsuf Khān. Yūsuf's view was—as Sir W. Haig says (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, page 292)—that, as he had re-gained his throne without the aid of foreign troops, he was still an independent sovereign. Akbar on 20th December, 1685, ordered Rājā Bhagavān Dās, Shāh Rukh Mīrzā and Shāh Qulī Khān to advance upon Kashmīr.

Akbar did not conduct his campaigns himself, and it was a weakness in him as a ruler, points out Lawrence Binyon,* that he did not always choose his lieutenants wisely. The three generals sent on the Kashmīr campaign quarrelled. One of them was "Bīrbal, a musician, a poet, a jester, rather than a soldier or commander." Akbar could hear the loss of eight thousand men more calmly than the loss of Bīrbal who was killed in the engagement. "Bīrbal, his dear Bīrbal, his merry companion, whose voice, as he talked or sang in the evenings verses of his own

Akbar by Lawrence Binyon, Peter Davies Ltd., 1932, pages 134-35.

composition, was still in his ear: Bīrbal, for whom he had built so beautiful a house at Fathpur-Sīkrī: Bīrbal, the one Hindu who had embraced the emperor's new religion of the Divine Faith." But according to the *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirīn* (Vol. I, page 192), Akbar had drawn lots between Abu'l Fazl and Bīrbal. The latter's name came up and consequently he had to go. As success from the military point of view could not be claimed, Rājā Bhagavān Dās tried to save the situation diplomatically by proposing terms, whereupon Yūsuf Shāh visited his camp. Taking advantage of Yūsuf's absence, the Kashmīr nobles placed Ya'qūb Khān on the throne, and further attacked the imperial army, inflicting a great loss upon it. Rājā Bhagavān Dās, was obliged to make terms with Ya'qūb, the chief of which was the annual payment of tribute by Kashmīr to Akbar. The *Akbar-nāma* says that the Kashmīrīs offered to agree that "the pulpits and coins should make mention of the Shāhinshāh and that the mint, the saffron, the silk and the game should be imperial. A superintendent or dārūgha should be appointed for each department and then the army should return . . . . His Majesty , ... accepted the agreement."

The Rājā took Yūsuf Shāh to Akbar's court. But Akbar refused to ratify the treaty which Rājā Bhagavān Dās had made, and broke faith with Yūsuf by detaining him as a prisoner. Bhagavān Dās, sensitive on a point of honour, committed suicide.

Yūsuf Shāh Chak ceases, here, as a ruler. He was generous. He was cultured. He was a liberal Shī'ā. (But he was weak and fickle. His lack of decision and his indifference to affairs of state cost him his crown. He should have controlled the factions and his nobles by tact and firmness. He lacked these and ended his life away from his own land. Yūsuf showed bravery in returning the attack of Sher Afgan Khān, whom he killed near Burdawān in Bengal.

YA'QŪB SHĀH CHAK.

[994 *A.H.* or 1586 *A.C.*]

As Habīb Shāh was the last of the Shāh Mīrīs, the descendants of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn Shāh Mīr, Ya'qūb Shāh was the last of the Chaks. On his accession, Ya'qūb made 'Alī Ḍār, a prominent official, his minister, and himself took to a life of ease and pleasure. Misrule naturally followed.

'Alī Ḍār, the first minister, rebelled, fled the city, and suffered death by drowning. The second minister, Muhammad Baṭ, relentlessly persecuted the Sunnīs. Qāzī Mūsā, the Chief Qāzī, was ruthlessly done to death by Ya'qūb Shāh. Ya'qūb, it seems, wanted the Qāzī to retain the name of Caliph 'Alī to the exclusion of the other three Caliphs of the Prophet in the public prayer. Qāzī Mūsā objected to it. He said that temporal rulers had nothing to do with spiritual matters. Ya'qūb was offended. He sent for the executioner and put Qāzī Mūsā to death. Qāzī Mūsā's house was also plundered.* The Sunnīs were naturally so alarmed that Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* and Bābā Dā'ūd *Khākī* petitioned Akbar for help and entered into the following covenant with him :—

1. That the ruling prince shall not interfere with religious affairs, the purchase and sale of commodities, and the rates of cereals.

2. That the dignitaries and officials of Kashmīr shall have no Kashmīrī, male or female, Hindu or Muslim, as slave. [Possibly this was to forestall the Mughul custom of taking slaves from subjugated areas.]

3. That the inhabitants of the country shall not be molested or oppressed in any way, or *begār* exacted.

4. That the nobles of Kashmīr having been a source of mischief shall have, for the present, no share in the administration of their country.

Qāsim Khān was ordered to march on 28th June, 1586 A.C., upon Kashmīr with an army of forty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. He entered Rajaurī and proceeded to Srīnagar. Ya'qūb made several attempts to retrieve the situation, but met with no success. The flight of Yūsuf and Ya'qūb has been satirized in the following couplet :—

نه از یُوسف نشان دیدم، نه از یعقُوب آثارے

عزیزان یُوسف ازگم شُد، چه شُد یعقوب را بارے

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*A full account will be found in the *Nawādir-ul-Akhbār* by Rafī'-ud-Dīn Ahmad *Ghāfil* in the British Museum Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts, Add. 24,029, page 299. See note on the *Nawādir-ul-Akhbār* on p. 236, footnote.

Mīrzā Qāsim entered Srīnagar in 995 A.H. (1586 A.C.). From that date Kashmīr came under foreign domination. She now embarked upon her career as a Mughul province.

Now that we close the story of Kashmīr as an independent country, some observations on this loss of independence are perhaps pertinent.

Shāh Mīr was a foreigner to Kashmīr, but, as we said, he saved Kashmīr from subjugation by the Tughluqs. The Chaks brought about the defeat and death of Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt, and prevented Bābur and Humāyūn from forming Kashmīr into a principality of theirs. Kashmīr was conquered by Bābur's grandson, the great Akbar no doubt, but this conquest was due more to causes inside Kashmīr than to Akbar's military might. Akbar's own Prime Minister, Abu'l Fazl, had at one time admitted that if the ruler of Kashmīr fortified Kashmīr's passes, an army of "thousands of Rustams" would find it difficult, or rather impossible, to get possession of the country. (See the footnote on page 17).

The last descendants of Shāh Mīr lost Kashmīr by internecine warfare and by incompetence. But they were not bigots or religious fanatics. They were tolerant, forbearing and cultured. They made no distinction in the matter of their military recruitment. The Chaks, on the other hand, committed atrocities under the cloak of their new cult, though it is true the Shī'as had suffered from Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt. The Chaks confined recruitment to the army mostly to the Shī'as. And thus they made the army loyal to themselves alone, but not fit for the general defence of the country as a whole.

Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa (725-753 A.C.) had warned Kashmīr rulers against raising troops from a single district—implying thereby any single clan or caste. It was wise advice. The Chaks disregarded it. They raised their army and recruited or promoted their army officers mostly from among the Shī'as. The Chaks had themselves become the re-incarnation of feudal Ḍāmaras of yore. By their heroism the Chaks overthrew the Shāh Mīrīs. By their feudalism and factions they brought about their own fall. For, religious bigotry, the raising of troops mostly from among

themselves, and the consequent factions caused in the people of Kashmīr, led to an invitation to Akbar to rid Kashmīr from fanaticism and oppression.

There is a lesson from the history of Bulgaria, to which reference cannot but be made. A quotation from the *Historians' History of the World* will appropriately illustrate it. "For many centuries the Bulgarians held the whole peninsula (of the Balkans) in suspense, shared their literature and culture with the remaining orthodox Slavic world, and by the doctrines of a native sect shook the whole of southern Europe, and what is the conclusion? The nation once so respected and feared, passed politically under the yoke of the Turks, intellectually under the yoke of the Greeks, and remained in this servitude until in our days it has shown that its task is not finished. The three causes which contributed directly to the fall of the Tirnova Empire (of Bulgaria) were Byzantinism, Bogomilism and medieval feudalism." (Vol. XXIV, page 175).

The causes which led to the fall of the Chaks were (*i*) medieval feudalism that promoted fights and factions among feudal lords, and (*ii*) Bogomilism, which in their case was religious fanaticism.

[The Bogomilism of Bulgaria was founded by a reformer, named Bogomil (literally, Love of God) about the first half of the tenth century A.C. The theology of Bogomilism was founded on the original two elements, a good and an evil, a kind of Manichaeism imported from the East.]

Let us now bury Ya'qūb Shāh before we turn to the birth of Mughul rule in Kashmīr.

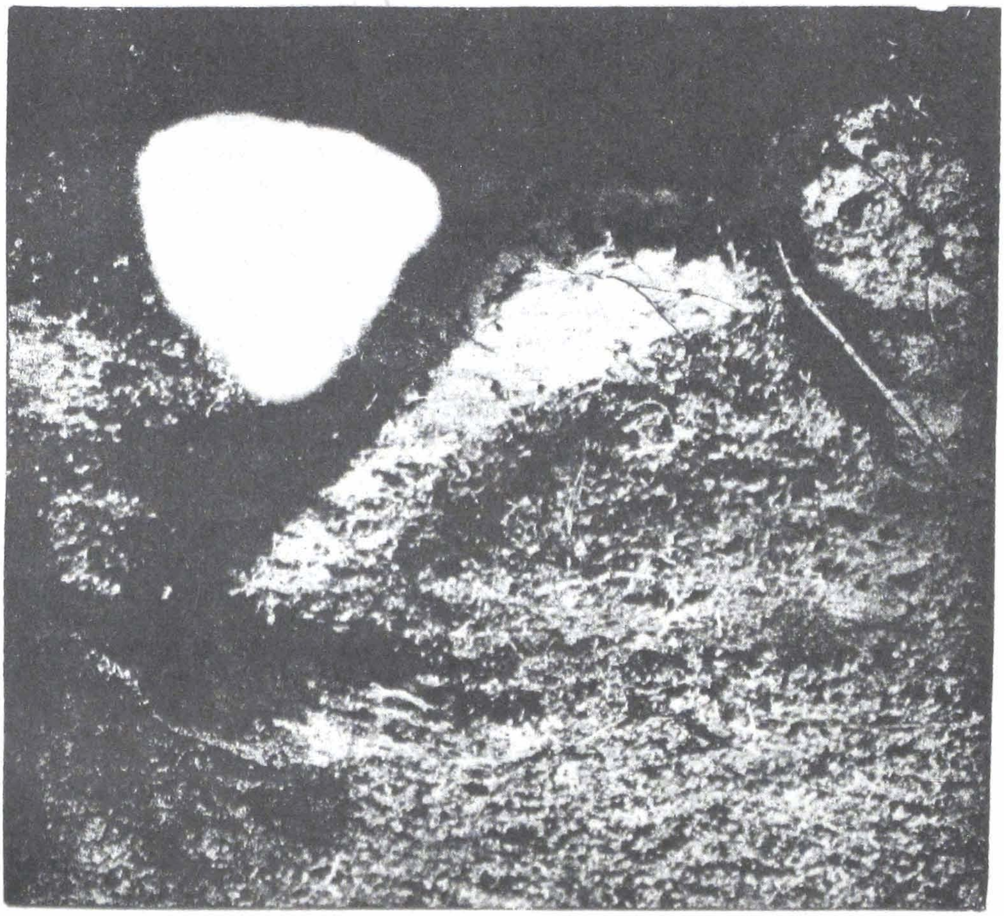
We know Ya'qūb was married to Shankar Devī, the daughter of Bahādur Singh, the rājā of Kishtwār, in 1572 A.C. Shankar Devī, as already stated, became Fath Khātūn. In his defeat in 1586, Ya'qūb betook himself to Kishtwār, to the land of his devoted queen. From here he made one more attempt to recover Kashmīr in 1887, but failed. In 1588 Ya'qūb died* at Kishtwār and is buried towards the

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*Rafī'-ud-Dīn Ahmad bin 'Abd-us-Sabūr bin Khwāja Muhammad Balkhī Kashmīrī, *takhallus Ghāfil*, the author of the *Nawādir-ul-Akhbār*, a history of Kashmīr from the earliest times to the conquest of Akbar, and completed by the author at Shāhjahānābād in the month of Safar 1136 (1723 A.C.), says that the death of Ya'qūb Khān Chak was caused by means of a *khil'ah* sent by Akbar.—Riéu's *Catalogue*, Vol I, 1879, page 300.

south of the tank of Sirkōt on the Chaugān, outside Kishtwār town. Fath Khātūn constructed a water-course in memory of her husband. This water-course must have been a great blessing to Kishtwār as it is afflicted with shortage of water. She also constructed a tank, and another water-course from Kālī Nāg to the village Zewar.

The last resting-place of the last independent Muslim ruler of Kashmīr is today but a low heap of lime and stone in a corner of a field in the possession of a Pandit!



This heap of stone and lime represents the last resting-place of the last independent Muslim ruler of Kashmir, Ya'qūb Shāh Chak, in a field in Kishtwār.

بر مزارِ ما غریبان نے چراغے نے گُلے

نے پرِ پروانہ سُوزد نے صدائے بُلبلے!

Pakhli.—The footnote 1, on page 87, treats of Pakhlī, which occurs so many times in this Chapter also, some more information about it is, therefore, given here. "An ancient *Sarkār* or district of the Mughul *Sūbah* of the Punjāb, now included in the Hazāra District of the North-West Frontier Province, Pakhlī roughly corresponds with the ancient Urasa which Ptolemy places between the Bidaspes (Jhelum) and the Indus. Its king was named Arsakes in the times of Alexander. Hiuen Tsiang found it tributary to Kashmīr. In the Kashmīr chronicle called the *Rājataranginī*, it appears, now as a separate kingdom, now as tributary to that State. In it lay Agror, the ancient Atyugrapura. In Bābur's time, this tract was held by the Khakha and Bamba tribes, whose chiefs had been the ancient rulers of the country east of the Indus but had been driven out by the Gībari Sultāns of Bājaur and Swāt; and the tract derives its name from Pakhlī one of these conquerors. In the *Āin-i-Akbarī* it is described as bounded on the east by Kashmīr, on the south by the country of the Gakhars, on the west by Attock, and on the north by Kator (Chitrāl). Under Durrānī rule, Saādat Khān, was chosen as chief of Pakhlī, then a dependency of Kashmīr. He founded the fort of Garhī Saādat Khān, which was the headquarter of Āzād Khān's rebellion against Tīmūr Shāh. Early in the nineteenth century Pakhli comprised three districts: Mansehra in the south and south-east, Shinkiarī (subdivided into Kandhī and Maidān) in the north-east, and Bhīr-Kand in the centre. The valleys of Kāgān Bhogarmang and Agror were dependent on it."—*The Imperial Gazetteer of India* Vol. XIX (New edition), Oxford Press, 1908, p. 318-19] " The Pakhlī plain of the Mansehra Tahsil, 3,000 feet above sea-level, is 11 miles from north to south, and 10 from east to west. It is a fertile, highly cultivated tract, especially in the western portion which is irrigated by the Siran river."—*Gazetteer of the Hazāra District*, 1907. Compiled and edited by H. D. Watson, C. S., Settlement Officer, Chatto and Windus, London, 1908, p. 3.

The Mughul rulers concerned with the history of Kashmīr.

[1586 A.C. TO 1752 A.C.]

1. Jalāl-ud-Dīn Akbar, 1556 to 1605 A.C.=963 to 1014 A.H. *Conquers Kashmīr in 1586* A.C.

2. Nūr-ud-Dīn Jahāngīr 1605 to 1627 A.C.=1014 to 1037 A.H.

3. Dāvar Bakhsh son of Prince Khusrū, the eldest son of Jahāngīr, 1627 A.C.=1037 A.H. Khusrū had died in 1622.

4. Shihāb-ud-Dīn Shāh Jahān, 1628 to 1657 A.C.=1037 to 1068 A.H.

5. Murād Bakhsh, the fourth son of Shāh Jahān, 1657 A.C.=1068 A.H.

6. Shāh Shujā,' second son of Shāh Jahān, 1657 A.C. =1068 A.H.

7. Muhyi'd Dīn Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, 1658 to 1707 A.C.=1068 to 1118 A.H.

8. A'zam Shāh, second son of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, 1707 A.C.=1118 A.H.

9. Kām Bakhsh, fourth son of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, 1707 A.C.=1119 A.H.

10. Qutb-ud-Dīn Mu'azzam Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, 1707 to 1712 A.C.=1119 to 1124 A.H.

11. 'Azīm-ush-Shān, second son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, 1712 A.C.=1124 A.H.

12. Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh, eldest son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, 1712 A.C.=1124 A.H.

13. Muhyi'd Dīn Farrukh Siyar, son of 'Azīm-ush-Shān, 1713 to 1719 A.C.=1124 to 1131 A.H.

14. Rafī'-ud-Darajāt, son of Rafī'-ush-Shān and third nephew of Jahāndār Shāh, 1719 A.C.=1131 A.H.

15. Rafī'-ud-Daula Shāh Jahān II son of Rafī'-ush-Shān and second nephew of Jahāndār Shāh, 1719 A.C.= 1131 A.H.

16. Nasīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Shāh, son of Jahān Shāh the fourth son of Mu'azzam Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, and nephew of Jahāndār Shāh, 1719 to 1748 A.C.=1131 to 1161 A.H.

17. Muhammad Ibrāhīm, son of Rafī'-ush-Shān and nephew of Jahāndār Shāh (simultaneously with Muhammad Shāh), 1719 to 1720 A.C.=1131 to 1132 A.H.

18. Mujāhid-ud-Dīn Ahmad Shāh Bahādur, son of Muhammad Shāh, 1748 to 1754 A.C.=1161 to 1167 A.H.

Kashmīr then goes to the Afghān ruler, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī in 1752.

CHAPTER VI

KASHMĪR UNDER THE MUGHULS

[1586 A.C. TO 1752 A.C.]

Brave though the Chaks were, they lacked the qualities essential for the making of successful rulers and administrators. Hence the rapid close of their sway extending over only a generation—about 31 years. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the early Mughul attempts on Kashmīr since they have already been related in the preceding Chapter. They begin with Bābur, continue with Humāyūn and Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt, and are successful with Akbar. Akbar started interference with the affairs of Kashmīr in the time of 'Alī Shāh Chak. Then he helped Yūsuf Shāh Chak against Lohar or Gauhar Shāh Chak. Later he detained Yūsuf, and finally ousted Yūsuf's son, Ya'qūb, and annexed Kashmīr. The Mughuls held Kashmīr for 166 years. Disintegrating forces, however, gathered strength under the Emperor Muhammad Shāh, and Nādir Shāh's invasion in 1739 A.C., hastened the disruption of the gigantic fabric of the Mughul empire. Nādir Shāh annexed Afghānistān. After his death, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī obtained complete control over Afghānistān and added Kashmīr to his dominions when the Emperor Ahmad Shāh, the son of Muhammad Shāh, was on the throne of Delhi.

The last effort of the last of the Chaks.

After its conquest by Akbar in 1586 A.C. Kashmīr did not readily submit to Mughul rule. Ya'qūb Shāh, the ex-Chak king, was still exerting himself to regain his lost kingdom. Ibrāhīm Chak, Ya'qūb's brother, and 'Alī Malik Chāḍura, the brother of Malik Haidar Chāḍura, joined him. They took the Mughuls unawares at Chēr-wanī* (in the Baḍgām Tahsīl). Ya'qūb Shāh Chak re-entered Srīnagar as king.

*Chēr-wanī and Chēr-uḍar are two names that appear in the Persian histories of Kashmīr in regard to the same place. Chēr-wanī means the garden of Chēr or wild apricots, Chēr-uḍar means the Uḍar or Karēwa or the alluvial plateau of wild apricots. The place

Sayyid Abu'l Ma'ālī Baihaqī, the second son of Sayyid Mubārak Khān Baihaqī, Shamsī Chak, Sayyid Husain Baihaqī and Shams Dulī next worsted the Mughuls. The whole country was up in arms and the loss of Kashmīr was imminent.

[The *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* is a history of Kashmīr from the earliest times to 1023 A.H. (1614 A.C.). The author, whose name is not given, (Add 16,706, Riéu's *Catalogue*, Vol. I, 1879, pages 296-297), appears to have been a dependant of a Kashmīrī, Sayyid Abu'l Ma'ālī Baihaqī, to whom he gives a prominent place in the later period of his history. This Sayyid, Abu'l Ma'ālī, was the second son of Sayyid Mubārak Khān Baihaqī who was raised for some months to the throne of Kashmīr in 986 A.H. (1578 A.C.), and died in exile at Fīrūzābād in 999 A.H. (1590 A.C.). Abu'l Ma'ālī played an active part in the frequent broils which disturbed Kashmīr for some years before its conquest by Akbar, and was thus placed under the command of Rājā Mān Singh under whom he served for four and twenty years. After the latter's death in 1021 A.H. (1612 A.C.), he was presented, with Haidar Malik Chāḍurā, to the Emperor Jahāngīr who conferred upon him a *mansab*.

This Abu'l Ma'ālī, therefore, should not be confused with Abu'l Ma'ālī whom Badāyūnī calls ' of noble Sayyid extraction and of the country of Kāshghar,' and was one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn. He married Māh Kūchak Begam's daughter Fakhr-un-Nisā, had quarrels with Bairam Khān, and was ultimately strangled to death by Mīrzā Sulaimān at Kābul during the 'Īd of Ramazān in the ninth year of Akbar's accession. Abu'l Ma'ālī, too, according to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (De's English translation, p. 734), and the *Akbar-nāma* (Beveridge's English Translation, Vol. 2, p. 154), did come on a raid to Kashmīr in the first year of Akbar's accession and was at Naushahra, a town between Bhimbar and Rajaurī. Abu'l Ma'ālī marched on to Bārāmūla and was defeated at Mārkalah near Paṭan by Ghāzī Chak, and ' turned his face to flight.' Shāh Abu'l Ma'ālī's incursion is noted by Pandit Shuka in the *Kings of Kashmīra* (p. 389)].

Qāsim Khān, Mīr Bahr, the conqueror and viceroy of Kashmīr, at last sought help from Akbar who dispatched Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Rizavī Mashhadī with a strong force of

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is four miles from Badgām, the headquarter of the Tahsīl of the same name. Badgām itself is nine miles from Srīnagar. There was a fort at the end of the Karēwa or the Uḍar. It is in ruins now. Chēr-wanī or Chēr-uḍar appears to have been a convenient battle-ground between Pūnch and Kashmīr, as it lies on the route between Srīnagar and Tosha-maidān and thence to Pūnch. Chēr-waṇī or Chēr-uḍar is 13 miles from Srīnagar and 15 miles from Tosha-maidān. Dīwān Jawāla Sahāi, the Chief Minister of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, populated it, and gave it the name of Jawālāpōr. Its population in 1941 was 769.

twenty-five thousand horse. The Emperor further instructed Muhammad Baṭ and Bābā Khalīl, two influential Kashmīrī nobles then residing at his court, to accompany Sayyid Yūsuf and render him all possible help. These nobles won over several powerful Chaks to their side. At the same time, Ya'qūb's indiscreet behaviour towards his nobles and his unfair treatment of Hindus and Sunnīs brought about his final overthrow in August 1589. After three years' struggle with Akbar, Ya'qūb, then, surrendered to him, and retired to Kishtwār accompanied by Sayyid Abu'l Ma'ālī Baihaqī and Ibrāhīm Khān called Iba Khān.[1] The independence of Kashmīr was thus completely ended in 1589. Qāsim Khān, Mīr Bahr, came to the court with several Kashmīrī nobles, leaving Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Rizavī Mashhadī as governor in his place.

The end of Yūsuf Shāh Chak.

Yūsuf Shāh Chak was exiled to Bihār, where he was detained under the charge of Mān Singh, the governor. A year or so later, Yūsuf Shāh Chak was appointed to the 'command of 500,' a rank carrying a salary[2] ranging from 2,100 to 2,500 rupees a month and a grant in Bihār. Although this appointment was far from being commensurate to the dignity of a deposed sovereign, yet Yūsuf Shāh served in that capacity under Mān Singh for several years. The time and manner of his death do not appear to be recorded by Akbar's historians. But Haidar Malik Chāḍura says that Yūsuf died in Hindustān on account of acute insanity and deep melancholia, separated, as he was, from his own land, from his own kingdom, and from his own accomplished Queen Habba Khātūn.

1. The *Ta'rīkh-i-A'zmī*, *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan* and *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl Marjānpūrī* all spell this name as Eba Khān, while Pandit Nārāyan Kaul *'Ājiz*, writes Amīna Khān.

The History of Kashmīr from the earliest times to 1122 A.H. (1710 A.C.) is by Nārāyan Kaul *'Ājiz*. The author was urged by Kashmīrian nobles to write its history which he began in the fourth year of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam in 1122 A.H. (1710 A.C.). 'Ārif Khān, a Kashmīrian who was the Nā'ib and Dīwān of the Sūbadār, had collected the Sanskrit chronicles of Kashmīr, and Ibrāhīm Khān, afterwards 'Alī Mardān Khān, wished to become acquainted with their contents. The author had also before him the history of Malik Haidar Chāḍura. Nārāyan Kaul condensed all this material from Sanskrit and Persian into the present abridgement known as the *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by him. Nārāyan Kaul was also a fine poet of Persian.

2. V. A. Smith's *Akbar*, pp. 240-41.

The treatment of the ex-ruler of Kashmīr cannot be described, in the words of Dr. V. A. Smith, as generous. In fact, it is one of the chief blots on Akbar's character. Abu'l Fazl says that Akbar's appointment of Yūsuf Shāh was to test his fitness for restoration to Kashmīr. But there is no evidence that Akbar ever proposed to make amends for the wrong which he had done to Yūsuf Shāh Chak— that Yūsuf who disposed of Sher Afgan for Jahāngīr and corrected Akbar's great singer Miyān Tān Sēn, according to the testimony of Malik Haidar Chāḍura as already noted!

It is believed in Kashmīr that Akbar caused a change to be effected in the dress of the people, and the effeminate *pheran* (from the Persian *pairahan*, the long, loose shirt) was thus introduced together with the *Kāngrī*, or, in Kashmīrī, *Kāngar*,* the chafing vessel. "And it is possible," says Lieutenant Newall (page 434), "that this measure, one out of a long series of acts of systematic tyranny and spirit-breaking oppression, may have had its effect in changing the character of this once brave and warlike race." Such a belief, however, lacks authority.

Akbar's reign in Kashmir.

In May 1589 Akbar himself came to Kashmīr by travelling on horseback or on foot. To be precise like Abu'l Fazl, " His Majesty planted his standards in the city of Srīnagar on 25th Khurdād, (5th June, 1589) after 8 hours 24 minutes." Pandit Çuka mentions that " Jalāl-ud-Dīn on the seventh bright lunar day of Āshāḍha pleased the Brāhmana boys with gifts of gold, and they blessed him. He then went to Mārtāṇḍa and gave cows adorned with pearls and gold to Brāhmanas. He was glad to see Kashmīra with its vines and walnut trees and of high and charming woods." (*Kings of Kashmīra*, Vol. III, page 417.)

Three well-known Qasīdas on Kashmīr.

Akbar spent a month visiting towns, villages, springs, and streams, of which the most important

*The statement that Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn " in his effort to reduce the proud spirit of the Hindus, insisted on the use of the *kāngar*, and the gown " is incredible on the face of it, in view of the Sultān's well-known attitude towards Hindus, and his invitation to those Hindus who had left the Valley for fear of Malik Sūhabhaṭṭa to return and re-settle.

are Pāmpar,* Bijbihārā and Islāmābād (Anantnāg). Malik-us-Shu'arā Abu'l Faiz *Faizī* refers to this progress of Akbar in a beautiful *qasīda* (eulogistic poem) of 98 couplets some of which are—

هزار قافلهٔ شوق می کُنَــد شبگیر
کہ بارِ عیش کُشاید بہ عرصهٔ کشمیر

تبارک الله از آں عرصهٔ کہ دیدنِ اُو
ورق نگارِ خیال است و نقشبندِ ضمیر

هواے اُو متنوّع چو فکرتِ نقّاش
زمینِ اُو متلّون چو صفحهٔ تصویر

بہ طرزهائے گُزین کارخانهٔ اِبداع
بہ نقشهائے عجب کارنامهٔ تقدیر

غبارِ اُو بتواں خواند چشم را دارو
گیاهِ اُو بتوان گُفت رُوح را اِکسیر

بہ تن موافقت آبِ اُو چو بادہ و گُل
بہ جان مناسبتِ بادِ اُو چو شکّر و شیر

بہ پیشِ فیضِ نسیمش دمِ مسیح سموم
بہ نزدِ آبِ روانش زُلالِ خضر غدیر

دیارِ دلکشِ کشمیر را مُسخّر کرد
بداں صفت کہ سُلیمان پری کُند تسخیر

چو داد ایزدش آں مُلک خواست تا گردد
در آں زمینِ سعادت بسجدہ شُکر پذیر

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*Pāmpar, the ancient Padmāpura, was founded in the beginning of the 9th century A.C. by Padma, the powerful uncle of a puppet king named Chippaṭa-Jayapīḍa. It is now a village having a population of 4,446, and is chiefly noted for its saffron fields which blossom in October-November when large numbers of people visit them. Shāh Jahān here built a bridge on the Jhelum in 1635 A.C. Near a temple, built by Padma, stands the *ziyārat* of Mīr Muhammad Hamadānī, son of Shāh Hamadān. Three miles north-east of Pāmpar lies the village Uyan, known for its sulphur springs and ancient bathing tanks.

بسالِ سی و چهارم اواسطِ خُرداد
ز ابتدائے جلوسِ خدیوِ عالمگیر
ز نه صد و نود و هفت بُود ماهِ رجب
که یافت کوکبِ اقبالِ اُو چنیں تیسیر
سخن شناسا منِ فیضی ام ثنا گویت
که بر بیاض سخن مدحتت کُنم تحریر
اگرچه هند نژادم ولے باقبالت
مرا ز دانشِ یُونانیاں دلے ست خبیر
دگر سخن بدُعاے تو ختم خواهم کرد
چنانکه نظم شود منتظم به حرفِ اخیر

—اکبرنامه-مطبوعه کلکته - ۱۸۸۶ء - جلد سوم - صفحه ۳۴۵

The poet 'Urfī also accompanied the emperor, and wrote the well-known *Qasīda* the first two lines of which are:—

هر سُوخته جانے که بکشمیر در آید
گر مُرغ کباب است که با بال و پر آید
بنگر که ز فیضش چه شود گوهرِ یکتا
جائیکه خزف گر رود آنجا گُهر آید

Andrew Wilson writing in 1875 says:—"It must be delightful to come to this Jhelum valley, in April or May, from the burned up plains of India, and it might revive even a dying man." And so 'Urfī is not alone,—two centuries after 'Urfī, Andrew Wilson corroborates him. So did Sir Lancelot Graham, ex-Governor of Sind, when he told me at Sonmarg in 1943 that he was dying and that Kashmīr climate had revived him.

Munshī Ghulām Husain Tabātabāī in his *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirīn*, (Volume I, page 199) notes the following lines in praise of Kashmīr at Akbar's visit in the 34th year of his accession:—

چه کشمیر انتخابِ هفت کِشور
قسم خُورده بباغاتش آبِ کوثر

نظر چندانکه بر دستش گماری

بجز آب زمرّد نیست جاری

درین گلشن ز جوش خندهٔ گل

نمی آید بگوش آوازِ بلبل

It must not be imagined that this was merely a pleasure trip to the Happy Valley. Akbar respected the feelings of his subjects by proclaiming that no soldier should molest any citizen. He fixed the camp of his army at Shihāb-ud-dīnpōr or Shādipōr about nine miles in a direct line to the north-west of Srīnagar, and himself halted in Bāgh Hasan Shāh Chak, Khwāja Bāzār, Nauhaṭṭa, Srīnagar. On the representations to the Emperor of the Sūbadār, Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Rizavī Mashhadī, that the assessment was excessive Qāzī Nūrullāh and Totā Rām* had been directed by the Emperor to submit a report on land produce, and also to make the tax thereon uniform. But as the intended measure jeopardized the interests of both officials and landholders, the authorities deputed by the Emperor were considerably hampered in their task. Qāzī Nūrullāh reported the matter to the Emperor, who dispatched Hasan Beg and Shaikh 'Umar to help him. The Qāzī fixed the pay of the Kashmīr army in cash instead of kind. This precipitated the storm that was already brewing. Çuka also blames the Qāzī for his harshness which was responsible for quarrels caused among the Mughuls themselves (Vol. III, p. 418). The Sūbadār's officials and landowners both united. And Yādgār Mīrzā, his cousin, left in charge to act as Nāzim in the absence of Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Rizavī Mashhadī who had himself escorted Akbar out of the Valley, was declared as king. Kashmīr was once again in revolt. But it did not take long to suppress the rebellion, which lasted only fifty-one days. Yādgār Mīrzā was taken prisoner and beheaded. Prince Salīm interceded on behalf of Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Rizavī Mashhadī, whom the emperor pardoned. As a result of this insurrection Akbar asked Shaikh Faizī, Mīr Sharīf Āmulī, Khwājagī

*It is sometimes said that the Mughuls did not employ Kashmīrī Pandits in any high capacity. It is not so. Pandit Totā Rām was the *peshkār* or deputy of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān and Pandit Mahādeva was 'Alī Mardān Khān's *peshkār* to whom he entrusted all powers of administration.

Muhammad Husain to scrutinize the accounts of Mar-rāj, while Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn Khāfī and Kūar (Kañwar) Mān Singh were sent to examine those of Kam-rāj. Though the autumn crop was over, yet they were able by their skill to make an estimate of it. Çuka notes that, at this time, the Emperor ordered Shaikh Faizī "to distribute one thousand pieces of silver among Brāhmanas and beggars who dwelt in villages and in woods, and in other places." (P. 423). Akbar appointed Qalīch Khān governor of Kashmīr. Qalīch continued in this office for six years. He spent this period chiefly in extirpating the Chaks and suppressing the malcontents.

The building of the Nāgar-nagar.

During the first visit, Akbar had directed Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Rizavī Mashhadī, his governor, to build the Nāgar-nagar, or Naga-nagarī as Çuka puts it (page 426), around the slopes of the Harī-parbat or the Kūh-i-Mārān (literally, the Hill of Snakes), and the work was completed at a cost of one crore and ten lakhs. The construction of this great bastioned stone-wall was undertaken, it was given out, chiefly with a view to provide work for the people. Under cover of this construction it was, perhaps, also intended to overawe the people of the Valley. Çuka says that the Mughuls were to live within the wall so that the soldiers could not, then, molest the local people (p. 426). The work was supervised by a Kashmīrī, Mīr Muhammad Husain Kanṭ by name, and completed during the reign of Jahāngīr. In the palace there was a little garden with a small building in it in which Akbar, according to Jahāngīr, used constantly to sit. As it was out of order, Jahāngīr deputed Mu'tamad Khān to put the garden in order and repair the building. It was "adorned with pictures by master hands" so that it was "the envy of the picture gallery of China." And Jahāngīr called the garden Nūr-afzā. (The *Tūzuk*, English Translation, Vol. II, pp. 150-151).

Palaces were erected and gardens were laid out. These added a charm to the natural beauty of the country. During his second visit to Kashmīr in 1592 A.C. =1000-1001 A.H., Akbar directed operations against Aju Rāi, the ruler of Tibet Kalān (major) and Khurd (minor), parts of Little Tibet (Baltistān)—who offered resistance. The latter was consequently replaced by 'Alī Rāi who held a principality in that vicinity. Jahāngīr refers to 'Alī Muhammad, the son

of 'Alī Rāi, deputed by his father to be attached to the Mughul court (Vol. II, p. 288.)

On this second visit, Akbar was accompanied by Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

[**Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad,** whose year of birth may be taken as 958 A.H. or 1551 A.C., was the son of Khwāja Muqīm Hiravī (of Herāt). Khwāja Muqīm was one of Bābur's officials and about the close of his reign was Dīwān-i-Buyūtāt or Barrack Officer, or perhaps, Steward of the Royal Household. Khwāja Muqīm acted as Vazīr of Humāyūn, and was an official of Akbar's government too.

In addition to being a student of history, Khwāja Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad, his son, was a patron of poets and apparently himself used to write poetry. The interest of Khwāja Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad in historical matters and his skill as a writer is evidenced by the fact, points out Dr. Bainī Prashād, in his Preface to B. De's English translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, that when Akbar ordered the preparation of the History of the Kings of Islam or the *Ta'rīkh-i-Alfī* in 990 A.H. (1582 A.C.), he employed the Khwāja as one of the seven authors.

The Khwāja's interest in Sūfīism and theology is indicated by his association with Sūfīs and Shaikhs and religious people in general. As Blochmann says, " Nizām-ud-Dīn was a pious Muslim," and yet " managed to rise higher and higher in Akbar's favour by keeping his religious views to himself." He is one of the two or three with whom the orthodox Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī is pleased.

In addition to being a scholar, Nizām-ud-Dīn was a good soldier and administrator. He was attached to Akbar's court, according to one statement, from the thirty-fifth year of his life. In 980 A.H. (1572 A.C.), the Khwāja was appointed *Bakhshī* in Gujrāt where his duty was to act as the head of the military department and to look after recruitment, reviews and other similar affairs connected with the army.

For his services in Gujrāt, the Khwāja was honoured with the gift of a horse, a robe of honour and an increase in his stipend. Later, the Khwāja carried on a successful campaign in Soraṭh in the Ran of Kachh. He was, after this, appointed Bakhshī in the year 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.C.). The Mīr Bakhshī, according to the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, was one of the nobles of the state.

Nizām-ud-Dīn was a great favourite of the Emperor at this time when he accompanied Akbar to Kashmīr. The Khwāja says his account of Kashmīr which terminates with the end of the 38th year of Akbar's reign, is written in a "summary manner " but that " most of the great events have been succinctly narrated." The reader will completely agree with this last part. And Mr. De, by his edition of the Persian text and English translation and scholarly notes, has made the whole work very intelligible and quite clear.

Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad utilized, for the compilation of the *Tabaqāt* in respect of Kashmīr, as he himself notes: (*i*) *Ta'rīkh-i-Mīrzā Haidar* and (*ii*) *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*. The first is the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* and we have already discussed it. The other is the *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr*, the author of which is not mentioned. But Dr. Bainī Prashād in his Preface (p. xxx) says that this is probably the راج ترنگنی translated from Sanskrit into Persian for Akbar in 998 A.H. by Mullā Shāh Muhmmad of Shāhābād not far from Ver-nāg, Kashmīr, and re-written in an easy style in 999 A.H. (1590 A.C.) by Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī. This manuscript is in the British Museum (Riéu's *Catalogue*, Volume I, page 296, Add. 24,032). [Reference to it will be found on pages 163-4 of *Kashīr*.] The *Tabaqāt* closes with the year 1002 A.H. Firishta and others come after the author of the *Tabaqāt*.

[While staying at Lāhore in attendance on the Emperor, Khwāja Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad laid out or purchased a garden, and it was in this garden that he was buried after his death in his forty-fifth year, on the banks of the Rāvī, on 14th Safar, 1003 A.H. (19th October, 1694 A.C.) when he was expected to rise much higher in Akbar's favour. گوہر بےبہا ز دنیا رفت (A priceless pearl has left the world) gives the date of his death.]

Akbar spent the summer of 1597 A.C. in Kashmīr, introduced a lighter assessment of revenue and returned to Lāhore in the early winter. Towards the close of Akbar's reign, a severe famine occurred in Kashmīr. It developed to such an alarming extent that the emperor had to transport grain and cereals from Siālkōt to alleviate the misery of the sufferers. Two priests, Father Hierosme Xavier, a grand-nephew of St. Francis Xavier, and Beroist-de-Gois who accompanied Akbar at his request to Kashmīr, relate their experience of this famine. The famine, they say, was so grievous that "many mothers were rendered destitute and having no means of nourishing their children expôsed them for sale in the public places of the city. Moved to compassion by this pitiable sight; the Father bought many of these little ones, who soon after receiving baptism, yielded up their spirits to their Creator. A certain Saracen (Muslim) seeing the charity of the Father towards these children brought him one of his own; but the Father gave it back to the mother, together with a certain sum of money for its support; for he was unwilling to baptize it, seeing that, if it survived there was little prospect of its being able to live a Christian life in that country."

The new land assessment which had followed the remittances of the tax, called *bāj tamgha*, resulted in an

Bhimbar

Bhimbar is a small town situated in the plains, on the right bank of a stream of the same name, which flows into the Chenāb near Wazīrābād. It is about 29 miles north of Gujrāt, 22 miles east of Jhelum, and 50 miles north-west of Siālkōṭ.

The place is of some importance, as being the point of departure from the plains for Kashmīr ; it is distant about 150 miles from Srīnagar, by the Pīr Panjāl or Pantsāl route.

The town, which is mostly built of stone, is surrounded on all except the south side by a low hill, about 500 or 600 feet in height.

There is an old Mughul *sarāi* in the middle of the town, and a brick *gaṛhī* or fort of no strength on the north ; the former building is used as the *thānah* and the district officer's residence.

To the south of the town are two buildings for the reception of travellers. There is also a good encamping ground supplied with water from the *nadī*. This stream is usually shallow and fordable, but is liable to freshets.

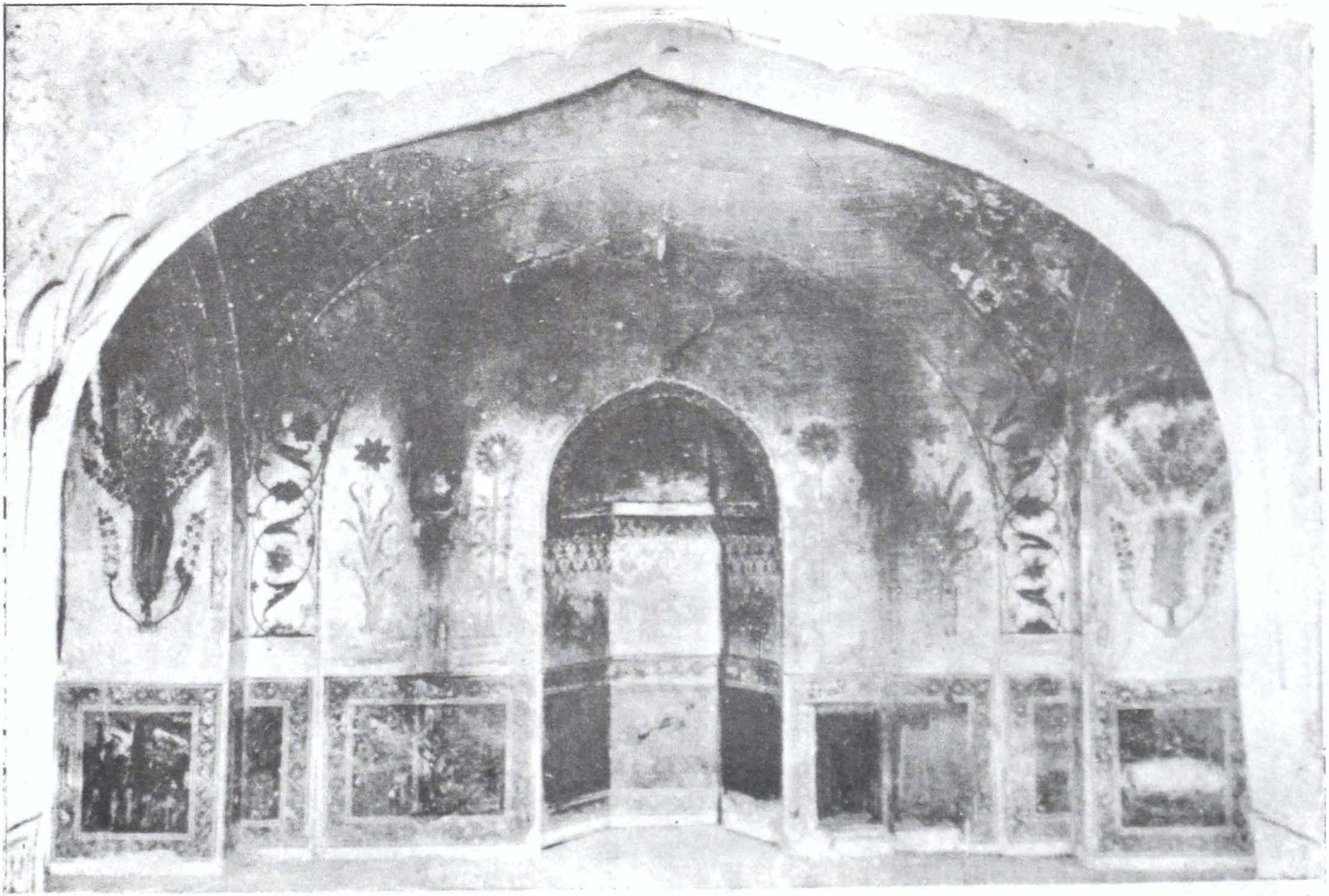
Bhimbar was anciently governed by an independent Rājā; the last of the line, Sultān Khān, opposed Ranjīt Singh's designs upon Kashmīr, and is stated to have been blinded by Rājā Gulāb Singh who, in his early career, was an employé of Sultān Khān.

The ruins of the palace of the old Rājās of Bhimbar may be traced near the village, on the left of the road towards Kashmīr.

This small mosque, on the reverse, has a façade of three arches. " The outer face is soiled by constant exposure to the weather. It was originally covered with painted floral designs which still exist in considerable freshness on the inner walls where they were protected from the inclemency of weather. The lower part of the mural decoration consists of a dado divided into panels which are dark red, fringed with minutely worked floral scrolls. The façade of the arches, their intrados, pendentives, etc., are covered with painted cypresses, palms and various other trees and flowers, natural and conventional. The whole surface is glazed.

" There are two windows at the sides which originally possessed brick screens with star-shaped perforations. The core of the structure consists of rubble stones built in lime over which was applied a thick coat of lime *bajri* which again was superimposed by a thinner one of gypsum. The last served as the background of the paintings.

" The mosque is a very interesting relic. "—*Extract from the Kashmir Archaeological Report.* See also page 520.



The Mosque at Bhimbar, a town south of Rajauri on the old Gujrāt to Kashmir road.

[See note on the reverse.]

increase of revenue, which, as recorded by officials, amounted to over a lakh of *kharwār*. A *kharwār*[1] was equal to 3 maunds and 8 seers of Akbar's reign, and was reckoned at 16 *dāms* of Akbar's currency. In normal times, a maund of rice could be purchased for five annas.

In the reign of Akbar the Sūbah of Kashmīr included Kābul and Qandahār, according to the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* (Vol. II, p. 134).

The re-alignment and construction by Muhammad Qāsim Khān, Akbar's chief engineer, of the great empire route by way of Gujrāt, Bhimbar and Shupiyān ensured the regularity of traffic with India. Faizī referring to such improvements says:

بحکمِ خُسروِ والا ز تیشه کوه کنان
هزار جُوے رواں کرد صاف تر از شیر
چنان بکُوه و کمر خاره را تراشیدند
که بهرِ موکبِ شاهی سزد مَمّر و مَسیر
زمینِ عرصهٔ کشمیر آسمان بگذشت
بفّرِ دولتِ تقبیلِ پایهاے سریر

Jahangir.

Jahāngīr was essentially a lover of Nature and Kashmīr, therefore, appealed to him particularly. He paid eight visits to Kashmīr two of which were in the company of his father and six during his own reign, *viz.* 14th, 16th, 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st.

Jahāngīr was accompanied by his beautiful Queen Nūr Jahān "whose[2] romantic spirit appears to have led her lord and Emperor into the most secluded and picturesque recesses of the Valley." "Many of these pleasant retreats are to this day pointed out as the spots where the royal pair were wont to disport themselves in those days of regal abandon." The royal pair must have passed their time in festivities of every kind. In summer nights, the Ḍal lake

1. Kharwār, literally meaning an 'ass-load,' is the standard measure for weighing large quantities in Kashmīr. The word is abbreviated as *khār* (or *khāri* of the *Rajātaraṅgiṇī*). Nowadays a *khār* is equal to a little over two maunds. See footnote in Chapter X, Section "Weights and Measures."

2. Lieut. Newall's *Sketch of the Mahomedan History of Cashmere*, J. A. S. B., No. V, 1854, p. 436.

must have reflected brilliant illuminations and fantastic fireworks, and the air must have "re-echoed to the sound of song and dance." Akbar, Jahāngīr and his Nūr Jahān, says Mrs. Stuart,[1] are far more vivid personalities in India than Elizabeth or the Stuart sovereigns are in England. To please his consort, Jahāngīr is said to have introduced the *chinār*[2] or the plane tree from Īrān, her native country. But this is wrong. The Kāshmīrī word *bawayn* shows the existence of the chinār in Kashmīr before Jahāngīr, who himself refers to the girth and spreading shade of chinārs with wonder. Jahāngīr's account of the journey and his impressions of the country, its people, their costumes and modes of life, of the variety of its picturesque scenery, his comments on men, women and things are all vividly recorded in his own inimitable style in his *Memoirs*. He built many palaces and summer-

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1. *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, London, 1913, page 176.
2. **The Chinar**.—Shams-ul-'Ulamā' Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi traces the plane-tree to Īrān. He finds its mention in the Pahlavī *Bundehesh* [the commentary on one of the 21 books of the *Zend-Avesta*. The *Bundehesh* gives an account of the Creation as told in the *Zend-Avesta*]. Herodotus refers to the plane-tree as being held in estimation by the Achemenian kings like Xerxes and Darius, the father of Xerxes. Later Persians call the plane-tree *Darakht-i-Fazl* or 'the Tree of Grace.' Teherān, by some, is called the 'City of Plane-Trees.' And hence, Longfellow's lines :—

Bright with the sheen of the dew, each glittering tree of the forest,
Flashed like the plane-tree the Persian adorned with mantles and jewels.

—*Evangeline*, Part the First, II, Lines 22-23.

Pliny in his *Natural History* (Book XII, Chap. 1, pp. 357-58) refers to the plane-tree having been brought on the Ionian Sea into the Island of Diomedea to beautify the tomb of Diomedea. From there it was transplanted into Sicily and later to Italy, where it was planted as "a most singular, rare and special tree" throughout the peninsula. It was carried to Terwin and Tournay in France, where "it was counted as an appearance to the very soil." Those who walked and refreshed themselves under its shadow were to "pay a custom to the people of Rome." Spain, too, had the plane-tree. All this happened, says Pliny, about the time that Rome was sacked by the Gauls. The plane-tree came to be so highly esteemed that people would "water them with wine." Pliny gives several instances of large plane-trees in Italy, in the hollow trunks of which, kings and emperors had made banqueting places—*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Volume VI, 1901-03, No. 8, pages 427—434. Jahāngīr also notes large plane-trees in Kashmīr. He says : "I myself was riding on a horse, with five at her saddled horses and two eunuchs, we went inside it,"—*English Translation*, Vol. II, p. 154. The chinār is also a native of Farghāna, Central Asia.

houses. He completed the construction of the celebrated Shālimār Gardens. The ruins of palaces at Mānas-bal, Acha-bal and Vēr-nāg, etc., attest to Nūr Jahān's taste in selecting picturesque sites.

The late Justice Shāh Dīn has beautifully described the scene in his well-known poem *Shālāmār*—

نُورِجہاں جو حُسن میں پُتلی تھی نُور کی
اور قد میں جیسے سروِ لبِ جُوئبار ہو
آکر یہاں جاتی تھی وہ دلفریب رنگ
قُربان جس پہ جان سے سو لالہ زار ہو
اور آنا اُسکے ساتھہ شہ مے پرست کا
جسکی نگہ سے چشمِ طرب میں خُمار ہو
سامانِ عیش اور وہ عشرت کی محفلیں
وہ راتیں جن پہ روزِ درخشاں نثار ہو

Baron Schonberg* gives us a moving picture, perhaps of these days, when he writes : "Kashmīr, the reputed cradle of the human race, that spot to which the sagas of the eastern nations have lent a religious veneration, and which the imaginings of the western poets have robed in all the beauties of an earthly Elysium—Kashmir around which is flung all the voluptuousness of Asiatic fiction, and so much of the splendour of Asiatic history—where is the European who hears Kashmīr mentioned, and does not think of the glory of Ackbar, the pomp of Jehangir and the beauty of Nur Jehan?"

Thomas Moore has put these romantic days of Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān in the vale of Kashmīr in beautiful poetry in his *Lalla Rookh*.—

'Oh! best of delights as it everywhere is
To be near the loved *One*,—what a rapture is his
Who in moonlight and music thus sweetly may glide
O'er the Lake of Cashmere with that *One* by his side!
If woman can make the worst wilderness dear,
Think, think what a Heaven she must make of Cashmere!
So felt the magnificent Son of Ackbar,

**Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 1-2.

When from power and pomp and the trophies of war
He flew to that Valley, forgetting them all
With the Light of the Haram, his young Nourmahal,
When free and uncrown'd as the Conqueror roved
By the banks of that Lake, with his only beloved,
He saw, in the wreaths she would playfully snatch
From the hedges, a glory his crown could not match,
And preferred in his heart the least ringlet that curl'd
Down her exquisite neck, to the throne of the world !
There's the beauty, for ever unchangingly bright,
Like a long sunny lapse of a summer day's light,
Shining on, shining on, by no shadow made tender,
Till Love falls asleep in the sameness of splendour :
This was not the beauty—oh ! nothing like this,
That to young Nourmahal gave such magic of bliss !
But that loveliness, ever in motion, which plays
Like the light upon autumn's soft shadowy days,
Now here and now there, giving warmth as it flies
From the lips to the cheek, from the cheek to the eyes ;
Now melting in mist and now breaking in gleams,
Like the glimpses a saint has of heaven in his dreams !
When pensive, it seemed as if that very grace,
That charm of all others, was born with her face !
And when angry,—for e'en in the tranquillest climes
Light breezes will ruffle the flowers sometimes—
The short, passing anger but seem'd to awaken
New beauty, like flowers that are sweetest when shaken.

"There too the Haram's inmates smile—
Maids from the West, with sun-bright hair,
And from the Garden of the Nile,
Delicate as the roses there ;
Daughters of Love from Cyprus' rocks,
With Paphian* diamonds in their locks ;
Light Peri forms, such as there are
On the gold meads of Candahar ;
And they, before whose sleepy eyes,
In their own bright Kathaian bowers,
Sparkle such rainbow butterflies,
That they might fancy the rich flowers
That round them in the sun lay sighing,
Had been by magic all set flying !
Everything young, everything fair,
From East and West is blushing there,
Except—except—O Nourmahal !
Thou loveliest, dearest of them all,
The one, whose smile shone out alone,
Amidst a world the only one !

*Of Paphos, a city of Cyprus, sacred to Aphrodite or Venus.

"The board was spread with fruits and wine;
With grapes of gold, like those that shine
On Casbin's[1] hills;—pomegranates full
Of melting sweetness, and the pears,
And sunniest apples that Caubul
In all its thousand gardens bears;—
Plantains, the golden and the green,
Malaya's nectar'd magusteen;
Prunes of Bokhara, and sweet nuts
From the far groves of Samarcand,
And Basra dates, and apricots,
Seed of the Sun,[2] from Iran's land;—
With rich conserve of Visna cherries,[3]
Of orange flowers, and of those berries
That, wild and fresh, the young gazelles
Feed on in Erac's[4] rocky dells.
All these in richest vases smile,
In baskets of pure sandal-wood
And urns of porcelain from that isle
Sunk underneath the Indian flood,
Whence oft the lucky diver brings
Vases to grace the halls of kings.
Wines, too, of every clime and hue,
Around their liquid lustre threw;
Amber Rosolli,[5]—the bright dew
From vineyards of the Green-Sea gushing;[6]
And Shiraz wine, that richly ran
As if that jewel, large and rare,
The ruby, for which Kublai-Khan[7]
Offer'd a city's wealth, was blushing,
Melted within the goblets there!
And amply Selim quaffs of each,
And seems resolved the flood shall reach
His inward heart,—shedding around
A genial deluge, as they run,

1. Qazvīn, in Īrān, is on the main route to Europe. 16th and 17th century travellers spell it as in the text above.

2. 'Tukhm-i-Shams' is a kind of delicious apricot.

3. Visna is no other than Vishnia, originally Greek but now a Russian word, meaning cherry. The vishnia is a fine cherry in Russia proper and in Turkistān.

4. Erac now written 'Irāq. But here the reference is probably to the district of 'Irāq-i-'Ajam in Īrān, situated to the west of Qumm between Hamadān and Isfahān.

5. Rosolio is the name of an Italian liquor. Here perhaps the meaning is Rosolli of amber colour, *viz.*, yellow wine.

6. Green-Sea. The allusion is to the Persian Gulf.

7. A Mongol emperor (*b.* 1216, *d.* 1294) was the grandson of Changīz Khān. Kublāi Khān ruled as emperor of China and Central Asia from 1259 to 1294 A. C.

That soon shall leave no spot undrown'd,
For Love to rest its wings upon.

" Come hither, come hither,—by night and by day,
We linger in pleasures that never are gone ;
Like the waves of the summer, as one dies away.
Another as sweet and as shining comes on.
And the love that is over, in expiring, gives birth
To a new one as warm, as unequall'd in bliss ;
And, oh ! if there be an Elysium on earth,
It is this, it is this.

" The mask is off—the charm is wrought—
And Selim to his heart has caught,
In blushes, more than ever bright,
His Nourmahal, his Haram's Light !
And well do vanish'd frowns enhance
The charm of every brighten'd glance ;
And dearer seems each dawning smile
For having lost its light awhile ;
And, happier now for all her sighs
As on his arm her head reposes,
She whispers him, with laughing eyes,
' Remember, love, the Feast of Roses.' "

—*Thomas Moore.*

ادھر اِک وارثِ اورنگِ اکبر   جلُوسِ خُسروی فرما رہا تھا
شہِ جم جاہ نُورالّدین جہانگیر   شُکُوہِ بزمِ جم دکھلا رہا تھا
اُدھر نُورِجہان کا جلوۂ حُسن   در و دیوار کو چمکا رہا تھا
فروغِ عارضِ مہرالُنسا سے   جمالِ یُوسفی گھنا رہا تھا
وہ حُسن و عشق کا مُغلی مُرقّع   زمانہ کو دکھایا جا رہا تھا
اِدھر محوِ نوا٬ سرمست مُطرب   سرودِ آسمانی گا رہا تھا
وہ تارِ چنگ بربط ی تڑپ سے   رگِ جاں میں لہو دوڑا رہا تھا
وہ تھی دربار کی شان آشکارا   کہ بندوں کو خُدا یاد آرہا تھا
یہ نقشہ دیکھکر بزمِ شہی کا   سروشِ غیب یہ فرما رہا تھا

اگر فردوس بر رُوئے زمین است
همیں است و همیں است و همیں است

—چوہدری خُوشی محمد٬ ناظر
نغمۂ فردوس - حصۂ اوّل - صفحات ۱۲۹—۱۳۰

[**Malik Haidar Chadura**.—Malik Haidar Chāḍura, whose *History* we have utilized, must here come in for a few words. Malik Haidar wrote his *History of Kashmīr* from the earliest times to his own, in Persian, in 1027 AH. (1617 A.C.), the 12th year of the accession of Jahāngīr. The total number of pages of the copy used by me on loan from Khān Bahādur Maulavī Zafar Hasan, B.A. (Alig.), O.B.E., Retired Deputy Director-General of Archaeology, Nasheman, Delhi Gate, Delhi, is 235, the number of folios is 118. The size is 7″×4″, the written portion of the folios being 5½″×2½″. The number of lines per page is 17. This manuscript is a copy of the manuscript dated A.H. 1117=1705 A.C. There is another date: Rewārī, 16th September, 1893 A.C., Bhādōn S. 1950, 5th Rabī' 1, 1310 A.H. on this manuscript which may presumably be the date of its transcription from the 1117 A.H. copy. The British Museum MS. Add. 8906, (Vol. I, page 297), has 224 folios, size 10½″ by 6¼″, 12 lines per page 3⅝″ long in nasta'līq, dated Shavvāl A.H. 1216 (A.C. 1802), and Add. 16,705 (page 298), has 230 folios, size 8½″ by 4¾″, 16 lines per page, 3″ long, in cursive nasta'līq, probably in the 17th century A.C. Āghā Hakīm 'Alī, B.A.-P.B., D.S. (Milan, Italy) Director of Sericulture, Srīnagar, secured me another copy of Haidar Malik's *History* which originally belonged to the late Malik Asadullāh and is now in possession of Hājī Mohd. Jawād of Jaḍi-bal, Srīnagar. This copy is very clear and has 262 pages, size 9½″×6½″, 13 lines per page, in cursive nasta 'līq, dated 1297 A.H.= 1879 A.C.

Malik Haidar and his brother Malik 'Alī were Kashmīr noblemen descended from Malik Muhammad Nājī, the minister of Husain Shāh Chak. In the latter part of his *History*, Malik Haidar says that he had spent four and twenty years of his life in the service of Yūsuf Shāh Chak whom he followed in his banishment to his *jāgīr* in Bihār. Malik Haidar carried out with great success, as Faujdār of Jā'is, (Jā'is from *jaish* a 'camp' is a town, on the rail, in the Salon Tahsīl of the Rāi Barelī district of the United Provinces, on the road from Lucknow to Sultānpur. Jā'is originally had a fortress called Udyanagar or Ujilekāngar) an expedition against Rājā Balbhadr, and was personally engaged with Shīr Afgan Khān in the attack in which the latter succumbed in 1016 A.H. (1607 A.C.). With his brother, 'Alī Malik, he protected Shīr Afgan's widow Mihr-un-Nisā Begam (afterwards Nūr Jahān) against all dangers and even received a wound. Haidar was warmly recommended by her to Jahāngīr who bestowed upon him the titles of *Chaghatāī* and *Ra'īs-ul-Mulk*, with an office in the government of Kashmīr. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl Marjānpūrī* (p. 166) mentions that Mihr-un-Nisā actually entered the house of Yūsuf Shāh Chak for personal safety.

When the Jāmi' Masjid at Srīnagar was consumed by fire during the reign of Jahāngīr, Malik Hasan, the father of Malik Haidar who was a Shī'a, was accused of having been concerned, along with other leading Shī'as, in the conflagration. It is said that, at the instance

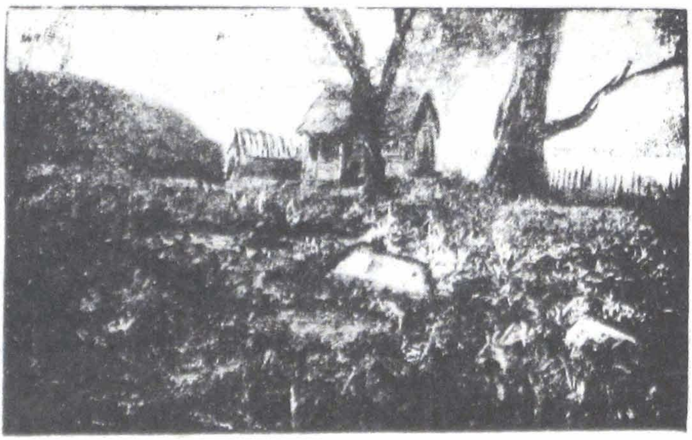
of Nūr Jahān, Haidar consequently re-built it at his own expense as the following chronogram illustrates :—

بتاریخ هزار و بست و نه از هجرت سیّد
بروز عید روزه سوخته در نوبت ثانی
ملک حیدر رئیس الملک در عهد جهانگیری
نهاد از نو بنائش باز روز عید قربانی
چو تاریخ بنائش جست، گفتا هاتف غیبی

۱۰۲۹ ھ

نهاد از نو، اساسش باز گاه عید قربانی

The Jāmi' Masjid, that was originally built by Sultān Sikandar, was twice partially destroyed by fire previous to the reign of Jahāngīr, and was re-built by Sultān Hasan Shāh and later by Ibrāhīm Māgre. Malik Haidar conducted several works of improvement and utility in Kashmīr. His brother, 'Alī Malik, is given the credit of the conquest of Kishtwār in 1029-30 A.H. (1619-20 A.C.).



The grave of the historian Ra'is-ul-Mulk Haidar Malik at Tsōdur or Chādura about 10 miles from Srinagar

Chāḍura, to which Malik Haidar belonged, is pronounced in Kashmīrī as Tsōḍur and written Chāḍura. It is a village in the Nāgām *pargana* about a mile from Nāgām itself; and is some ten miles south of Srīnagar. The Khānqāh (tomb) of Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī, originally built by Daulat Shāh Chak, was also re-built by Malik Haidar.

" On Sunday, the 7th of Urdibihisht, I rode to the village of Chādura which is the native country of Haidar Malik," writes the

royal visitor, Jahāngīr.* "In truth this is a very pleasant spot of ground, and has flowing streams and lofty plane-trees. At his request I gave it the name of Nūrpūr (the City of Light)." This is an allusion to Nūr Jahān and to Nūr-ud-Dīn Jahāngīr. "On the road there was a tree called *halthal*; when one takes one of the branches and shakes it, the whole of the tree comes into movement," he continues. "The common people believe that this movement is peculiar to that tree. By chance, in the said village, I saw another tree of the same kind, which was in similar movement. And I ascertained that it was common to that species of tree and not confined to one tree. In the village of Rāwalpūr, 2½ kōs from the city towards Hindustān, there is a plane-tree, burnt in the inside. Twenty-five years before this, when I myself was riding on a horse, with five other saddled horses and two eunuchs, we went inside it . . . . It has been noted in the *Akbar-nāma* that my father took thirty-four people inside and made them stand close to each other."]

A Dutch Protestant's view of Kashmīr under Jahāngīr.

Francisco Pelsaert of Antwerp, a Dutch Protestant, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, was in India for seven years from 1621 to 1627 A.C. Pelsaert rose to be the President of the Dutch fleet. His commercial report to his employers written in 1626 is printed under the title of the *Remonstrantie*. In this booklet of 88 pages, Pelsaert gives us light glimpses of Kashmīr in Jahāngīr's reign (pp. 33-36). Though the observations are not quite accurate in all detail, and there are several obscurities, the extract has its interest for the general reader, as a whole, from the point of view of a fanatical Protestant trader of the time. Writes Pelsaert: "The city of Kashmir (*viz.*, Srīnagar) itself is planted with very pleasant fruit-bearing and other trees, while two great rivers flow past it. The larger of these comes from Wirnagie (Vēr-nāg), Achiauwel (Acha-bal) and Matiaro (Maṭan, referring to the river Lidar); the other rises from the ground like a well or spring, three kos from the city, having its source at Saluara [Sōlur or Salura village, at one time was on the Anchār Lake—1½ miles from the large spring of Tulmul Tīratha. Sōlur is 13½ miles from Srīnagar] on an inland lake; but the water of neither of them appears to be sweet or healthy, and the inhabitants boil it before they drink it, while the king and the chief nobles have their water carried

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*English Translation of the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* by Alexander Rogers, edited by Henry Beveridge, 1914, Vol. II, pages 154-55.

3 or 4 kos from Swindesseway (the Sind river of Kashmīr, which passes the village Gādur, about eight miles from Srīnagar by road and boat) where the water is clear and snow-white. King Jahangir began the construction of a wooden aqueduct, to bring good water from a distance of 10 or 12 kos into the fort, but realizing that it could be easily poisoned by enemies or malcontents, he abandoned it after having spent fully 10,000 rupees. In Kashmir foreigners usually suffer from the flux, and many die of it; the cause must be water, and also the quantity of fruit which is available.

"On the East side of the city lies a great stronghold, with a wall of grey stone fully nine or ten feet thick, which joins it to a high rocky hill, with a large palace on the summit, and another somewhat lower or half way up, towards the North, as well as two or three residences with separate approaches, but the principal ones lie on the South towards the East. In the centre of this fort is the King's palace, which is noteworthy rather for its elevation and extent than its magnificence. The Queen lives next to the King, on the North side; next to her her brother, Asaf Khan, and, a little further on, Mukarrib Khan. [Shaikh Hasan with the title of Muqarrab Khān was some time governor of Delhi. From his childhood he was always in Jahāngīr's service and in attendance on him.] On the other or southern side, lives Sultan Shahriyar, the King's youngest son, who is married to the Queen's daughter by her first husband. On the south-west live Khawja Abdul [Abu'l] Hasan and also other great nobles, all of whom reside within the fortress and round the hill in a circle of about a kos in circumference. The city is very extensive, and contains many mosques, as their churches are called. The houses are built of pine-wood, the interstices being filled with clay and their style is by no means contemptible. They look elegant, and fit for citizens rather than peasants and they are ventilated with handsome and artistic open-work, instead of windows or glass. They have flat roofs entirely covered with earth, on which the inhabitants often grow onions, or which are covered with grass, so that during the rains the green roofs and groves make the city most beautiful on a distant view.

"The inhabitants of the country and the city are for the most part poor, but they are physically strong,

especially the men, who can carry quite twice the load of a Hindustani; this is remarkable in view of the fact that men and women get so little food. Their children are very handsome and fair, while they are young and small, but when they grow up they become yellow and ugly, owing to their mode of life, which is that of beasts rather than men. The women are small in build, filthy, lousy, and not handsome. They wear a coarse grey woollen garment, open from the neck to the waist. On the forehead they have a sort of red band, and above it an ugly, black, dirty clout, which falls from the head over the shoulders to the legs; cotton cloth is very dear and their inborn poverty prevents them from possessing a change of raiment.

"They are fanatical Moslems. It was their twelfth king (*obscure sentence*) who observed this creed, before king Akbar's General, Raja Bhagwan Das, overcame the country by craft and subtlety, the lofty mountains and difficult roads rendering forcible conquest impossible.

"Kashmir produces many kinds of fruit, such as apples, pears, walnuts, etc., but the flavour is inferior to those of Persia, or Kabul. In December, January and February the cold is very great, with constant rain and snow; the mountains remain white with snow, except in places where the sun shines in the warm weather, causing heavy floods in the rivers.

"The reason of the King's special preference for this country is that when the heat in India increases, his body burns like a furnace, owing to his consumption of excessively strong drink and opium, excesses which were still greater in his youth. He usually leaves Lahore in March or April, and reaches Kashmir in May. The journey is very difficult and dangerous, besides being expensive, for pack animals cannot cross the mountains, and practically everything must be carried on men's heads. All the nobles curse the place, for it makes the rich poor, and the poor cannot fill their stomachs there, because everything is excessively dear; but apparently the King prefers his own comfort or pleasure to the welfare of his people.

"Kashmir yields nothing for export to Agra except saffron of which there are two kinds. That which grows near the city sells in Agra at 20 to 24 rupees the ser; the other kind, which grows at Casstuwary (Kishtwār),

10 kos (?) distant is the best, and usually fetches 28 to 32 rupees the ser (of 30 pice weight). Many *pamris* are also woven; these are cloths 3 ells long and 2 broad, woven from the wool (it is more like hair), which grows on the hind-quarters of the sheep, very fine and as soft as silk. They are worn here (*i.e.* in Agra) in wraps in the winter because of the cold, and look very well and fine, having a surface like boratos (a thin woollen cloth fashionable in Europe at this period). Walnuts, which are plentiful, are also exported to Agra.

" The goods sent from Agra to Kashmir are coarse, unbleached, cotton-cloth, yarn for local consumption, and also pepper and opium. Nutmeg, cloves and mace are too dear, and their use is unknown ; but all of them are, as might be expected, brought there when the King is in residence."

Qalīch Khān and Sa'ādat Khān, governors under Jahāngīr, suppressed the Chaks with a strong hand. All their *hauteur* departed. The poor Chaks took to humbler ways of life, and either went in for humbler jobs or settled down as husbandmen, farmers and horse-keepers. I'tiqād Khān imposed severe, unjust restrictions upon the agriculturist class. He introduced the evil practice of requisitioning or attaching fruit gardens, of reserving forests and villages. He exacted forced labour particularly in connexion with the plucking of saffron flowers, which formed an asset of imperial revenue. Shāh Jahān, however, revoked these practices by issuing a special *farmān* (command) after his accession.

Jahāngīr did not neglect the welfare of his subjects. In 1621 A. C. (1031 A. H.) he abolished the vexatious tax *Rasūm-i-Faujdārī* "to ease the subjects and soldiers." He prohibited in Rajaurī the immolation of Muslim women in emulation of their Hindu sisters who devoted themselves to flames with the remains of their husbands. A girl of twelve* years of age had been buried alive in the grave of her dead husband just before the arrival of Jahāngīr in 1619. The strangulation of daughters at birth by men without means was stopped. He also forbade intermarriage between Hindus and Muslim women. The conversion of

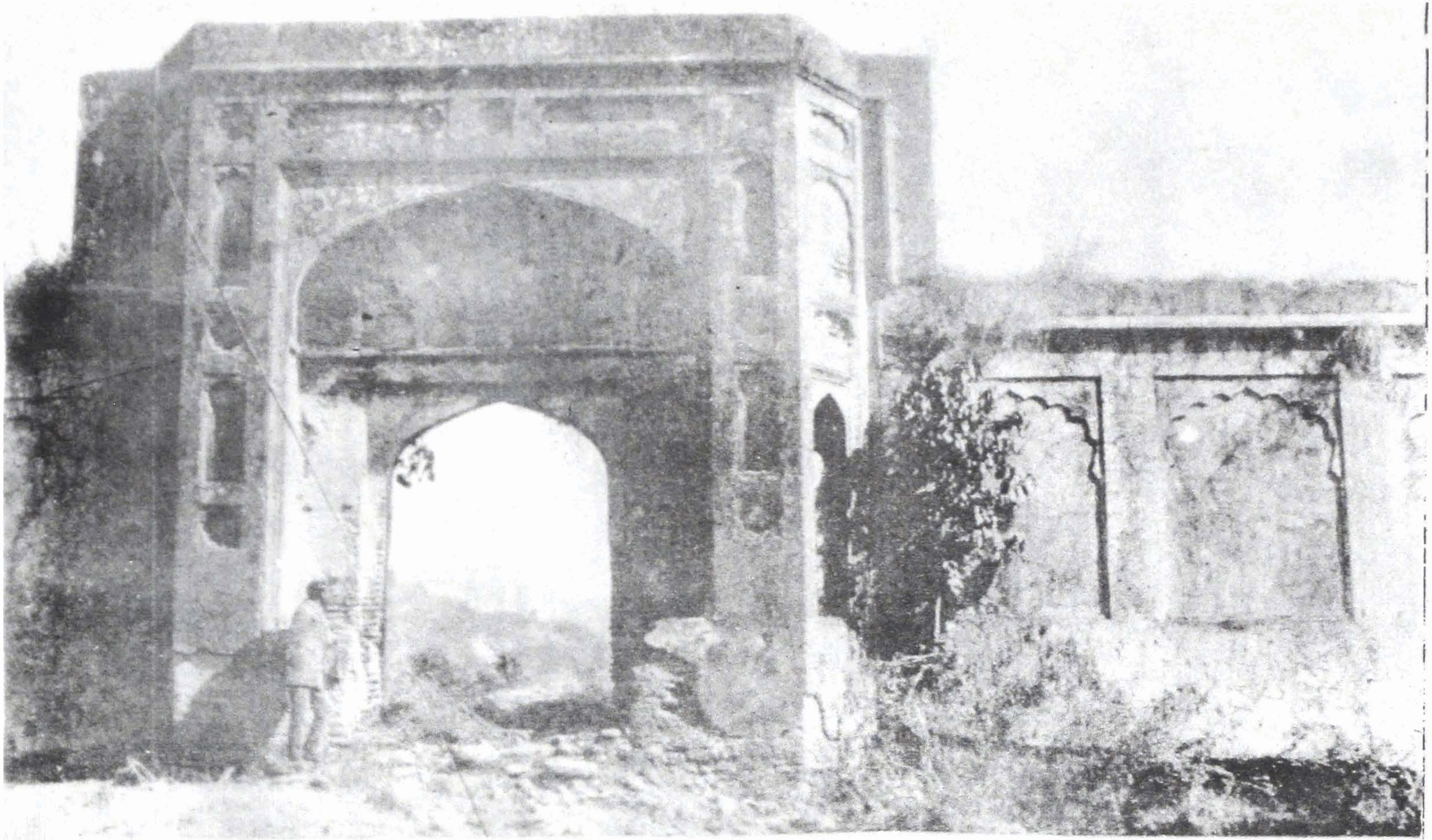
*The *History of Jahangir* by Francis Gladwin, edited by Rao Bahādur K. V. R. Aiyangar, Paul & Co., Madras, 1930, page 92.

Chingas Sarai

Chingas Sarāi is a small and scattered village situated on a flat table-land, about 200 feet above the right bank of the Tawī river It lies on the Bhimbar route into Kashmīr, betweeen Naoshahra and Rajaurī, about 13 miles north of the former place, and 15 miles south of the latter. There is a bungalow for the accommodation of travellers, about a quarter of a mile from the village.

The old *Sarāi*, from which the village takes its name, is close to the bungalow. Water is procurable from a *bāolī* or from the river beneath. The hill sides in the vicinity are covered with under-wood and firs, but on the opposite side of the river there is good grazing ground. Next to the Mughul mosque at the Sarāi is the grave entombing Jahāngīr's entrails.

In proof of the ophiolatry that prevailed in these hills, the ancient slabs sculptured with figures of snakes have been adduced. A most curious example of these stones exists at this village where, among a number of small *lingams* under a *pīpal* tree, is a rudely carved slab, representing a serpent with its long coils spreading over the whole length of the stone, and a devotee with clasped hands standing below.



The Mughul Sarāi at Chingas on the old route from the Punjāb to Kashmīr.

[See note on the reverse.]

Muslim girls to Hinduism and then their cremation with Hindu husbands at one time was as large as 4,000 in Rajaurī and Bhimbar.[1] Shāh Jahān followed his father's policy in the matter. In Shāh Jahān's time, in the seventh year of his reign, an investigation was made into the complaints of Muslims of Bhimbar against the Hindus who burnt the Qu'rān and oppressed the Muslims. On the report of the investigating official, Shaikh Mahmūd Gujrātī, an order was issued that, if a Hindu wanted to be converted to Islam, his family should not place any obstacles in his way.[2] During the present Dogrā rule a Hindu, on conversion to Islam, loses right to his share of the family property.

Owing to difficulties experienced in his journey, Jahāngīr ordered suitable lodgings to be constructed for himself and the harem at convenient stages. He further ordered a garden to be built at the Vēr-nāg Spring. In this garden, there was a picture gallery in which the pictures of Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh 'Abbās of Īrān were painted. According to the contemporary, Francisco Pelsaert,[3] Ver-nāg was "the most delightful pleasure-resort where the King had the best hunting grounds in the whole of India." Dilāwar Khān and Irādat Khān, two of his governors, also constructed gardens on the Barārinambal lagoon fed by the Mār-nāla and situated in the southeast of Srīnagar, and at Nāopōr a village five miles south of Sopōr.

Seven[4] Sūbadārs or governors were appointed by Jahāngīr, one after the other, to govern Kashmīr. With the exception of Qalīch Khān (1606) and Irādat Khān (1620), all were just, and numerous are the instances of their justice. The Hindus of Kashmīr complained against Qalīch Khān to the Emperor Jahāngīr who communicated, after the epigrammatic style of Ja'far Barmakī (see *Al-Kāmil al-Mubarrad*, Lahore, 1337 A.H. = 1928 A.C., Vol. I, p. 301), the following warning to him :—

حکومت پناها ! داد خواهانِ تو بسیار، شکرگذاران تو کم، آبِ سحاب
برلبِ تشنگان بریز- ورنه از حکومت برخیز-

1. Qazvīnī's *Bādshāh-nāma*, pp. 444-5, also 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhaurī's ***Bādshāh-nāma***, Vol. I, section ii, page 58.

2. 'Abdul Hamīd's *Bādshāh-nāma*, Vol. I, section ii, page 585.

3. *Jahangir's India : The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, 1925, page 33.

4. Muhammad-ud-Dīn ***Fauq, Mukammal Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr***, **Part II, page 198.**

[Protection of Governance. Thy complainants are many, thy thanksgivers few. Pour cloud-water on the thirsty people, or else relinquish thy administrative post.]

The *Dabistān*[1] says that Pandit Çri Kanta, a Kashmīrī, conversant with Hindu sciences and knowing the Shāstras, was invested by Jahāngīr with the dignity of a judge of the Hindus in order that, in every concern of personal law and custom, they should have complete autonomy.

According to his autobiography, Jahāngīr married a Kashmīrī lady. 'After him, by the daughter of the prince of Kashmīr who was of the society of the Jōgīs, I had another daughter, who died a year old.'[2]

As regards territorial extension, Jahāngīr's reign witnessed the conquest of Kishtwār. A description of this conquest in the language of the royal diarist is worthy of reproduction. It reads almost like the dispatch of a modern war correspondent—

"On the tenth of the Ilāhī month of Shahrīwar, in my 14th year, Dilāwar Khān with 10,000 horse and foot, determined to conquer Kishtwār. He appointed his son, Hasan by name, with Gird 'Alī *Mīr Bahr* to guard the city and administer the territory. As Gauhar Chak and Aiba Chak laid claim to Kashmīr as heirs, and were stirring up strife in Kishtwār and were wandering in the valley of confusion and ruin, he left Haibaṭ, one of his brothers, with a force at Desu, which is near the *Kotal* of the Pīr Panjāl, by way of caution. Dividing his forces at that place, he himself hastened with a force by the road of Sangīnpūr, sending his son Jalāl, with Nasrullāh 'Arab, and 'Alī Malik Kashmīrī and a band of Jahāngīrī servants by another road, and his elder son Jamāl with a band of zealous young men as an advance-guard to his own force. At the same time, he placed two other forces to move forward on his right and left. As no horses could go on the road by way of precaution, he took some with him, but left nearly all his sipāhīs' horses behind and sent them to Kashmīr (*i.e.* Srīnagar). The young men girded the belt of duty on their waists, and went up hills on foot. The *ghāzīs* of the army of Islam fought from post to post with the ill-fated unbelievers as far as Narkōṭ, which was one of the enemy's strongholds . . . . The ill-fated Aiba Chak with many of the people of ruin were slain. By the death of Aiba, the Rājā became powerless and without heart, and took the road of flight, and, crossing by the bridge, stopped at Bhandarkōṭ which is on the other side. . . . . Dilāwar Khān drew up his forces at Bhandarkōṭ . . . . In short, for four months and ten days, Dilāwar Khān having planted the foot of courage at Bhandarkōṭ made endeavours to cross over . . . . Jalāl, Dilāwar

1. Shea and Troyer's *Translation*—pages 164-165.
2. *The Valley of Kashmīr*, page 194, footnote 2.

Khān's son, with some of the servants of the Court and a band of Afghāns, about 200 in number, crossed over in safety, made unawares an attack on the Rājā, and blew loudly the trumpets of victory . . The men rushed on the Rājā and made him prisoner . . . Dilāwar Khān . . . having crossed the river (Mārū) came to Mandal Badr which was the capital of the country, and is three *kos* from the river. The daughter of Sangrām, Rājā of Jammu and the daughter of . . . . Sūraj Mal son of Rājā Baso were in the Rājā's house (*i.e.*, married to him). By Sangrām's daughter he had children. Before the victory he had sent his family for refuge to the Rājā of Jaswāl and other Zamīndārs . . . Dilāwar Khān took the Rājā with him, and came to kiss the threshold, leaving Nasrullāh 'Arab with a body of horse and foot to guard the country.

" The whole income of the Rājā consists of fines, and for a small offence he takes a heavy sum. From whomsoever is wealthy and in comfortable circumstances the Rājā, on some pretext, clears out all that he has. From all sources his income is about Rs. 100,000. In time of war 6,000 or 7,000 men on foot collect together. There are but few horses among them. The Rājā and the chief men have about fifty between them. I bestowed a year's revenue on Dilāwar Khān by way of reward."*

During the régime of Dilāwar Khān, following the appearance of a comet, it is said, rats appeared in alarming numbers and considerably damaged the crops. The epidemic of plague infested the country so virulently that the dead were thrown into the river without even the last rites being performed. Let Jahāngīr himself describe it : " On this day (Wednesday, 17th Isfandārmuz, 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign=1617 A.C.) a report of the chronicler of events arrived, that the plague had taken firm hold of the country (Kashmīr) and that many had died. The symptoms were that the first day there was headache and fever and much bleeding at the nose. On the second day the patient died. In the house where one person died all the inmates were carried off. Whoever went near the sick person or a dead body was affected in the same way. In one instance, the dead body was thrown on the grass, and it chanced that a cow came and ate some of the grass. It died, and some dogs that had eaten its flesh also died. Things had come to such a pass that from fear of death fathers would not approach their children, and children would not go near their fathers. A strange thing was that, in the ward in

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* *The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, English Translation by Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1914, volume II, pages 135-139.

which the disease began, a fire broke out, and nearly 3,000 houses were burnt . . . . I trust that the Almighty will have mercy on His sinful slaves, and that they will be altogether freed from such calamities."[1]

"On this day (Wednesday, the first of the month of Āzar=March 1617 A.C., the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign) Kashmīr reports were laid before me. One was that in the house of a certain silk-seller two girls were born with teeth, and with their backs as far as the waist joined together, but the heads, arms and legs were separate: they lived a short time and died."[2]

During the time of Jahāngīr, Kashmīr yielded a revenue amounting to 7,46,70,000 dāms, which undoubtedly indicates the increase of prosperity enjoyed by Kashmīr during his rule.

Shah Jahan.

Shāh Jahān visited Kashmīr four times during his reign at intervals of five or seven years. The first visit took place in 1043 A.H. (or 1634 A.C.), when Shāh Jahān arrived in Srīnagar on June 5. "The enchanting beauty of this province hypnotized Shāh Jahān," writes the author of *History of Shahjahan of Dihli*,[3] "and though he had no staff of painters with him to reproduce its natural beauty, he had a number of excellent writers at court who have described Kashmīr in glowingly picturesque language, which is poetic in spirit though prose in form." The descriptions of Kashmīr written by Mīrzā Amīnāī Qazvīnī (*Pādshāh-nāma*, British Museum, Or. 173) and Jalāl-ud-Dīn Tabātabāī (*Pādshāh-nāma*, British Museum, Or. 1676), the versified narratives of Qudsī and Kalīm are instances. Mīrzā Amīnāī Qazvīnī was in the royal retinue on this occasion. Shāh Jahān's second visit took place during January to October 1640 A.C. Another visit is recorded in 1645. The last visit took place in 1651 which, however, was cut short on account of floods and storms. And Shāh Jahān returned to Lāhore. It was at the time of Shāh Jahān's first visit that the Hindu rājā of Bhimbar announced the adoption of Islam, and was given the title of Rājā-i-Daulatmand (or the Rājā of Riches).

1. The *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, English Translation by Rogers and Beveridge, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1909, Volume, I, pages 442-443.
2. *Ibid.*, page 406.
3. *History of Shahjahan of Dihli* by Dr. Banārsī Prasād Saksena, the Indian Press Ltd., Allahābād, 1932, pages 314-17.

Shāh Jahān appointed nine governors altogether, of whom two, namely, Zafar Khān and 'Alī Mardān Khān were re-appointed. I'tiqād Khān, who had been appointed by Jahāngīr, continued in office till his high-handedness and oppressive rule brought about his removal. Prince Murād visited Kashmīr in 1640 A.C., and remained as governor for a year, being followed by 'Alī Mardān Khān. During his stay, Prince Murād married a daughter of the Maliks of Shāhābād. Shāhābād was formerly called the Vēr-nāg *pargana*, according to Hasan, and was re-named Shāhābād by Shāh Jahān.

Zafar Khān's original name was Ahsanullāh Khān *Ahsan*. *Zafar Khān* was the title conferred on him by Shāh Jahān on account of his triumphant courage and coolness. He succeeded I'tiqād Khān. In reality, Ahsanullāh's father, Abu'l Hasan Turbatī, was nominated to the governorship. He was, however, too infirm and aged to assume the onerous duties of office in person. The son deputized for the father. Zafar's excellent administration won the Emperor's approbation and he was confirmed in his post.

The final conquest of Tibet was effected by Zafar Khān. Its brief detail is this. Chaks were given asylum in Little Tibet (Baltistān). Jahāngīr's Sūbadār of Kashmīr, Hāshim Khān, son of Qāsim Khān *Mīr Bahr*, attempted to reduce 'Alī Rāi *Marzbān* (Warden of the Marches) of Skārdu to submission but failed. In Shāh Jahān's time, Abdāl, 'Alī Rāi's son, gave protection to Habīb Chak and Ahmad Chak. Zafar Khān, therefore, persuaded Abdāl to acknowledge Mughul sovereignty and to read the *Khutba* in Shāh Jahān's name in 1634. But Abdāl, within the next two years, repudiated his submission. Shāh Jahān ordered Zafar Khān to subjugate Little Tibet. With 2,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, Zafar Khān forced Abdāl to resume submission and to pay an indemnity of one million rupees. In the course of the fight, Abdāl's son, Daulat, a lad of fifteen, showed considerable pluck in sallying out of his fort at Shakar on the other side of the Nīl-āb or the Indus, in Little Tibet, but was driven back by Mīr Fakhr-ud-Dīn of the Mughul army. Daulat, on being overwhelmed, escaped with his father's cash and jewellery. Zafar Khān, however, brought Abdāl and the families of Habīb Chak and Ahmad Chak to Kashmīr and left Muhammad Murād, Abdāl's *Vakīl*, in charge of the country.

Zafar is chiefly remembered for the removal of

hardships which I'tiqād Khān[1] had imposed upon the people of Kashmīr, and which were beautifully brought to the notice of Shāh Jahān by a Kashmīrī poet in a striking and significant poem in honour of the Emperor's birthday :—

خُسروا' دانش پژوها' داورا' دین پرورا

اهلِ کشمیر اند در دیوانِ عدالت داد خواه

زعفران گُویند خندان سازد اندُهناک را

آمدند از زعفران در گریه جمعے بیگناه

The poet, in the first couplet, addresses the Emperor saying that 'We have a plaint in Your Majesty's Court.' In the second couplet the poet says that saffron causes the sad and the sorry to laugh, but here innocent people are made to weep on account of saffron !

To this effect, Zafar, therefore, obtained a *farmān* from Shāh Jahān which was engraved on a stone and put into the masonry of the gate of the Jāmi' Masjid in Srīnagar and is there still. The translation[2] of this *farmān* is :

GOD IS GREAT

Shāh Jahān the King, Defender of the Faith.

Copy of the auspicious order of His Majesty; Solomon-like in dignity, Sāhib Qirān the Second (or 'Lord of the Conjunction), which was recorded on the 7th of Isfandār-maz (February) Ilāhī, (or according to Akbar's calendar), at the request of the humblest of dependants who is known by the name of Zafar Khān, with reference to the removal of the wrongs done in the time of former Sūbadārs in beautiful Kashmīr, and were the cause of the misery of the subjects and inhabitants of these regions.

Since all our exalted desire is turned to the contentedness of the people, we gave the order for the repeal of some Acts

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1. I'tiqād Khān Mīrzā Shāhpūr was the son of I'timād-ud-Daula and the brother of Āsaf Khān and of Nūr Jahān. In the 17th year of Jahāngīr's reign, he was appointed to the governorship of Kashmīr. Habīb Chak and Ahmad Chak revolted and created trouble, but were forced to flee to Tibet. I'tiqād died at Āgra in 1060 A.H. (1650 A.C.).

2. Modified from the English translation by (1) Rev. I. Loewenthal, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1865, Volume XXXIII, No. 3, 1864, pages 288–90, and by (2) Sir Jivanjī Jamshedjī Modī, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, 1926 Volume II, pages 199-202.

which in the beautiful country of Kashmir became a cause of distress to the inhabitants of the land. Of the number of those matters one is that, at the time of collecting the saffron, men used to be impressed for this work without any wages except a little salt, and the people have suffered much distress. We ordered that no man should, by any means, be molested as to gathering the saffron. And as to saffron grown on crown lands, the labourers must be satisfied and receive proper wages. And whatever grows on lands granted in Jagir, let the whole saffron in kind be delivered to the Jagirdar that he may gather it as he likes. Another grievance is that in the time of some of the Subadars of Kashmir they used to levy two *dam* for wood (fuel) on each *kharwar* of rice, and during the government of I'tiqad Khan four *dam* for the same purpose were levied on each *kharwar*. Since on this account also the people were much distressed, we ruled that the people should be entirely relieved of this tax, and nothing should be taken on account of wood (fuel). Another grievance is that a village whose rental was more than 400 *kharwar* of *shali*, was obliged to furnish to the authorities of the place two sheep annually. I'tiqad Khan, during his rule, took 66 *dam* in place of each sheep. Since on this account also the people were much annoyed, we gave strict order that it should cease; neither should the sheep be taken nor money in their place; the people shall be held excused from paying this impost. Moreover, I'tiqad Khan, during his incumbency, levied a summary poll-tax of 75 *dam* on each boatman whether a young or an old man or a boy, whilst it was the established custom formerly to levy 60 *dam* on a young man, 12 on an old man, and 36 *dam* on a boy. We ordered that the former custom should be re-established, that the wrong done by I'tiqad Khan be redressed, and that people should not act in accordance with it. Another grievance is that the Subadars, in the fruit season, plalced their own men in each garden, large and small, which appeared to contain good fruit, to watch the fruit for themselves and did not allow the owners of those gardens to use the fruit; hence much loss was caused to these people, so that some of these men have destroyed the fruit trees. We ordered that no Subadar should lay an embargo on the fruit of the orchard or garden of any one. It is proper that noble governors and competent collectors and the officials of this and future times in the province of Kashmir should consider these orders as lasting and enternal, nor should they admit any change or alteration in these regulations. Who-

ever admits any change or alterations, will fall under the curse of God, and the anger of the King.—Written on the 26th (March) Āzar Ilāhī, (or according to Akbar's calendar).

Ahsanullāh Khān planted several gardens to add to the beauty of the country. He also introduced varieties of new fruits and flowers in Kashmīr. He was a talented person and patronized Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī *Sā'ib* of Isfahān, who afterwards became the poet-laureate of Īrān whence he wrote to Zafar Khān—

دُور دستان را به احسان یاد کردن همّت است

ورنه هر نخلے بپاے خُود ثمر می افگند

and received a reward of five thousand rupees from him. Zafar, too, was grateful to Sā'ib for literary advice—

طرزِ یاران پیشِ احسن بعد ازیں مقبُول نیست

تازه گُوئیهائے اُو از فیضِ طبع صائب است

Zafar Khān has himself left behind a *Masnavī* called the *Haft Manzil* in praise of Kashmīr, which he presented to Shāh Jahān on his third visit at the picturesque waterfall of Ahrabal, Tahsīl Kulgām. In one place, in his *Masnavī*, Zafar Khān says :—

الٰهی تا بُود کشمیر آباد ز گلزارِ خُراسانم مده یاد

بهرکس هرچه خواهد بےسخن ده مرا کشمیر و بُلبل را چمن ده

[While Kashmīr lasts, O God !
Remind not me of the Garden
Of my Khurāsān.
To each man grant his wish—
To the nightingale the garden
And to me Kashmīr !]

Zafar Khān's two other *Masnavīs* are also known. One is *Jalwa-i-Nāz* and the other is *Maikhāna-i-Rāz*. The reason why the *Jalwa-i-Nāz* is so named is—

از آن نامش نهادم جلوهٔ ناز که کرده دفترِ حُسنِ بُتان باز

The *Maikhāna-i-Rāz* has—

به شش ماه این نُسخه منظوم گشت   به میخانهٔ راز موسُوم گشت

The *Ahsan-ul-Hikāyāt*, a collection of thirty-one anecdotes by Hāfiz Muhammad Rizā, was written in Kashmīr during *Ahsan's* régime. Zafar Khān's son, Muhammad Tāhir *Āshnā*, whose title was 'Ināyat Khān, held the office of the Dārūgha-i-Kutub-Khāna or Keeper of the Imperial Library. Āshnā was a poet and also wrote the *Mulakhkhas*, a history of the first thirty years of the reign of Shāh Jahān. It was Zafar Khān's patronage of poetry and learning that Abū Tālib *Kalīm* wrote in his *Pādshāh-nāma*—

ظفرخان' ز فتح و ظفر شادمان   به کشمیر از مملکت شُد روان

making a reference to Zafar Khān's expedition for the conquest of Tibet in 1046-47 A.H.=1636-37 A.C.

[**Zafar Khan "Ahsan."**—Perhaps a short note on Zafar Khān is needed here. Khwāja Mīrzā Ahsanullāh's *takhallus* was *Ahsan*. He was the son of Khwāja Abu'l Hasan Turbatī (*i.e.* of Turbat-i-Haidarī, a town south of Mashhad in Khurāsān, Īrān). Khwāja Abu'l Hasan was at one time the Adviser of Prince Dāniyāl, and the Dīwān of the Deccan, and later Mīr Bakhshī, and had the title of Rukn-us-Saltanat. In the 19th year of Jahāngīr's reign, 1033 A.H. (1623 A.C.), Ahsanullāh was appointed Governor of Kābul, and received the title of *Zafar Khān* or the 'Lord of Victory' with the *mansab* of 1,500 which was subsequently raised to 2,500.

In the fifth year of Shāh Jahān's reign, 1041 A.H. (1631 A.C.), he was deputed to Kashmīr as the lieutenant of his father who was nominated to the governorship of Kashmīr. This position, according to the Bānkipur *Catalogue* (Vol. III, p. 117), Ahsanullāh held to the twenty-sixth year of Shāh Jahān's reign, after which he was transferred to Taṭṭah. But Zafar Khān was really the lieutenant of his father for one year, and twice governor of Kashmīr, first in 1042 A.H. (1632 A.C.), for seven years, and the second time in 1052 A.H. (1642 A.C.), for four years as supported by the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā'* of Shāh Nawāz Khān (pp. 757-59).

Ahsanullāh was dwarfish but very keen and quick-witted. His father was a staunch Sunnī, but he himself was a zealous Shī'a. Ahsanullāh married Buzurg Khānam and had a son, Mīrzā Muhammad Tāhir *Āshnā*, who was given the title of *'Ināyat Khān*, as noted above.

Ahsanullāh died in 1073 A.H. (1662 A.C.), at Lāhore, and was buried near the grave of his father in Mughulpura. 'Ināyat Khān died in 1081 A.H. (or 1670 A.C.) in Kashmīr. Mīrzā Khurshīd was the brother of Ahsanullāh.]

Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd of Bukhārā came to Kashmīr during Zafar Khān's régime, and gave impetus to the Naqshbandī *tarīq* when the poet Mashrabī wrote—

هست جائے شادمانی ز آنکہ در کشمیریاں

قُطبِ حق، پیرِ خلائق، مُرشدِ دوران رسید

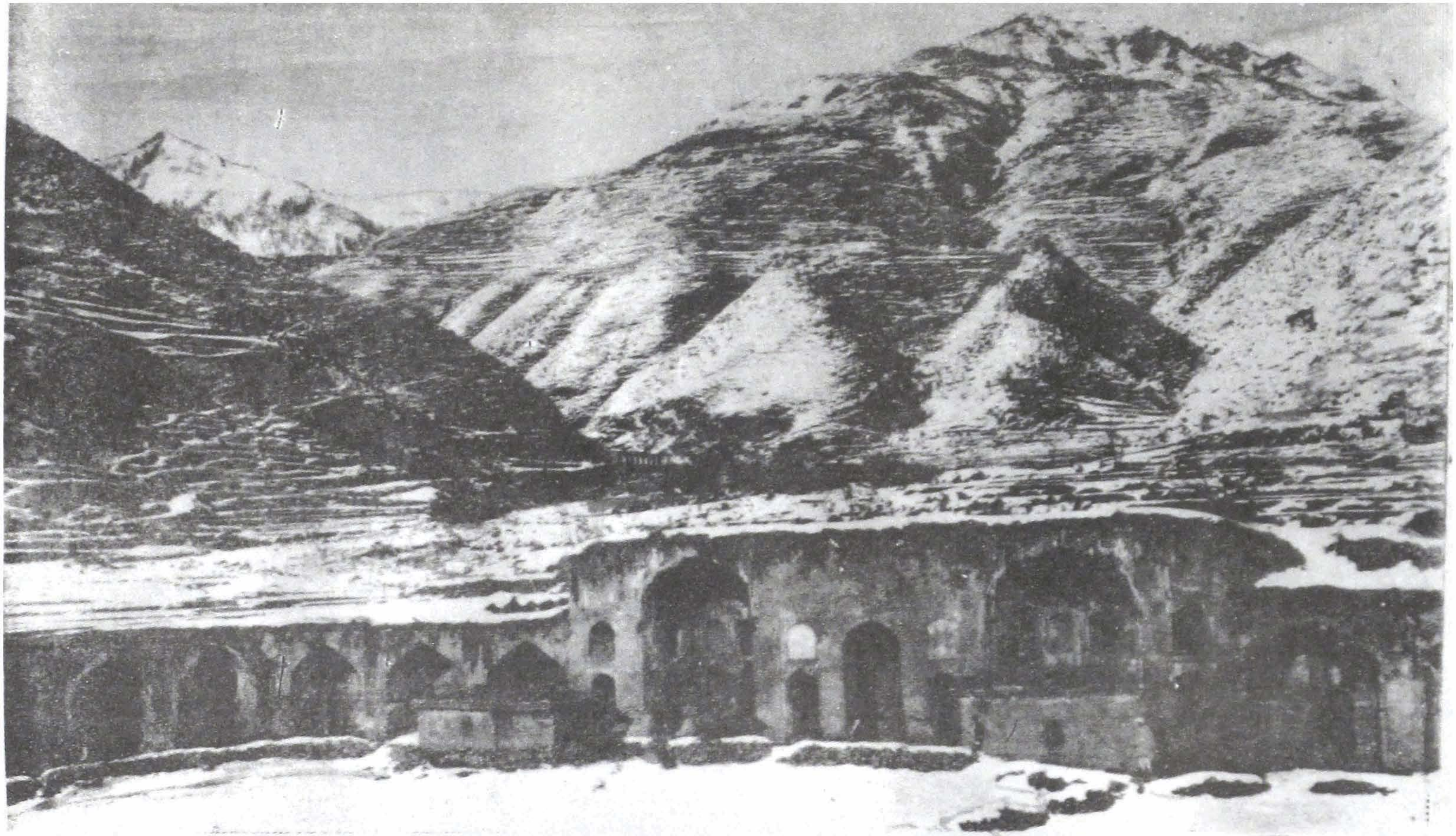
خواجۂ والاگُہر خاوند محمود، آنکہ فیض

از وجودش ظاهر و باطن بہ مُشتاقان رسید

Ibrāhīm Khān who became afterwards known as 'Alī Mardān Khān was originally an Īrānian. He is said to have come by a treasure at Qandahār, but not willing to surrender it to his master, the Shāh of Īrān, sought Shāh Jahān's protection. 'Alī Mardān was just and generous. So lavishly did he spend his money that even Shāh Jahān was astonished. 'Alī Mardān was thus, no doubt, popularly credited with the possession of the philosophers' stone. As Lawrence[1] notes, it was believed that through this stone he was enabled to build splendid *serāis* on the Pīr Panjāl route to India. Pandit Mahādev was the secretary employed by 'Alī Mardān Khān during his second tenure of office. Pandit Mahādev also profited by his master's generosity considerably.

Besides planting gardens, 'Alī Mardān raised a number of serāis or inns, and also repaired the Hūrapōr road. Notwithstanding his tendency to a life of ease, he was generally solicitous of the welfare of the country. The Emperor, too, was no less keenly interested in the material advancement and well-being of the people of Kashmīr. And when a severe famine broke out in the days of Tarbīyat Khān, the Emperor appointed capable officers to organize relief measures. Tarbīyat Khān, being unable to cope with the task, he was removed. Corn was exported from Lāhore, Jullundur, Siālkōt, Kalānaur, and other districts of the Punjāb, to be distributed free among the sufferers. All the queens and princes voluntarily contributed towards the relief fund started for the purpose. During the régime of Lashkar Khān, the last governor under Shāh Jahān, the country, however, enjoyed such a spell of prosperity that a bag of *shālī* or unhusked rice could be had for a fowl.[2]

1. *The Valley of Kashmīr*, page 195.
2. *The Tā'rīkh-i-Khalīl*, folio 192.



The Mughul Sarāi at Thanna (in the Rajauri Tahsil, Riāsī District) on the old Mughul route to Kashmīr.

Tavernier was not, therefore, wrong when he said that Shāh Jahān "reigned not so much as a King over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family and children."

A galaxy of famous poets.

Both under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, Kashmīr shone with a galaxy of famous poets like Kalīm,[1] Qudsī,[2] Aujī,[3] Tughrā,[4] Mīr Ilahī,[5] Nadīm,[6] Fasīhī,[7] Fahmī,[8] and Khwāja Mūmin.[9] Their verses are often quoted by lexicographers. Some of the poets were, of course, of Persian origin; but they loved Kashmīr more than their own native land, and there lived their lives. Zafar Khān,[10] in the preface of his *Dīvān*, particularly mentions the names of Maulānā Haidar Muhammad, Muhammad Muqīm Jauharī, Qāzī Muhammad Qāsim better known as Qāzī-zādah as distinguished poets of his time in Kashmīr. The presence of so many men of culture and learning contributed to the intellectual attainments of this country in literature and *belles lettres*.

Aurangzib 'Ālamgir

Unlike his predecessors, Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr visited Kashmīr only once. He became seriously ill in the summer of 1664 A.C., and came to Kashmīr in the following months to restore his health. Princess Raushan Ārā accompanied the Emperor. Bernier arrived in the Valley early in 1665 A.C. His *Travels* give a graphic account of this royal visit. The Emperor's experience of the journey was not, however, a happy one. The passage of the Chināb river was a scene of confusion. Again, in the Pīr Panjāl Pass, an elephant carrying the ladies stepped back and forced fifteen animals behind him over the precipice. Three or four women were killed. Some elephants rolled down to the bottom of a *khad* or ravine. A number of men were injured rather seriously. Jān Muhammad *Qudsī*, the poet, was not wrong, therefore, when he said:

رہے پیچیدہ تر از موے زنگی   بہ تندی چون دم تیغ فرنگی

[The road is more tortuous than the curl of a blackmoor's hair; in sharpness it is like the sword of the Firangī.]

1. Of Hamadān; 2. Of Mashhad. 3. Of Kashmīr.
4. Of Mashhad. 5. Of Asadābād near Hamadān.
6. Of Kashmīr. 7. Of Herāt. 8. Of Kashmīr.
9. Of Kashmīr. 10. The Bānkipur *Catalogue*, Vol. III, page 118.

'Āqil Khān has, as it were, replied to it:

بے رنج مُحال است بہ فردوس رسیدن

هموارئی رہ گُلشنِ کشمیر ندارد

Nawwāb Zafar Khān *Ahsan* says—

مرا اندیشهٔ راهیست جانکاه کہ آنجا خضری هم گُم‌کُند راہ

بهم پیچیدہ میگردد چُو مکتُوب دریں رہ عُمرِ خضر و صبرِ ایّوب

The progress to Kashmīr of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr did not obstruct* the necessary business of the state. Attended by all his officers, the decisions of each department were carried from the camp to every corner of the Empire. Expresses stood ready on horseback at every stage: and the imperial mandates were dispatched to the various provinces as soon as they were sealed in the Tent of Audience. The nobles, as was customary in the capital, attended daily the Presence: and appeals were discussed every morning as regularly as when the Emperor remained at Delhi. The petitioners followed the court; and a small allowance from the public treasury was assigned to them as a compensation for their additional expense in attending the imperial camp. In this manner, Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr arrived in Kashmīr.

The beauty, the cool and salubrious air of the country induced 'Ālamgīr to relax his mind for a short time from business. He wandered over the Valley after a variety of pleasure; and soon recovered that vigour of constitution which his attention to public business as well as his late sickness had greatly impaired. Here Dr. Bernier (on Rs. 300 per month in the service of Dānish-mand Khān, the Emperor's Foreign Minister) attended on 'Ālamgīr and helped him in the restoration of his health. The summer Bernier visited Kashmīr, Fidāī Khān, grandmaster of the artillery, 'Ālamgīr's trusted foster-brother, was stationed as a guard below the pass at Bhimbar until the heat was over and the Emperor returned.

"Aurangzīb, to whom business was amusement, added the most extensive knowledge of the affairs of the empire

*Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Dow's *History of Hindostan*, London, 1772, Vol. III, pages 354-55.

to an unremitting application," wrote Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Dow* in 1772 A.C., 65 years after Aurangzīb's death. "He made himself minutely acquainted with the revenue paid by every district, with the mode of proceeding in the inferior courts, and even with the character and disposition of several judges. He ordered the register of the rents to be left open for the inspection of all, that the people might distinguish extortion from the just demands of the Crown. He commanded that men versed in the usages of the several courts, in the precepts of the Coran, and in the regulations established by edict, should attend at the public expense, and give their opinion to the poor in matters of litigation. He established a mode of appeal beyond certain sums: and he disgraced judges for an error in judgment and punished them severely for corruption and partiality. His activity kept the great machine of Government in motion through all its members: his penetrating eye followed oppression to its most secret retreats and his stern justice established tranquillity, and secured property over all his extensive dominions."

The number of governors, appointed by Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, was fourteen, of whom Ibrāhīm Khān held the appointment thrice, while Saif Khān was sent twice. It was in the time of Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of 'Alī Mardān Khān, that the poet Mīrzā Dārāb *Jūyā*, born in Kashmīr, flourished. In Jūyā's *Dīvān*, the *ghazals* open with—

اِلهی ره نُما سُوئے خُود این مدهُوشِ غافل را

زردت جامه زیبِ داغ چُوں طاؤس کُن دل، را

In spite of pressure of work and personal attention devoted by the Emperor to all departments of the state, he was earnestly concerned in the welfare of this province. 'Ālamgīr's remark کشمیری درین صُوبه نیست که مُقرر کُنیم [There is no Kashmīrī in this province whom I may appoint] in the *Ruqa'āt-i-'Ālamgīrī*, page 95, must be a reason for pride to the Kashmīrī coming, as the remark does, from an exacting hard taskmaster of the high standard of 'Ālamgīr. Nothing escaped 'Ālamgīr's vigilant eye. And he did not hesitate to introduce effective measures to improve the condition of the people. Ibrāhīm Khān was twice removed

*Lt.-Colonel Alexander Dow's *History of Hindostan*, London, 1772. Vol. III, pages xxvi-vii.

from governorship for backing the Shī'as in sectarian feuds. Similarly, Muzaffar Khān paid dearly for his imposition of heavy taxes. Hence it cannot be said that Mughul Sūbadārs had a free hand in Kashmīr. The subjects were treated mildly and justly, and the Sūbadārs were, with the rare exceptions of Muzaffar Khān and Abū Nasr Khān, vigorous advocates of justice. Saif Khān caused Khwāja Muhammad Sādiq Naqshbandī to be flogged to death for inflicting like punishment on a Hindu official charged with defalcation in state accounts. Saif Khān was the brother-in-law of Shāh Jahān, their wives being sisters. He acted as governor twice. Qivām-ud-Dīn Khān is famous for his invention of the *Takhtah Kulāh* or *Kulāh-i-Takhtah* 'the Wooden Cap,' presumably on the analogy of the *Fool's Cap,* for criminals.

I'timād Khān, Iftikhār Khān, Hifzullāh Khān, Islām Khān and Fāzil Khān, governors one after the other, acted in an impartial manner and did their best in personally dealing out justice, and in looking after the people. Saif Khān, in his second term of office, held the census of the Valley about 1670 A.C. According to Hasan, this census showed the population of Kashmīr to consist of 12,43,033 souls including 90,400 infantry and 4,812 cavalry. No authority is quoted and no details are forthcoming and no comment can, therefore, be offered. Possibly this census may have been on the lines of the census of the Mughul Empire of India during Akbar's reign in 989 A.H.=1581 A.C. The Mughul governors also tried to improve the general appearance of the country and its towns by laying out gardens, erecting mosques, building rest-houses, populating villages. A jāgīrdār of the time, Chaudhrī Mahēsh Pandit's garden is mentioned as a model of beauty and taste. These governors relieved the agriculturist class of the heavy taxes imposed by preceding governors. Fāzil Khān is associated with a well-known Madrasah. It was in his time that the Sacred Hair of the Prophet was brought to Kashmīr by Khwāja Nūr-ud-Dīn Ishbarī. Fāzil Khān recommended Kashmīrīs for *mansabs* and the Emperor approved of his recommendations. Khwāja 'Ināyatullāh was, perhaps, the first of the Kashmīrī Mansabdārs. He rose to the rank of 4,000 and was made Imperial Revenue Minister in 1717 in Farrukh Siyar's time.

Fire, famine, earthquake and flood, each occurring at intervals, inflicted on the people considerable hardships

including loss of property. In those days, it was difficult adequately to cope with these calamities in the nick of time. Nevertheless, steps were promptly taken to alleviate misery whenever it was possible to do so. After the Kāwdora[1] fire, Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr sent Ibrāhīm Khān with urgent and explicit orders to help the people re-build their houses and to furnish a report on the progress of the measures taken. It was only after the houses had been re-built, that an effort was made to re-construct the Jāmi' Masjid, which had also perished in the fire.

Sectarian fights between the Shī'as and Sunnīs were not uncommon in those days. As a matter of fact, it is a mistake to judge the happenings of those times from the present-day point of view. Europe itself was passing through the ordeal of the Reformation. Religious feelings were bitter everywhere. It was particularly so in Kashmīr where Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī's successful propagation of Shī'ite doctrines had proved fruitful. The minds of both Shī'as and Sunnīs were, therefore, in a state of frenzy. Moreover, as fresh converts the Shī'as must have been very zealous, at times, fanatical. The Chaks, who were Shī'as by faith, had lost their domination only recently. The aggrieved minds of the Shī'as looked upon this fact both as personal and religious grievance. It is, therefore, not surprising that riots and disturbances between the Shī'as and the Sunnīs were not unusual.

Regarding external affairs touching Kashmīr, there are several deserving notice. For instance, the Qalmuqs,[2] invaded Tibet Kalān (major). Daldal Namjal, the ruler of Tibet Kalān, himself being unable to defend the country, sought help from the Emperor of Delhi. Consequently, Fidāī Khān was ordered by Ibrāhīm Khān, the then governor, to drive out the Qalmuqs. This was successfully done. But, later, when the ruler of that country rebelled, he was chastised by Saif Khān. Subsequently, he embraced Islam,

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1. Kāwdora is the name of a big *mahalla* or ward near the shrine of Makhdūm Sāhib in Srīnagar.

2. Qalmuq, Qalmaq or Qalmiq is the Turkish name for a Mongol people. In the 16th century, under the name of Oriat (Confederation) they roamed about a vast region in Central Asia between the Altai and Tian-Shan, and the Desert of Gobi and Lake Balkhash and the Caspian. For ferocity they are called قلمقِ بد مخلُوق or Qalmuqs of evil creation. The Qalmuqs followed Buddhism in contrast to the Dungans —speaking Chinese, who adopted Islam.

and returned to Tibet where he built a grand mosque. Similarly, the rājā of Rajaurī became a convert to Islam after his defeat, when his kingdom was restored to him in the third tenure of Ibrāhīm Khān's governorship. The rājā of Jammu broke out into open revolt, and was reduced to submission by Hifzullāh Khān who had succeeded Ibrāhīm Khān in 1686 A. C.

'Abdullāh Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar, passed through Kashmīr about 1667-8 A.C., on his way for a pilgrimage to Mecca. According to one version, he had to hand over his kingdom involuntarily to his son Nawāzish Khān. 'Abdullāh Khān was received and entertained in a royal manner by Mubāriz Khān the governor, the successor of Saif Khān. And when, very much later, Arsalān Khān, 'Abdullāh Khān's nephew, came to Kashmīr for help against his own son, the matter was referred to 'Ālamgīr by Ibrāhīm Khān, the governor of Kashmīr during 1701 to 1706 A.C. On receipt of orders, Ibrāhīm Khān communicated the Emperor's wishes to the fugitive prince, asking him to seek help from the governor of Kābul. As a matter of fact, 'Ālamgīr had the intention of conquering Kāshghar, but he was dissuaded from entering upon the campaign. Kashmīr, this shows, was at that time a strong outpost of the Mughul Empire.

Lalla Rookh.

At the mention of 'Abdullāh Khān of Kāshghar, the reader may not resist the temptation of regaling himself with an intriguing reference to the celebrated poem of Thomas Moore known as *Lalla Rookh* (*Lāla Rukh* or Tulip Cheek), though the hero and the heroine and their parentage and marriage are all purely imaginary. Says Moore ;*

*Thomas Moore (May 1779 A.C.—February 1852) was an Irish poet and musician. In 1798 Moore graduated, and in the next year left for England to keep his terms at the Middle Temple. He was a social success in London. But his social successes involved him in expenses far beyond his means. His publishers advanced him money which relieved him of his debts. In 1814 Moore contracted with the firm of Longmans for 3,000 guineas to supply a metrical romance on an Eastern subject. Moore retired to a cottage in the neighbourhood of Donington Park, where with the help of Lord Moira's library he read himself slowly into familiarity with Eastern scenery and manners. According to Florence Parbury, (the author of *The Emerald Set with Pearls*, vide its *Notes*), "the particulars of the visit of the king of Bucharia to Aurangzib are found in Lt.-Col.

"In the eleventh year of the reign of Aurangzebe, Abdalia, King of Lesser Bucharia, a lineal descendant from

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Alexander Dow's *History of Hindostan*, London, 1803, Volume III, pages 418-19. I reproduce it below for the information of the reader :—

"An opportunity offered itself to his (Aurangzīb's) magnificence and generosity in the beginning of the eleventh year of his reign. Abdalla, king of the Lesser Bucharia, lineally descended from the great Zingis, having abdicated the throne to his son Aliris, advanced into Tibet, in his way to Mecca. He sent a message to Aurangzebe, requesting a permission for himself and his retinue to pass through India. The emperor ordered the governor of Cashmire to receive the royal pilgrim with all imaginable pomp, and to supply him with every article of luxury and convenience at the public expense. The governors of districts were commanded to attend Abdalla from province to province, with all their followers. The troops, in every place through which he was to pass, were directed to pay him all military honours; and in this manner he advanced to Delhi and was received by the Emperor at the gates of the city. Having remained seven months in the capital, he was conducted with the same pomp and magnificence to Sūrat where he embarked for Arabia."

The *Lalla Rookh* was published in 1817. It was an immediate success. Moore's fame speedily became European. "No poem of the time was more translated into foreign languages." But the poets of Moore's own day, who knew and liked Moore, never cared for *Lalla Rookh*. Leigh Hunt condemned it as "too florid in its general style." Moore was an amatory poet and he made successes by writing about love.

The story of "the Feast of Roses at Cashmere" is "most lavishly decorated." "*Lalla Rookh* is a work of very secondary merit and retains its place in literature mainly as an example of an extinct taste," says Stephen Gwynn in *Thomas Moore* (English Men of Letters, 1905, page 90).

"Kashmīr is a dream of loveliness" says Florence Parbury. "The marvel lies in that Moore should have described so clearly and accurately a land he never visited." (*The Emerald Set with Pearls* by Florence Parbury.—Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd., London.)

"No poem has ever had greater popularity than *Lalla Rookh* for it has been translated into all European and most Eastern languages, while Rubinstein, Schusnann, Felicia David, Sir Sterndale Bennette and many others have composed operas based upon parts of its romance."

"The greatest tribute to Moore's genius was the splendid entertainment given in the apartments of Frederick I, at the visit of the Grand Duke Nicholas in 1822. The different stories were represented in tableaux, vivants, songs and dances and all the characters were impersonated by members of the Royal House and Court."

At the close of the gorgeous pageant, the Empress of Russia who had herself played the part of "Lalla Rookh" exclaimed with a sigh : "Is it then all over ? Is there no poet who will impart to others and to future times some notion of the happiness we have enjoyed this evening ?"

Upon this Baron de la Motte Fouque promised to attempt it. It was from this grand fête that the translation of *Lalla Rookh* into German by Fouque originated. The French dancer, Jules Joseph Perrot, used *Lalla Rookh*, in 1846, in his shows in London, Paris and Milan.

the Great Zingis, having abdicated the throne in favour of his son, set out on a pilgrimage to the Shrine of the Prophet; and, passing into India through the delightful valley of Cashmere, rested for a short time at Delhi on his way. He was entertained by Aurungzebe in a style of magnificent hospitality, worthy alike of the visitor and the host, and was afterwards escorted with the same splendour to Surat, where he embarked for Arabia. During the stay of the Royal Pilgrim at Delhi, a marriage was agreed upon between the Prince, his son, and the youngest daughter of the Emperor, Lalla Rookh*—a Princess described by the

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**The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (compiled and edited by Sir Paul Harvey, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1937, page 439) will accordingly be read with interest :—

We have written about Moore and the background of his *Lalla Rookh.* Now a word about *Lalla Rookh* the book itself.

Lalla Rookh, a series of oriental tales in verse, connected together by a story in prose, by Thomas Moore was published in 1817.

The prose-story relates the journey of *Lalla Rookh*, the daughter of the Emperor Aurungzebe, from Delhi to Cashmere, to be married to the young King of Bucharia. On the way, she and her train are diverted by four tales told by Feramorz, a young Cashmerian poet, with whom she falls in love, and who turns out, on her arrival at her destination, to be the king of Bucharia himself. An element of humour is introduced by the self-important chamberlain, Fadladeen. A series of accidents on the way has thrown him into a bad temper, which he vents in pungent criticisms on the young man's verses (in the style of the 'Edinburgh' reviewers), and he is correspondingly discomfited on discovering the latter's identity. The four tales are as follows :

The Veiled Prophet of Khorasan. The beautiful Zelica, half demented by the loss of Azim, her lover, supposed dead, is lured into the harem of Mokanna, a repulsive impostor who poses as a prophet, on the promise of admission to paradise. Azim, returning from the wars, finds Zelica wedded to Mokanna, and joins the army of the Caliph, on its way to punish the blasphemy of Mokanna. The latter is defeated, throws himself into a vat of corrosive poison, and dies. Zelica, seeking death, puts on his veils, and being mistaken for the prophet, is killed by Azim and dies in his arms.

Paradise and Peri.—A peri, one of 'those beautiful spirits of the air who live on perfumes,' offspring of fallen angels, is promised admission to paradise if she will bring to the gate the gift that is most dear to heaven. She brings first a drop of the blood of a youthful warrior who dies to free India from the tyrant Mahmood of Gazna, but it fails to open the gate. Then the expiring sigh of an Egyptian maiden who dies from grief at the loss of her plague-stricken lover ; this is equally unavailing. Lastly, the repentant tear wrung from a criminal by his child's prayer to God, and this opens the gate.

The Fire-Worshippers, a tale of the Ghebers or Persians of the old religion, who maintained their resistance against the conquering Moslems. Hafed, a young Gheber, falls in love with Hinda, daughter of the Emir

poets of her time as more beautiful than Leila, Shirine, Dewildé,* or any of those heroines whose names and loves embellish the songs of Persia and Hindostan. It was intended that the nuptials should be celebrated at Cashmere where the young king, as soon as the cares of the Empire would permit, was to meet, for the first time, his lovely bride, and, after a few months' repose in that enchanting valley, conduct her over the snowy hills into Bucharia.

"The date of Lalla Rookh's departure from Delhi was as splendid as sunshine and pageantry could make it. The bazaars and baths were all covered with the richest tapestry; hundreds of gilded barges upon the Jumna floated with their banners shining in the water; while through the streets groups of beautiful children went strewing the most delicious flowers around, as in that Persian festival called the Scattering of the Roses: till every part of the city was as fragrant as if a caravan of musk from Khoten had passed through it. The Princess, having taken leave of her kind father, who, at parting, hung a cornelian of Yemen round her neck, on which was ascribed a verse from the Koran, and having sent a considerable present to the Fakirs, who kept up the Perpetual Lamp in her sister's tomb, meekly ascended the palankeen prepared for her: and, while Aurangzebe stood to take a last look from his balcony, the procession moved slowly on the road to Lahore.

"Seldom had the Eastern world seen a cavalcade so superb. From the gardens in the suburbs to the Imperial Palace, it was one unbroken line of splendour. The gallant appearance of the Rajahs and Mogul Lords distinguished by those insignia of the Emperor's favour, the feathers of the egret of Cashmere in their turbans, and the small silver-rimmed kettle-drums at the bows of their saddles; the costly armour of their cavaliers, who vied, on this occasion,

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Al Hassan, who has been sent from Arabia to quell this resistance. Hafed scales the rocks on which her bower stands, and wins her love. Presently Hinda is captured by the Ghebers and discovers that her lover is their chief. The Ghebers are betrayed to Al Hassan, and Hafed throws himself on a funeral pyre. Hinda leaps from the boat on which she is being carried back to her father and is drowned.

The Light of the Harem, a story of Nourmahal, the beloved wife of Selim, son of the Great Akbar. The Feast of Roses is being celebrated in the Vale of Cashmere, but Nourmahal has quarrelled with her husband. Namouna, the enchantress, teaches her magic song, which Nourmahal sings, masked at Selim's banquet, and thus wins back his love.

*Dewal Devī.

with the guards of the great Keder Khān,* in the brightness of their silver battle-axes and the massiness of their maces of gold;—the glittering of the gilt pine-apples (a large golden knob) on the tops of the palankeens;—the embroidered trappings of the elephants bearing on their backs small turrets, in the shape of little antique temples, within which the Ladies of Lalla Rookh lay as it were enshrined: the rose coloured veils of the Princess's own sumptuous litter, at the front of which a fair young female slave sat fanning her through the curtains, with feathers of the Argus pheasant's wing;—and the lovely troops of Tartarian and Cashmerian maids of honour, whom the young King had sent to accompany his bride, and who rode on each side of the litter, upon small Arabian horses:—all was brilliant, tasteful, and magnificent, and pleased even the critical and fastidicus *Fadladeen* (Fāzl-ud-Dīn) Great Nāzir or Chamberlain of the Haram, who was borne in his palankeen immediately after the Princess.

"During the first days of their journey, Lalla Rookh, who had passed all her life within the shadow of the Royal Gardens of Delhi, found enough in the beauty of the scenery through which they passed to interest her mind, and delight her imagination; and when at evening or in the heat of the day, they turned off from the high road to those retired and romantic places which had been selected for her encampments,—sometimes on the banks of a small rivulet, as clear as the waters of the Lake of Pearl; sometimes under the sacred shade of a Banyan tree, from which the view opened upon a glade covered with antelopes; and often in those hidden embowered spots, described by one from the Isles of the West, as "places of melancholy, delight, and safety, where all the company around was wild peacocks and turtle-doves";—she felt a charm in these scenes, so lovely and so new to her, which for a time, made her indifferent to every other amusement. But Lalla Rookh was young, and the young love variety; nor could the conversation of her Ladies and the Great Chamberlain, Fadladeen (the only person, of course, admitted to her pavilion), sufficiently enliven those many vacant hours, which were devoted neither to the pillow nor the palankeen. There was a little Persian slave who sung sweetly to the Vina, and who, now and then, lulled the Princess to sleep

*Khāqān of Turkistān at the end of the eleventh century.

with the ancient ditties of her country, about the loves of Wamak and Ezra, the fair-haired Zal and his mistress Rodahver; not forgetting the combat of Rustam with the terrible white demon. At other times she was amused by those graceful dancing girls of Delhi, who had been permitted by the Brahmins of the Great Pagoda to attend her............

"It was recollected that, among the attendants sent by the bridegroom, was a young poet of Cashmere, much celebrated throughout the valley for his manner of reciting the Stories of the East, on whom his Royal Master had conferred the privilege of being admitted to the pavilion of the Princess; that he might help to beguile the tediousness of the journey by some of his most agreeable recitals . . .

"For the purpose of relieving the pauses of recitation by music, the young Cashmerian held in his hand a kitar*—such as, in old times the Arab maids of the West used to listen to by moonlight in the gardens of the Alhambra—and having premised, with much humility, that the story he was about to relate was founded on the adventures of that Veiled Prophet of Khorasan, who in the year of the Hegira 163, created such alarm throughout the Eastern Empire . . . .

"They had now arrived at the splendid city of Lahore, whose mausoleums and shrines, magnificent and numberless, where Death seemed to share equal honours with Heaven would have powerfully affected the heart and imagination of Lalla Rookh, if feelings more of this earth had not taken entire possession of her already. She was here met by messengers, dispatched from Cashmere, who informed her that the king had arrived in the Valley, and was himself superintending the sumptuous preparations that were then making in the Saloons of the Shalimar for her reception . . . .

"They were now reposing for a time in the rich valley of Hussun Abdaul, whish had always been a favourite resting-place of the Emperors in their annual migrations to Cashmere. Here often had the Light of the Faith, Jehan-Guire, been known to wander with his beloved and beautiful Nourmahal.

"About two miles from Hussun Abdaul were those Royal Gardens which had grown beautiful under the care of

*From the Arabian قيتار meaning a guitar or lyre or harp.

so many lovely eyes, and were beautiful still, though those eyes could see them no longer. This place, with its flowers and its holy silence, interrupted only by the dipping of the wings of birds in its marble basins filled with the pure water of those hills, was to Lalla Rookh all her heart could fancy of fragrance, coolness, and almost heavenly tranquillity....

"Who has not heard of the Vale of Cashmere,
With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave.
Its temples and grottos, and fountains as clear
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their wave?
Oh! to see it at sunset,—when warm over the lake
Its splendour at parting a summer eve throws,
Like a bride, full of blushes, when lingering to take
A last look of her mirror at night ere she goes!—
When the shrines through the foliage are gleaming
half shown,

And each hallows the hour by some rites of its own..
Here the music of prayer from a minaret swells.
Here the Magian his urn, full of perfume, is swinging,
And here at the altar, a zone of sweet bells
Round the waist of some Indian dancer is ringing.
Or, to see it by moonlight,—when mellowly shines
The light over its palaces, gardens and shrines;
When the waterfall gleams, like a quick fall of stars,
And the nightingale's hymn from the Isle of Chenars
Is broken by laughs and light echoes of feet
From the cool, shining walks where the young people
meet—

Or at morn, when the magic of daylight awakes
A new wonder each minute, as slowly it breaks,
Hills, cupolas, fountains, call'd forth every one
Out of darkness, as if but just born of the Sun.
When the spirit of Fragrance is up with the day,
From his Haram of night-flowers stealing away;
And the wind, full of wantonness, woos like a lover
The young aspen-trees, till they tremble all over.
When the East is as warm as the light of first hopes,
And day with his banner of radiance unfurled
Shines in through the mountainous portal that opes,
Sublime from the valley of bliss to the world!

"But never yet, by night or day,
In dew of spring or summer's ray,
Did the sweet Valley shine so gay,
As now it shines—all love and light,
Visions by day and feasts by night!
A happier smile illumes each brow,
With quicker spread each heart uncloses.
And all is ecstasy,—for now
The Valley hold its Feast of Roses;
The joyous time, when pleasures pour
Profusely round and, in their shower,
Hearts open like the season's rose,—
The flow'ret of a hundred leaves,
(*Gul-i-Sad Barg* or the rose of a hundred leaves)
Expanding while the dew-fall flows,
And every leaf its balm receives.

'Twas when the hour of evening came
Upon the Lake, serene and cool,
When day had hid his sultry flame
Behind the palms of Baramoule,
When maids began to lift their heads,
Refreshed from their embroidered beds,
Where they had slept the sun away,
And waked to moonlight and to play.—

"Of the happiness of the King and Queen of Bucharia, after such a beginning, there can be but little doubt."

Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr did not remain in Hindustān during the second half of his reign. The Deccan engaged his attention. And there he passed away in 1707 A.C., after a long reign extending over a period of fifty years. The emperor's whole stay in Kashmīr was for three months only.

Mullā Tāhir *Ghanī*, the great poet of Kashmīr, died during the reign of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr. The ancestors of the late Sir Muhammad Iqbāl, who were Kashmīrī Brāhmans of the Saprū caste, embraced Islam in this reign.

Nawāzish Khān Rūmī, the governor-elect, was on his way to Kashmīr when he received the news of 'Ālamgīr's death. After a year, Ja'far Khān succeeded Nawāzish Khān Rūmī. Ja'far Khān proved to be a tyrant and a drunkard. He died of hard drinking after having been governor for

one year and three months. Governers and high officials on assumption of office in Kashmīr were welcomed by hereditary singers by grand receptions held in honour of such occasions. This was stopped by 'Ālamgīr. During Ja'far Khān's governorship, Qāzī Haidar, surnamed "Qāzī Khān," a Kashmīrī by birth, who held the important office of the Qāzī-'l-Quzāt or Chief Justice under 'Ālamgīr, passed away. The Qāzī's remains were interred in his own garden in the village of Bachhapōr in the Phāk pargana, on the Ḍal.

The death of 'Ālamgīr was followed by a short and sharp contest for the throne which ended in the death of two of his sons and three of his grandsons in the field. His eldest surviving son Mu'azzam Shāh 'Ālam was at Jamrūd, near Peshāwar, when on 22nd March, 1707, he heard of his father's death and set out for Āgra, crowning himself as Bahādur Shāh at the bridge of Shāh Daula, 24 miles north of Lāhore. Meantime A'zam Shāh after hastening to his father's camp at Ahmadnagar had ascended the throne on 14th March. But, in their fights, A'zam lost the day and lost his life in June. Kām Bakhsh who had crowned himself at Bījāpur was disposed of some four miles outside Hydarābād, Deccan, on January 13, 1709. Bahādur Shāh then reigned till February 1712 and died on the 27th of that month.

Later Mughuls

At the time of Bahādur Shāh's death all his four sons Jahāndār Shāh, 'Azīm-ush-Shān, Rafī'-ush-Shān and Jahān Shāh were with him at Lāhore. The brothers fought. Ultimately Jahāndār Shāh was victorious. But he gave himself up to pleasure. And in January 1713, therefore, Farrukh Siyar, the son of 'Azīm-ush-Shān, enthroned himself and ruled till 1719, when the Sayyid Brothers 'Abdullāh and Husain 'Alī intrigued. They strangled Farrukh Siyar in April 1719. Rafī'-ud-Darajāt, a youth of twenty, was set upon the throne, but was a consumptive and therefore was made to give room to his elder brother, Rafī'-ud-Daula, on 4th June, 1719. He lived within the fort almost a prisoner of the Sayyid Brothers when Raushan Akhtar, the son of Jahān Shāh (the fourth son of Bahādur Shāh), was crowned under the title of Nasīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Shāh on 28th September, 1719.

During Muhammad Shāh's time the Sayyid Brothers set up Prince Muhammad Ibrāhīm, a brother of Rafī'-ud-

Darajāt and Rafī'-ud-Daula on 14th October, 1720. A coin was actually struck in Ibrāhīm's name. But he was arrested and carried before Muhammad Shāh who received him royally, and kept him under watch and ward. Nādir Shāh, then, appeared on the scene. His invasion of India naturally weakened Mughul authority. And Delhi experienced a terrible massacre. But Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's invasion was repelled near Manupur, 10 miles north-west of Sarhind, by Prince Ahmad Shāh, the son of Muhammad Shāh, in 1748.

On the death by dropsy of Muhammad Shāh, Prince Ahmad ascended the throne of Delhi on 29th April, 1748, as Mujāhid-ud-Dīn Ahmad Shāh Bahādur. In 1751 Ahmad Shāh Durrānī demanded and obtained the cession of the Punjāb and Multān from Ahmad Shāh the Mughul ruler of Delhi. The acquisition of the Punjāb enabled the Durrānī to take Kashmīr in 1752 in the course of his third invasion of India.

The governors under Shāh 'Ālam, Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr's son, had begun to send representatives in their place to rule the country. The practice acquired considerable vogue in later years. Amānat Khān and Musharraf Khān were both representatives of Khwāja 'Ināyatullāh who had been appointed to succeed Nawāzish Khān Rūmī. Other than this, there is very little of importance to chronicle in the brief reign of Shāh 'Ālam (Bahādur Shāh I) which terminated in 1712 A.C.

The only notable incident which took place in Kashmīr at this time was the revolt of Rājā Muzaffar Khān Bamba in 1124 A.H. (1713 A.C.), and his taking possession of Darāva* and Karnāva (modern Karnāh) both fiefs of the Sūbadār of Kashmīr. 'Ināyatullāh Khān, the governor, was unable to reduce him to subjection owing to the death of the Emperor Jahāndār Shāh in 1124 A.H. This task was, however, performed by 'Alī Muhammad Khān in the reign of the next ruler, Farrukh Siyar. The same Sūbadār also punished Abu'l Fath, the zamīndār of Pūnch. But 'Alī

*The *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, folios 258-59; *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl Marjānpūrī* folio 234. Darāva is the name of a *pargana* which formed part of the possessions of the rājās of Karnāo, and until the time of Sher Ahmad, the last of the line, the inhabitants seem to have held their lands rent-free on conditions of feudal service. Darāva lies in the valley of the Kishanganga river, a tributary of the Jhelum.

Karnāv or Karnāh is now a tahsil in the Muzaffarābād district, lying north-west of Kashmīr to the south side of the Kishanganga river.

Muhammad Khān did not prove to be a good governor. He was recalled for levying unjust taxes.

Farrukh Siyar's mother, Sāhiba Niswān, was a Kashmīrian lady. Her brother Khwāja 'Ināyatullāh had the title of Shāista Khān.[1] When Farrukh Siyar's marriage to the daughter of Ajīt Singh of Jodhpur took place in 1715 A.C., Shāista Khān was sent to bring the bride from her home at Jodhpur to Delhi. 'Ināyatullāh rose to the rank of 4,000 and was made Imperial Revenue Minister in April, 1717. "He tried to purge the administration of the abuses that had recently crept into it and to restore the regulations and discipline of Aurangzīb's time."[2] This raised him a host of enemies.

Muhammad Murād Kashmīrī.

Muhammad Murād Kashmīrī rose to the status of *Haft-hazārī* and ten thousand *sowārs*, with the title of Rukn-ud-Daula I'tiqād Khān Bahādur Farrukh Shāhī, and had the *sarkār* of Morādābād as his *sūba* re-named Rukn-ābād. Muhammad Murād entered employment under Mīr Malik Husain Khān Jahān Kokaltāsh the foster-brother of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr. Later, he was attached to the camp of Shāh 'Ālam I. It was in the time of Jahāndār Shāh in 1713 A.C. that his rise began and reached its climax in that of Farrukh Siyar. Murād was second *Mīr Tūzuk* or Marshal of the Empire of Delhi. The emperor said one day to the great nobles in *darbār*: "You have heard, have you not, I'tiqād Khān is related to my exalted mother." Murād became an enemy to the intrigues of the Sayyid Brothers in his loyalty to Farrukh Siyar, and was imprisoned in Sayyid Husain 'Alī's house. On the 12th of Ramazān 1139 A.H. (2nd May, 1717 A.C.), Murād died in Delhi at the age of seventy-two.[3]

Immigration of the Nehrūs.

In Farrukh Siyar's time, Pandit Rāj Kaul, a scholar of Sanskrit and Persian, attracted the notice of the emperor during the royal visit to Kashmīr. At the emperor's instance the family of Rāj Kaul migrated to Delhi about 1716,[4] and

1. William Irvine's *Later Moghals*, Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār's edition, Vol. I, page 144 and page 304.

2. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, page 337.

3. William Irvine's *Later Moghals*, edited by Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār, Volume I, page 342.

4. *Jawaharlal Nehru—An Autobiography*, John Lane, the Bodley Head, London, Reprinted January, 1941, page 1.

later came to be known as the Nehrū family of Allāhābād and produced Pandit Motī Lāl Nehrū and his son Pandit Jawāhar Lāl Nehrū.

Muhammad Shāh.

Nasīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne of Delhi in 1719 A.C. A youth of 17, Muhammad Shāh was extremely handsome, large of limb and strong. But his sedentary life of inactivity and sexual excess soon impaired his constitution, and he became a confirmed invalid by the time he was only 40. The evil was aggravated by his taking opium, and this drug habit made him weak and emaciated till at last it became impossible for him to move from his palace. As the fires of youthful passions burnt themselves out in Muhammad Shāh, says Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār,* a deep melancholy settled on him, and towards the end of his life he loved to frequent the society of *faqīrs* and to hold long converse with them, discussing spiritual questions like an initiate. Though he neglected his public duties, "he was free from insolent pride, caprice and love of wanton cruelty. Nor did he lack consideration for others." He showed courage "when instead of fleeing to Bengāl as advised by his friends, he voluntarily went into Nādir Shāh's captivity in order to save his people and capital from the horrors of violent assault and forcible subjugation to incensed victors."

It cannot be denied that the emperor's personal character up to now had largely accounted for good administration in distant provinces. But Muhammad Shāh and his nobles abandoned themselves to a life of ease and pleasure. Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr had left a completely settled empire at his death, says Colonel Alexander Dow. Its disintegration commenced in the reign of Muhammad Shāh (1719-1748 A.C.) who is said to have once thrown an urgent report of an important conspiracy into a barrel of wine as useless bother—

ایں دفترِ بے معنی غرقِ مئے ناب اَولٰی

Muhammad Shāh did not recover from the effects of his orgy till two days after.

Muhammad Shāh, however, "never gave his consent to shedding blood or doing harm to God's creatures. In his reign the people passed their lives in ease, and the empire

*The Modern Review of Calcutta, December, 1931, page 611.

outwardly retained its dignity and prestige. The foundations of the Delhi monarchy were really rotten, but Muhammad Shāh by his cleverness kept them standing. He may be called the last of the rulers of Bābur's line, as after him the kingship had nothing but the name left to it." (*Siyar-ul-Muta'akhirīn*, 111, 25). Muhammad Shāh died in 1748, having been on the throne for 29 years.

In Muhammad Shāh's reign, the history of Kashmīr presents little else but a record of local riots and internecine struggles. Under him Kashmīr entered upon a new phase of political life in that the Sūbadārs completely abstained from ruling their provinces in person as already mentioned, and deputed trusted agents answerable to them for good conduct and administration.

Mīr 'Ināyatullāh Khān Kashmīrī.

Muhammad Shāh invested Mīr 'Ināyatullāh Khān with the governorship of Kashmīr. 'Ināyatullāh Khān was a Kashmīrī by birth, and was descended from Qāzī Mūsā Shahīd who was killed in Ya'qūb Shāh Chak's days. 'Ināyatullāh was originally Mīr 'Ināyatullāh, and later became known as Mīr 'Inayātullāh Khān. He had six sons of whom the more notable were : (*i*) the elder Hidāyatullāh known first as Vazārat Khān, then as Sa'dullāh Khān *Mīr-i-Sāmān*, and (*ii*) the younger son was 'Atīatullāh Khān who was given as title his father's name 'Ināyatullāh Khān. Mīr 'Ināyatullāh is known in Kashmīr as *Yanna Sōr* as he built the wall or *sōr* of Hazrat Makhdūm's mausoleum, *Yanna* being nicknamed from 'Ināyatullāh. His mother, Hāfiza Maryam, taught the ladies of the royal seraglio in the days of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, notably Zīb-un-Nisā. Hāfiza Maryam's mother Jān Begam, the daughter of Mullā Sharīf, Mīr 'Adl, taught the princesses in Shāh Jahān's time. Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr had such great confidence in 'Ināyatullāh's ability that he made him Vazīr-i-A'zam when Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l Mulk Madār ul-Mahāmm Ja'far Khān, the Prime Minister of the realm, was ill. 'Ināyatullāh compiled the *Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī*. All signed royal commands were collected and edited by him under the title of *Kalimāt-i-Tayyibāt*. 'Ālamgīr had a high opinion of 'Ināyatullāh's literary attainments and was impressed by his diction, style and mode of calligraphy. 'Ināyatullāh was handsome, good-natured, grave, and scrupulously honest. He was simple in his habits and loved to mix with *fuqarā'* or friars.

'Ināyatullāh[1] himself' seems to have been a conscientious man and selected his *Nā'ibs* or deputies with a view to proper government of the country.[2] His *Nā'ib*, Mīr Ahmad Khān, made honourable amends for the excesses of his predecessors by his good and equitable administration. But trouble arose from a strange quarter.

Mullā 'Abdun Nabī Muhtavī Khān or Mahbūb Khān, who was given the title of *Dīndār Khān* by his followers, had risen on account of his learning to the post of Shaikh-ul-Islam of Kashmīr in the time of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur. "Muhtavī or Mahbūb Khān Mullā 'Abdun Nabi" is mentioned in the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* (Vol. III page 761) as one of the learned men of the time and as selfish in obtaining his object under the cloak of advancing the cause of Islam. The Mullā was also a big landlord. A case of corruption by Pandit revenue clerks demanding gratification from the agents of Mullā Muhtavī brought forth from him summary orders of ostracism for the corrupt clerical caste. Pandit Majlis Rāi, Sarrāf-i-Pādshāhī or the Royal Cashier, reported these restrictions to Shāhpūr Khān, Mīr Bakhshī of Kashmīr. The Mīr Bakhshī was a Shi'a. It appears that disputes developed. And Pandits and Shi'as joined hands to oppose the Shaikh-ul-Islam. Riots ensued. Mullā Muhtavī Khān was murdered by a faction of the Shi'as. His two younger sons were also put to death.[3]

Mullā Sharaf-ul-Dīn, 'Abdun Nabī's son, stepped into the shoes of his father, and kept up trouble. Mīr Ahmad Khān, the Nā'ib of the Sūbadār Mīr 'Ināyatullāh Khān, could not control the situation and was consequently replaced. The second *Nā'ib*, 'Abdullāh Khān, also failed, and was replaced by Mūmin Khān Najm-i-Sānī, the third *Nā'ib*, who likewise failed in restraining the Shaikh-ul-Islam. Insurrections were still prevalent. 'Ināyatullāh resigned his post as Sūbadār. The Mughul Viceroy of Lāhore, 'Abdus Samad Khān Ahrārī Saif-ud-Daula Bahādur Dalīr Jang who defeated Bandā Bairāgī, and was the father of Zakarīyā Khān the governor of Lāhore during 1720-26, was appointed to fill it in 1720 A.C. 'Abdus Samad Ahrārī had 'Abdullāh Khān Deh-bīdī (originally from Deh-bīd, a village almost midway between Shīrāz and Isfahān, Irān) as his Nā'ib.

1. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl*, folio 254, also *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan* folio 265.
2. Lieutenant Newall, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, page 442.
3. The *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb* of Khāfī Khān, Calcutta, 1874, Part II, page 870.

Saif-ud-Daula proceeded from Lāhore with a large army. He took summary action against Mullā Sharaf-ud-Dīn, Shaikh-ul-Islām (the son and successor of Muhtavī Khān) who had become the leader of the insurrection after his father. Saif-ud-Daula put the Mullā to death, and hanged fifty insurgents. He also removed the restrictions imposed by the former Shaikh-ul-Islām, Mullā Muhtavī Khān, against the Pandits who had been forbidden, for a time, to use the turban, to ride, to wear the *tilak* or the vermillion mark on the forehead—somewhat paralleling the stricter and much more humiliating restrictions imposed on the Jāts and Lohānas of Brāhamanābād, the then capital of Lower Sind, by the Brāhman ruler Chack or Jajja (*History of India as told by its own Historians*—Ellist and Dowson, Vol. I, page 151). This action was so much esteemed by the Pandits that one of them sang of Saif-ud-Daula 'Abdus Samad in Kashmīrī :—

" Haqqa ! āv Samad phutrān zīn,
" Na rūd kunih Sharaf, na rūd kunih Dīn."

[Verily Samad came swiftly, and Sharaf-ud-Dīn was nowhere. *Literally*, " Sharaf-ud-Dīn came breaking the saddle, and there remained neither Sharaf (His Highness) nor Dīn (*i.e.*, nor his zeal for his faith) anywhere."]*

In 1724 A.C.=1137 A.H. 'Ināyatullāh was re-appointed governor of Kashmīr, third time but died after a few months at Delhi. Aqīdat Khān, the next governor-elect, appointed Mīr Fīrūz-ud-Dīn Nawwāb Abu'l Barakāt Khān Fīrūz Jang *Sūfī*, to give him his full subsequent title, his *Nā'ib* but he proved a failure. Āghur Khān succeeded 'Aqīdat Khān in 1727 A.C. Āghur came himself to Kashmīr, but began to oppress the people, and sent Abu'l Barakāt, who opposed him, as a prisoner to Delhi. The people became so incensed against Āghur for his oppression that they finally chased him out. He escaped to Bārāmūla where he received orders of his dismissal. Dil Dilīr Khān Pānīpatī, Fakhr-ud-Daula Bahādur, and 'Atīatullāh known as 'Ināyatullāh Khān the second, the younger son of the first Mīr 'Ināyatullāh Khān Kashmīrī, succeeded one after the other.

Abu'l Barakāt, who had been removed from the office of the Nā'ib, appeared, on release from Delhi, as the champion of popular cause in times of fires, floods, earthquakes and windstorms and helped them. He rose against the governor, 'Ināyatullāh the second, conspired with the leading

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* *The Kashmiri Pandit* by Pandit Anand Kaul Bāmizaī, page 50.

landlords of Pūnch, Muhammad Zamān and Walī Muhammad, and had the governor killed on 16th Shawwāl, 1154 A.H.=1741 A.C., at the hands of Pandit Dayā Rām, their accomplice. The Mughul Nā'ibs or deputies fought either with the neighbouring chiefs and nobles, or with their own master, as was the case of Abu'l Barakāt when he was the Nā'ib himself.

Beginning of the transfer from Mughul to Afghān rule.

Nādīr Shāh's presence in Afghānistān and his subsequent invasion of Hindustān exerted an unfavourable influence on all provinces, particularly Kashmīr, which was not far away from Afghānistān, the home of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, Kābul and Qandahār being included in the Sūbah of Kashmīr under Akbar as already noted before. When Nādir Shāh placed the crown of Hindustān on the head of Muhammad Shāh, the Emperor bowed and offered the provinces of his empire west of the river Indus from Kashmīr to Sind. Kashmīr proper, however, does not appear to have been annexed by Nādir Shāh. But the *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Mullā Khalīl Marjānpūrī and the *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan* by Pīr Hasan Shāh assert that Fakhr-ud-Daula obtained order of appointment as Sūbadār of Kashmīr in 1152 A.H.=1739 A.C. from Nādir Shāh, and ruled for forty days in Nādir's name and gave currency to Nādir's coin as well. Subsequently, however, Fakhr-ud-Daula, probably on revised orders from Delhi, accepted 'Ināyatullāh Khān the second as the Sūbadār of Muhammad Shāh and left Srīnagar.

Circumstances then combined further to unsettle authority, and caused anarchy to become rampant in Kashmīr. The situation did not improve under Ahmad Shāh who succeeded Muhammad Shāh on the throne of Delhi in 1748 A.C., a year after Nādir Shāh's death.

Such was the condition of Kashmīr when, in 1747 A.C., some of the nobles wrote to Ahmad Shah Durrānī, who had taken the place of Nādir Shāh, to annex Kashmīr. When this letter fell into the hands of Afrāsiyāb, the Mughul proconsul, these nobles broke out into open revolt, and asked Ahmad Shāh, the Mughul emperor of India, to appoint a governor. Consequently, Mīr Muqīm Kanṭh was appointed as such, as a temporary measure, but he was soon driven out by Abu'l Qāsim, the son of Abu'l Barakāt.* In 1752 A.C., when Ahmad Shāh Durrānī was at Lāhore preparing

*The *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, folio 287.

for an invasion of Hindustān, Mīr Muqim and Khwāja Zahīr Didamarī of Kashmīr craved his assistance. Thereupon, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī dispatched 'Abdullāh Khān Ishak Aqāsī with a considerable force. After some ineffectual negotiations, Abu'l Qāsim, the Mughul Nāzim, fought the Afghāns at Gunḍ-Ni'mat (near Shupiyān) for fifteen days. His commander-in-chief, Gul Khān Khaibarī, deserted him, whereupon Abu'l Qāsim, the last Mughul governor of Kashmīr, fled and was taken prisoner. The Valley of Kashmīr passed on to the Afghāns.

Summary of the benefits of Mughul Rule.

Before we turn to the Afghāns, we must sum up comments on the Mughuls. The Mughuls were generally solicitous for the welfare of the country and its people. The visits of emperors to the Valley stimulated its trade and encouraged its industries. The Mughul empire, suggests Mr. W. C. Smith,[1] was allied to the middle class, and during its most flourishing period it had middle class commerce as a secondary and very important basis of income, its primary basis being land. It appears that copper mines were worked during Jahāngīr's time in Kashmīr, and the Emperor made a grant of these mines to a private individual to be worked.[2] Jahāngīr is, perhaps, the pioneer in opening up, as it were, the tourist trade of the Valley. During the entire period of one hundred and sixty-six years, in which Kashmīr was under the Mughuls, there are, out of 63 governors, only six instances of high-handed treatment of the Kashmīrīs. According to Colonel Alexander Dow,[3] an Orientalist, and a civil servant under the East India Company in 1772 A.C., whom we quoted before, "the uncommon abilities of most of the Princes with the mild and humane character of all rendered Hindustan the most flourishing Empire in the world during two complete centuries." Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār mentions[4] the following six gifts of the Mughul Empire to India: (1) the uniform administrative type throughout the *Sūbas*: (2) one official language; (3) one uniform system of coinage; (4) an all-India cadre of higher public services, the officers being transferred from province to province every three or four years; (5) the frequent march of large armies from province to province, and (6) deputation of inspecting

1. *Islamic Culture*, Hyderābād, October, 1944, page 362.
2. G. T. Vigne's *Travels*, Vol. I, page 337.
3. *History of Hindostan*, Vol. III, page 23.
4. *The Modern Review* of Calcutta, December, 1931, page 611.

officers from the central capital. To these may be added the fact that the patronage of, and interest in, art shown by Mughul rulers in India is unparalleled in any cultural history of humanity in the world.

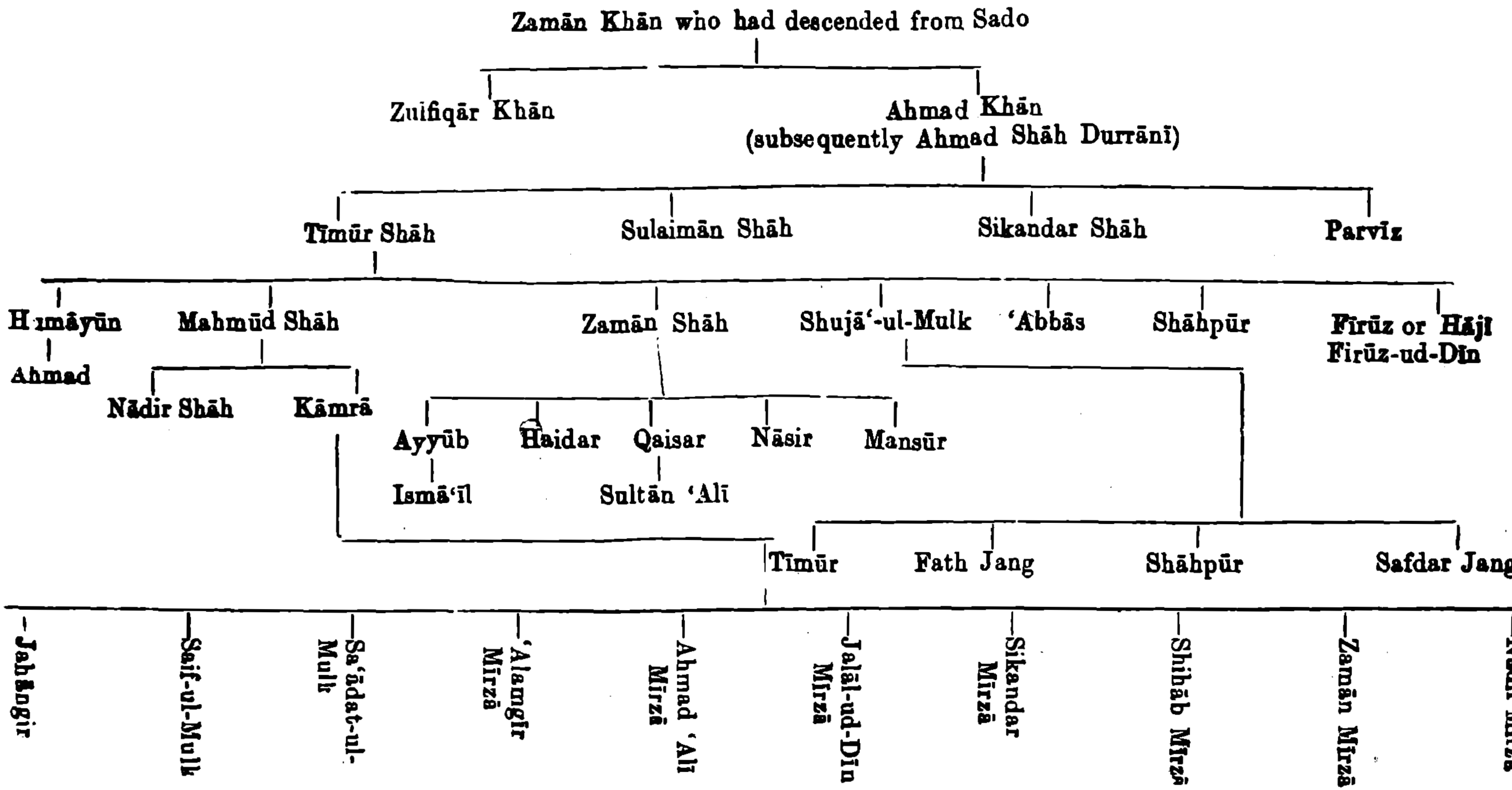
We cannot do better than close this Chapter by a quotation from Dr. Sachchidānanda Sinha[1] the scholarly ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University and ex-Minister, Bihār, on the Mughuls in Kashmīr. "Ever since Akbar added Kashmīr to his dominions," says Dr. Sinha, "the Valley cast its spell upon him and his descendants. Kashmīr formed the inspiration of the greatest Moghal Emperors during the years that it was an appanage of the Delhi throne. Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb, each, in turn, made it his summer resort. "Truly," exclaimed Jahangir, "this is the paradise of which priests have prophesied and poets sung." For nearly a century and a half, these four great Emperors came, from far-away Delhi and Agra, in stately progress across the Pir Panjal, with glittering retinues and splendid state, with escorts and audiences, tributes and forced labour, from the dusty glamour of an Indian court to the cool and quiet of a Kashmir summer. And Jahangir, when stricken with his fatal illness, knowing that his hour was near, turned to this one spot of all his wide Indian dominions, and died at Behramgul,[2] almost within sight of his beloved and favourite land. Fourteen summers he had spent in the Kashmir Valley, coming in with the blossoming of the lilac and the wild iris in the spring, and setting out back towards the plains of India when the saffron flowers had bloomed in the autumn."

زعفرانی دیده ' باید راه هندوستان گرفت

1. *Kashmir: "The Playground of Asia"* by Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Revised and Enlarged Edition, Allahābād, 1943, pages 5-6.

2. Bahrām-Galah is a small village in the Menḍhar Tahsīl of Pūnch and has a population of 328. It was Jahāngīr's favourite shooting place. At the bottom of a high mountain, a wall was built for resting a matchlock. And the country people driving the deer down the side of the mountain afforded Jahāngīr excellent sport. A foot soldier drove a deer before him. The soldier's foot slipped. He fell down the mountain and was killed. This so affected Jahāngīr that he left off shooting, and retired to his tent in great concern. It seemed to him as if the angel of death had visited him under the form of this unfortunate man. From that moment he sunk into despair. He proceeded from Bahrām-Galah to Thanna and thence to Rajaurī, commencing his stage about three o'clock in the afternoon as usual. He breathed with the utmost difficulty during the night, and expired on Sunday morning. It was the 28th of Safar A.H. 1037 = 28th October, 1627 A.C. Jahāngīr was in the sixtieth year of his age and twenty-second of his reign.

THE DURRĀNI DYNASTY OF AHMAD SHĀH



CHAPTER VII

KASHMĪR UNDER THE AFGHĀNS

[1752 A.C. TO 1819 A.C.]

Before we present the position in Kashmīr under the Afghāns, it is necessary to know who the invader from among the Afghāns was, his successors, their fights for power in Afghānistān, for Afghān politics naturally had their repurcussion on the course of events in Kashmīr during this period. We did not do this in the case of Mughul rule as the invader came from Āgra, and the broad outline of Mughul history in India is fairly well known to the general reader. In the case of the Afghāns it is not Āgra or Delhī but distant Herāt, Qandahār and Kābul, that affected the destinies of the people in the Valley of Kashmīr. Therefore, a bird's-eye view of the happenings in Afghānistān will enable the reader of *Kashīr* to understand the background of the drama staged in Srīnagar.

Ahmad Shāh Durrānī.

Ahmad Shāh Durrānī who conquered Kashmīr in 1752 A.C. was the son of Muhammad Zamān Khān, an Afghān of the Sadozaī clan of the Popalzaī branch of the Abdālī tribe living in the province of Herāt. Zamān Khān's father 'Abdullāh Khān was the son of Hayāt Sultān. The Sadozaī clan was so called on account of its chief Sado who had obtained certain concessions from Shāh 'Abbās the Great of Īrān in the sixteenth century. Sado's companion was Muhammad. From Muhammad, Hājī Jamāl Khān, the father of Pāinda Khān—whose son Amīr Dūst Muhammad Khān later ruled at Kābul—descended. Zamān Khān had migrated to Multān where Ahmad was born. The exact date of Ahmad's birth is however not known, though the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* gives 1722, and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* gives 1724, and therefore 1722-24 may be considered approximate. The Sadozaīs to whom Zamān Khān belonged were—it is said—Shī'as, and hence a surmise that they derived their name from 'Abd-i-'Alī or the Servant of Caliph 'Alī. Sayyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn

Asadābādī, widely known as Afghānī, accordingly spells the name *'Abdālī*. As, however, the Abdālīs later turned strict Sunnīs, the second version is that they were called Abdālī because they were descended from Abdāl, the founder of this clan, who was so called by his own *pīr* Khwāja Abū Ahmad Abdāl Chishtī,[1] a saint. Abdāl had three grandsons called Popal, Bārak, Haloko and Mūsā. Popal had six sons, of whom the third was Bāmī. Bāmī's eldest son was Sado. The two principal clans of the Durrānīs whose government, Mountstuart Elphinstone[2] says, was at all times democratic, were the Popalzaīs and the Bārakzaīs. The Sadozaīs, or the royal race, was one of the branches of the Popalzaīs. The Bāmīzaī in which the *vizārat* was vested was another branch of the same clan. Second in influence to the Popalzaī and greater in extent was the tribe of Bārakzaīs. The elder brother of Ahmad Khān was Zulfiqār Khān. Before the advent of Nādir Shāh, there was trouble in Īrān when Zamān, Zulfiqār and Ahmad returned to Herāt from Multān.

The Afghāns revolted against Nādir Shāh. He defeated them. By way of punishment Nādir removed the Ghilzaīs inhabiting Qandahār to Herāt and forced the Sadozaīs from Herāt to Qandahār. During the execution of this transfer of Afghāns, Zulfiqār and Ahmad were taken prisoners presumably on account of some protest against, or interference in, the orders of Nādir by them. Zulfiqār and Ahmad struck Nādir as promising youths. The elder brother rose to the command of a large clan in 1737 and was in course of time made governor of Herāt, where he lost his life in a fight with the Ghilzaīs. Ahmad was enlisted in the personal staff of Nādir on account of his bright features, his keen intelligence and conspicuous gallantry.

Nādir Shāh was murdered near Mashhad in eastern Irān on the night of 9th June, 1747. In the confusion that ensued, Ahmad Khān seized a major part of the treasury and the famous diamond, the Kūh or Koh-i-Nūr, 'the Mountain of Light,' and hastened to Qandahār. *En route* in October, 1747, the Afghān chiefs elected him their leader and called him Ahmad Shāh. Hājī Jamāl—the father of

1. *The Wāqī'āt-i-Durrānī* of Munshī 'Abdul Karīm, a contemporary of King Zamān Shāh, translated into Urdu by Mīr Wāris 'Alī Saifī, the Nizāmī Press, Cawnpore, 1292 A.H., page 3.
2. *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, London, 1815, page 542.

Pāinda Khān and grandfather of Dūst Muhammad Khān—who was also a candidate, withdrew in favour of Ahmad Shāh. Ahmad Shāh was crowned in the mosque at Qandahār by pouring on his head a measure of wheat which to the Afghāns is symbolic of abundance and prosperity. Ahmad Shāh was thus the first to lay the foundation of the kingdom of Afghānistān. Hājī Jamāl first, and later Shāh Valī Khān Bāmīzaī, was appointed Ashraf-ul-Wuzarā or the prime minister.

How Ahmad Shāh Abdālī became 'Durrānī' is explained by the circumstance of his *pīr* Muhammad Sābir Shāh calling him *Durr-i-Daurān*, 'The Pearl of the Age.' But Ahmad Shāh preferred to be styled Durr-i-Durrān, or 'The Pearl of Pearls,' states the *Hayāt-i-Afghānī* of Sardār Muhammad Hayāt Khān (page 129), hence the name Durrānī applied to the Abdālīs. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, however, discards the version about *Durr-i-Daurān* and accepts *Durr-i-Durrān*. Ahmad Shāh was about 25 then.

Ahmad Shāh claimed the provinces that Nādir had wrested from the Emperor Muhammad Shāh as a part of the Durrānī kingdom, which included Qandahār, Ghaznī, Kābul, Hazāra, Peshāwar, Derajāt, Multān and Sind. Ahmad Shāh invaded India ten times; it was the fifth invasion which brought about the defeat of the Marathas at the third battle of Pānīpat in 1761. It was in the course of his third invasion in 1752 that Kashmīr was annexed under the circumstances already narrated at the close of the preceding chapter of *Kashīr*.

In 1757 during his fourth invasion Ahmad Shāh married Tīmūr to Zuhra Begam the daughter of 'Ālamgīr II, and himself married Hazrat Begam the daughter of Muhammad Shāh emperor of Delhī.

Without going into the details of the busy life of Ahmad Shāh here, suffice it to say that he died in October 1772 (1186 A.H.) of complications arising from nasal gangarine. He was highly esteemed by the Afghāns who called him Ahmad Shāh Bābā, respecting him as a saint. His mausoleum at Qandahār is declared a *bast* or a sanctuary where not even criminals can be touched. In the words of Elphinstone, Ahmad Shāh "was himself a divine and an author and was always ambitious of the character of a saint."

Tīmūr Shāh.

Ahmad Shāh was succeeded by his son Tīmūr Shāh, born in December, 1746, at Mashhad in Īrān, when Ahmad Shāh was serving Nādir. Ahmad Shāh's three other sons were: Sulaimān Shāh, Sikandar Shāh and Parvīz. Shāh Valī Khān, the Vazīr, wanted to enthrone Sulaimān who was his son-in-law. The Vazīr was therefore killed at the instance of Tīmūr Shāh. Qāzī Faizullāh was nominated prime minister. And Sardār Pāinda Khān, who was the son of Hājī Jamāl Khān and the chief of the Bārakzaīs, was given the title of Sarfrāz Khān. He came over to the side of Tīmūr having deserted Shāh Valī Khān. Pāinda Khān, as already stated, later becomes famous as the father of Amīr Dūst Muhammad Khān. Pāinda Khān really replaced his own brother, Rahīm-dād Khān, whose testy emper did not appeal to the people.

Tīmūr transferred his capital from Qandahār to Kābul as more peaceful, but usually wintered at Peshāwar. Tīmūr invaded India five times. When he was occupied with his fourth invasion, mostly with the Sikhs in the Punjāb, Āzād Khān, the governor, revolted against his authority in Kashmīr. Of this we shall hear later.

Tīmūr Shāh defeated Murād Shāh, king of Bukhārā (Turkistān) who was preparing to invade Afghān territory in December, 1790.

According to Sayyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn Afghānī,* Tīmūr had three hundred women in his harem and not one of them was Afghān, and that he left 32 sons.

At last Tīmūr Shāh died on 20th May, 1793, and was buried at Kābul which he loved best in the whole of his empire.

Zamān Shāh.

Zamān Shāh with the support of Pāinda Khān Bārakzaī, obtained through Tīmūr's favourite queen, succeeded Tīmūr. He was about 23 years of age and his empire comprehended Kābul, Ghaznī, Qandahār, Herāt, Khurāsān, Balkh, Peshāwar, Kashmīr, Sind, Multān, Bahāwalpur and

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*_The Ta'rīkh-i-Afghānistān_, translated from Arabic into Urdu by Maulavī Mahmūd 'Alī Khān of Bhopāl, Islāmia Steam Press, Yakki Darwāza, Lāhore, 1342 A.H., pages 60-61.

the Derajāt of Ismā'īl Khān and Ghāzī Khān. Zamān Shāh however had his troubles. Usually they were from his brothers and nephews and from Īrān. The principal brothers were in order: (1) Humāyūn, (2) Mahmūd, (3) Zamān, (4) 'Abbās, (5) Shujā,' (6) Shāhpūr and (7) Fīrūz. Then Humāyūn had his son Ahmad. Mahmūd's sons were Nādir Mīrzā and Kāmrān. Zamān had four sons: Haidar, Qaisar, Nāsir and Mansūr.

Āghā Muhammad Khān, the founder of the Kājār dynasty of Īrān, at one time demanded Balkh, but had to give up the idea on account of the Russian invasion of his own country. Zamān Shāh's advances in India were the cause of alarm to the British in India, particularly when he was at Lāhore in 1797. In 1798 he re-visited Lāhore and appointed Ranjīt Singh to be the rājā of Lāhore to the exclusion of unpopular Afghāns, and returned to Herāt to meet the threat of Fath 'Alī Shāh Kājār, the successor of Āghā Muhammad Khān Kājār, and installed Shujā'-ul-Mulk, his own brother, as governor of Herāt.

The policy of Zamān, contrary to that of his predecessors, was to keep the chiefs at his court without consulting them on affairs of state. The chiefs of the Bārakzaīs, of the Qizilbāsh or the Īrānian settlers in Afghānistān, and other notables were accordingly alienated. According to Elphinstone, the source of Zamān's errors was his choice of Rahmatullāh Sadozaī with the title of Vafādār Khān for the office of Vazīr (page 568). And Vafādār used his power against Sarfrāz Khān on the allegation that Sarfrāz Khān was plotting against Zamān and working for Shāh Shujā',

THE BĀRAKZAĪ DYNASTY OF AFGHĀNISTĀN

Haji Jamal Khan Barakzai

Pāinda Khān, on whom Tīmūr Shāh conferred the title of Sarfrāz Khān, had 21 sons and several daughters. According to the *Wāqi'āt-i-Durrānī* they were from several wives. The principal sons are shown as sons of the same mother. According to Pandit Mohan Lāl Kashmīrī *alias* Āghā Hasan Jān, Fath Khān was the eldest and Dūst Muhammad Khān the twentieth son.

- 1. Tīmūr Qulī Khān, 2. Asad Khān, 3. Fath Khān, 4. Muhammad 'Azīm Khān
  - Habībullāh
- 1. 'Abdus Samad, 2. Amīr Muhammad, 3. Dūst Muhammad
  - Afzal Khān
    - 'Abdur Rahmān Khān
      - Habībullāh Khān
        - 'Ināyatullāh Khān
        - Amānullāh Khān
      - Nasrullāh Khān
  - Akbar Khān
  - Sher Alī Khān
    - Ya'qūb Khān
    - Ayyūb Khān
  - Sharīf Khān
    - Hāshim Khān
- Jabbār Khān
- 1. Kuhn Dil, 2. Mihr Dil, 3. Shīr Dil, 4. Pur Dil, 5. Rahm Dil
- Juma' Khān
- Turra-bāz Khān
- 1. Yār Muhammad, 2. Pīr Muhammad, 3. Sa'īd Muhammad, 4. Sultān Muhammad
  - Yahyā Khān
    - Yūsuf Khān
      - Nādir Khān, who became Nādir Shāh
        - Zāhir Shāh, the reigning Amīr of Afghānistān
- Islām Khān etc.

About the close of 1799, a conspiracy was organized in Kābul by the leading chiefs owing to the insolent behaviour of the Prime Minister, Vafādār Khān. The plot was betrayed. The conspirators, including Sarfrāz Khān, the leader of the Bārakzaīs, were executed. Fath Khān, the eldest of the twenty-one sons of Päindā Khān, escaped to Khurāsān where he joined Prince Mahmūd, Tīmūr's second son. Mahmūd, on Fath Khān's advice, advanced against Zamān Shāh. Zamān's chief ally Ahmad Khan Nūrzāī was won over with the result that Zamān had to fly for his life. Vafādār Khān was executed. Zamān took shelter with 'Āshiq Khan Shinwārī, a staunch supporter of his, in Āshiq Khān's castle, which is located in Shinwārī area, about 25 miles west of Jalālābād. But 'Āshiq Khān betrayed him. It was in 'Āshiq's castle, Elphinstone says, that Zamān secreted the Koh-i-Nūr in the wall of his apartment whence it was afterwards extracted on Shujā''s accession. Asad Khān, Fath Khān's brother, accompanied by a surgeon, caused the destruction of Zamān's eyes in 1801.

"So fell Zaman Shah, the once dreaded Afghan monarch, whose threatened invasion of Hindostan had for years been a ghastly phantom haunting the Council-Chamber of the British Indian Government," writes John William Kaye, the author of the *History of the War in Afghanistan* (London, 1857, Vol I, page 23). "He survived the loss of his sight nearly half a century and, as the neglected pensioner of Loodianah, to the very few who could remember the awe which his name once inspired, must have presented a curious spectacle of fallen greatness—an illustration of the mutability of human affairs scarcely paralleled in the history of the world. He died at last full of years, empty of honours, his death barely worth a newspaper record or a paragraph in a state paper." Zamān, according to Kaye, came to Ludhiāna, survived his blindness for nearly half a century, and remained a neglected pensioner of the British. But according to Jamāl-ud-Dīn Afghānī, Zamān proceeded to the Amīr of Bukhārā where his beautiful daughter was married to the Amīr. Fath 'Alī Shāh Kājār of Īrān received him in Teherān whence Zamān moved to Baghdād whose Vālī at the time was Dā'ūd, and at last died in the Hijāz. But the fact is that Zamān died at Ludhiāna as a British pensioner getting Rs. 4,000 per mensem, and is buried close to his wife under a big dome in Sarhind. Shujā' was over twenty at the blinding of Zamān.

Shujā'-ul-Mulk.

On the fall of Zamān Shāh in 1801, Shujā'-ul-Mulk who was holding his post at Peshāwar, marched on Kābul in September 1801 after having proclaimed himself king of Afghānistān. Fath Khān defeated Shujā.' Mahmūd, the elder brother of Zamān and Shujā,' after seven years of waiting, conflict and misfortune, ascended the throne at Kābul in 1801 A.C. He showed generosity to the army and to his chiefs. Vazīr Fath Khān, whom we have already known as the eldest son of Pāinda Khān (Sarfrāz Khān), was given the title of 'Shāh Dūst.' He is the Warwick of Afghānistān or its King-Maker. Sher Muhammad Khān, son of Shāh Valī Khān Bāmīzaī, was named Mukhtār-ud-Daula. Sardār 'Abdullāh Khān Halokozaī, called by Kashmīrī historians Alkūzaī and by some 'Alīkūzaī—father of Yār Muhammad Khān—who had been confined in the Bālā Hisār of Kābul by Shāh Zamān, was released from this fortress, and made governor of Kashmīr. Kāmrān Mīrzā, his own son, was sent out to fight Shāh Shujā', who fled to the fastnesses of the Khybar Pass. Mahmūd's two rivals, Shāh Shujā' and Prince Qaisar, Zamān's son, who had lost Herāt which he held during his father's time, were now out of the way. Mahmūd ruled in peace. There were, however, riots twice between Ghilzaīs and Durrānīs but they were quelled.

Two years and six months after Mahmūd's accession Shī'a-Sunnī or Qizilbāsh and Afghān clashes at Kābul stirred the country. Mahmūd was indolent and Fath Khān was absent from the capital trying to track out Shujā'. Indifference to the Sunnīs on the part of Mahmūd disappointed them. Fath Khān returned to Kābul to find the situation out of control. Shujā' was endeavouring to subsist himself and a few followers by the sale of royal jewels in the Afrīdī country, when an express was sent to him to come to Kābul. On his arrival the revolution was complete. Mahmūd was imprisoned in Bālā Hisār, Kābul, and Shujā' was enthroned in the same city on 13th July, 1802. Fath Khān fled. 'Āshiq Khān Shinwāri who had betrayed Zamān was executed and thus met the doom he deserved. Shāh Shujā,' in his autobiography* written by him at Ludhiāna in 1826-27, says :

*Biographical sketch of Shah Soojah, ex-King of Cabul, written by himself at Loodianah in 1826-27. Translated by the late Lieutenant Bennet of Artillery. *The Calcutta Monthly Journal*, 1839.

"Shāh Mahmūd . . . . . . after swearing on the Qur'ān he would not again be guilty of treachery, sent some of his principal attendants to request the royal pardon, which we granted and had him conveyed from the outer to the inner fort with all due respect to his rank." Fath Khān likewise sought pardon and was given the same. Shujā' then set out to overawe Kashmīr as 'Abdullāh Khān Halokozaī was assuming independence. While Shujā' was so occupied, Fath Khān set on Prince Qaisar to contest his uncle's throne. Shāh Shujā' naturally returned in haste to meet this new danger, and quelled it. On the intercession of Zamān, Qaisar's father and Mukhtār-ud-Daula who had deserted Mahmūd to join Shāh Shujā', the young Prince was pardoned. It was about this time that Elphinstone's mission came to Peshāwar and halted from the 25th of February to the 14th of June, 1809.

Finding things unfavourable in Kābul on a repulse at Nimla by Mahmūd in August 1809, Shāh Shujā' dispatched his harem and his blind brother Zamān Shāh to Rāwalpindī. He made "new efforts to splinter up his broken fortunes." But he met failure after failure. He marched on Peshāwar and took Bālā Hisār or the royal fortress there from the governor of Peshāwar, Muhammad 'Azīm Khān Bārakzaī, but was carried away in 1812 by Jahāndād Khān first to the fort of Peshāwar and afterwards to the Valley of Kashmīr through the bribery of the Sūbadār of Kashmīr, Jahāndād's brother, 'Atā Muhammad Khān Bāmīzaī, the son of Mukhtār-ud-Daula. Shujā' appears to have remained in Kashmīr for about a year. "When Shāh Mahmūd heard of the way in which we were treated," writes Shujā,' "the latent feelings of fraternal affection were aroused within him and he immediately sent a force into the Bārakzaī country. After plundering the whole tribe of 'Atā Muhammad Khān, he carried men, women and children into captivity. Finding that this had not the desired effect, *viz.*, our release from bondage, he sent a force to Kashmīr under Fath Khān." 'Atā Muhammad advanced to give him battle. But his own men went over to the Vazīr. When threatened by Fath Khān early in 1813, 'Atā Muhammad implored the assistance of his captive. "Seeing his escape could not be effected without our aid, he came," says Shāh Shujā', "to our place of confinement, bare-headed, with the Qur'ān in one hand, a naked sword in the other, and a rope about his neck, and requested our forgiveness for the sake of the sacred volume." Forgiveness was given,

Fath Khān had asked for Ranjīt Singh's assistance. Mohkam Chand who led the Sikh expedition accordingly advanced on Kashmīr. Fath Khān was invading Kashmīr from another direction. The rebel Nāzim submitted. Shujā' says: "Mohkam Chand, on the part of Ranjīt Singh, informed us that his master was anxious that we should proceed to Lāhore as soon as at liberty, and visit the residence of our seraglio in that city. He also mentioned that his master's fame would be enhanced by our going. According to Fath Khān's petition, we agreed to this and marched towards Lāhore with Mohkam Chand and other Singhs, whilst Fath Khān returned to Shāh Mahmūd in Kābul." Ranjīt Singh, it soon became very clear, coveted the possession of the Koh-i-Nūr diamond.

On the second day of arrival in Lāhore an emissary from Ranjīt demanded the gem in the name of his master. The fugitive monarch asked for time to consider the request. "We then," writes Shāh Shujā,' "experienced privations of the necessaries of life and sentinels were placed over our dwelling. A month passed in this way. Confidential servants of Ranjīt Singh then waited on us, and inquired if we wanted ready cash, and would enter into an agreement and treaty for the gem. We answered in the affirmative. Next day Rām Singh brought 40,000 or 50,000 rupees, and asked again for the Koh-i-Nūr which we promised to procure when some treaty was agreed upon. Two days after this Ranjīt Singh came in person. After friendly protestations, he stamped a paper with safflower and swearing by the Granth of Bābā Nānak and his own sword, he wrote the following security and compact—That he delivered over the provinces of Kōt Kamālīa, Jhang Siyāl and Kalānaur to us and our heirs for ever: also offering assistance in troops and treasure for the purpose of again recovering our throne. We also agreed if we should ever ascend the throne, to consider Ranjīt Singh always in the light of an ally. He then proposed himself that we should exchange turbans, which is, among the Sikhs, a pledge of eternal friendship, and we then gave him the Koh-i-Nūr." According to John William Kaye (Vol. 1, pages 110-1), Ranjīt Singh stripped the wretched monarch of everything that was worth taking, and "even after this," says Shujā', "he did not perform one of his promises." As a matter of fact, indignities were heaped on the unfortunate Shāh. Spies were set over him. And guards surrounded his dwelling.

"We thought of the proffered friendship of the British Government and hoped for an asylum at Ludhiāna" writes Shujā'. . . . "The members of the seraglio with their attendants, all dressed in the costume of the country, found a safe conveyance to the cantonments of Ludhiāna." But his own escape was yet to be effected. "Seven ranges of guards," continues Shāh Shujā' "were put upon our person, and armed men with lighted torches watched our bed. . . . . Several months passed in this manner."

After all, Shujā' foiled Ranjīt's efforts. Disguised as a mendicant, he escaped with two followers into the street, and emerged thence through the main sewer which ran beneath the city wall. Out of Lāhore, instead of proceeding towards Ludhiāna, Shujā' made for Jammu, was joined by some Sikhs discontented with Ranjīt Singh, and reached Kishtwār, the rājā of which offered hospitality. "Tired of an idle life," Shujā' frankly says, "we laid plans for an attack on Kashmīr." The rājā of Kishtwār offered help with men and money. But, in Kaye's words, it was not written in Shāh Shujā''s book of life that his enterprises should result in anything but failure. His attack on Kashmīr closed in defeat and disaster. He himself says: "We were only three *kōs* from 'Azīm Khān's camp with the picturesque city of Kashmīr (*viz.*, Srīnagar), full in view when the snow began again to fall, and the storm continued with violence without intermission, for two days. Our Hindustānīs were benumbed with a cold unfelt in their sultry regions, the road to our rear was blocked up with snow and the supplies still far distant. For three days our troops were almost famished. Many Hindustānīs died. We could not advance. And retreat was hazardous. Many lost their hands and feet from being frost-bitten, before we determined to retreat." At the earnest request of the rājā of Kishtwār, Shujā' remained during nine months beneath his host's hospitable roof. Then he marched through Kulū, crossed the Sutlej for a journey to Ludhiāna and joined his family in the month of September 1816. He spent two years of quiet. The Durrānī empire was rent by intestine convulsions. The Bārkzaī Sardārs were dominant at Kābul. Shāh Mahmūd and other princes threatened his domination. In the meantime, 'Azīm Khān invited Shāh Shujā' to re-assert his claim to the throne of Kābul. Shujā', weary of repose, and, as Kaye remarks, unwarned by past experience, flung

himself into this new enterprise, only to add another to that long list of failures which it took nearly a quarter of a century more to render complete.

While Shāh Shujā' was in Ludhiāna, Fath Khān had set out to meet the Kājār invasion from the west of Afghānistān. While engaged on this expedition, the foolish behaviour of Dūst Muhammad Khān, Fath Khān's younger brother, in Prince Kāmrān's palace by tearing the jewelled waist-band from the person of Taqīya Begam, Prince Kāmrān's sister, drew an oath from him to avenge this outrage. Dūst Muhammad fled to Kashmīr to his brother 'Azīm Khān for safety, and Kāmrān wreaked vengeance on Fath Khān by first blinding him and then hacking him to pieces. Shāh Shujā' does not allude to this outrage. He merely says that Fath Khān grew ambitious and wanted to take the reins of government into his own hands, when Prince Kāmrān ended the minister's life. Dūst Muhammad resolved to avenge his father's murder. 'Azīm did not agree upon the plan, nor did he undertake its execution but gave three to four lakhs of rupees to defray the charges of the expedition. Prince Jahāngīr, the young and beautiful son of Kāmrān, was the nominal ruler of Kābul at this time. But the actual administration of affairs was in the hands of 'Atā Muhammad Khān Bāmīzaī, ex-governor of Kashmīr, who had instigated Kāmrān to kill Fath Khān. Dūst Muhammad Khān advanced on Kābul and encompassed the death of 'Atā Muhammad Khān Bāmīzaī, and made himself master of Kābul though he put Prince Sultān 'Alī, one of the sons of Tīmūr, nominally on the throne. At this Mahmūd and Kāmrān marched down from Herāt and 'Azīm Khān came from Kashmīr. Shāh Shujā' in 1818 was again invited from Ludhiāna by 'Azīm Khān, saying that all Fath Khān's relations swore to restore him and that 'Azīm Khān would march to Peshāwar to receive him and help him with all the troops and treasury of Kashmīr. By a stratagem Mahmūd and Kāmrān were made to flee. Shujā' was balked of the crown. Dūst Muhammad Khān retained Kābul and Ghaznī and gave away the other provinces to his brothers. At this stage, we close the connexion between Kābul and Kashmīr in 1819 when Sikhs conquer Kashmīr.

The Afghān's bad start in Kashmīr.

The Afghān's made a bad start in Kashmīr. 'Abdullāh

Khān Īshak Aqāsī,[1] the Afghān governor, ruled Kashmīr for six months, but his exactions led no less than eighty big merchants to return to their native towns in India. Trade was much affected. People of the upper classes suffered.[2] Before his departure from Kashmīr, 'Abdullāh Khān appointed Sukh Jīwan Mal administrator, A'zam Khān,[3] paymaster of the Afghān forces in Kashmīr, and Khwāja 'Abdullāh *alias* Khwāja Kījak[3] (distortion of Kūchak)[4] the administrator's *Nā'ib* or deputy. He also made Khwāja Abu'l Hasan Bānḍe Sukh Jīwan's adviser. On his return to Kābul, 'Abdullāh Khān presented his master with a crore of rupees which he had wrung from the exhausted people of Kashmīr. He also took to Kābul Abu'l Qāsim Khān Sāfī, the former Mughul Nā'ib, Mīr Fīrūz-ud-Dīn Nawwāb Abu'l Barakāt Khān Fīrūz Jang Sūfī's son, to whom Ahmad Shāh Durrānī showed considerable favour.

On the departure of 'Abdullāh Khān Īshak Aqāsī from Kashmīr, the country was ruled by Sukh Jīwan as *Nāzim* or administrator. Khwāja Abu'l Hasan Bānḍe acted as chief adviser to the Nāzim. It is unfortunate that, under Afghān rule, several of the total of fourteen governors tried to sever their connexion with Kābul, and to establish themselves as independent rulers of the country because of the preoccupations of Afghān rulers in Īrānian or Indian campaigns, or internecine struggles for the throne of Afghānistān. Some of these *Nāzims* enjoyed a brief spell of independence but were, at last, reduced to subjection. Sukh Jīwan was the first to assert his independence with the aid of Abu'l Hasan Bānḍe a Kashmīrī notable. The reason, it is said, was a heavy financial demand by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī for his campaigns which Sukh Jīwan felt could not be met with as 'Abdullāh Khān had already drained off from the Valley as large a sum as one crore of rupees. Khwājā Kījak,[5] Malik Hasan Khān Īrānī, A'zam Khān and Mīrzā Khān opposed him, but were defeated at Bārāmūla by Sukh Jīwan who established touch with Ālamgīr II at Delhi. Sukh Jīwan next

1. Shāhghāsī, a Mongolian rank, presumably introduced into Central Asian courts from the descendants of Chingīz Khān, means Lord Chamberlain.
2. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, folio 305.
3. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl*, folio 292.
4. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, folio 305.
5. *Ibid.*, folio 306.

repelled the attack led by 'Abdullāh Khān Ishak Aqāsī.[1] Sukh Jīwan was tempted to assert independence of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī on account of his campaigns in the Punjāb and the subjugation of the Marathas in the third battle of Pānīpat that took place in 1759-61.

A severe famine engaged Sukh Jīwan's attention for some time. Abu'l Hasan Bānḍe proved himself very capable in alleviating the miseries of the famine-stricken people. He prevented many deaths from starvation by advancing loans of seed grains. These loans were only realized in full as late as 1250 A.H. (1834 A.C.).[2]

Finding the Punjāb in a disturbed condition, Sukh Jīwan Mal attempted[3] the conquest of Siālkōt, Bhimbar and Akhnūr.[4] But he suffered a heavy defeat at the hand of Yār Khān, governor of Siālkōt, owing chiefly to the jealousy of Ranjīt Dev, the rājā of Jammu.

Sukh Jīwan quarrelled with Abu'l Hasan Bānḍe on account of the machinations of Mīr Muqīm a notable, drove him to Pūnch, wreaked vengeance upon his kinsmen and appointed Mīr Muqīm himself in his place. But Sukh Jīwan also suffered. The reason is that Sukh Jīwan Mal had a rival in Rājā Ranjīt Dev who was induced by Shāh Valī Khān, the Durranī prime minister, to come to Lāhore, and guide an expedition to recover Kashmīr. The Afghān troops numbering about 3,000 supplemented by a contingent of Ranjīt Dev were placed under the command of Nūr ud-Dīn Khān Bāmīzaī. This small expedition, led in June, failed as all the passes leading into Kashmīr were strongly guarded, and it was found difficult to cross the flooded rivers and swollen streams. The second expedition organized in October 1762 A.C. on a larger scale achieved complete success. The Durrānī army entered Kashmīr by the Tosha Maidān. Sukh Jīwan Mal came to oppose the invaders at the head of 50,000 troops but, just at the time of battle, he was deserted by his commander-in-chief Bakht Mal. Sukh Jīwan Mal was, therefore, easily defeated and captured after he had governed for eight years and four months. He was immediately blinded by a lancet and was sent to

1. *The Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, folio 306.
2. *Ibid.*, folio 306.
3. *Ibid.*, folio 307, and the *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl*, folio 294.
4. Akhnūr, on the Chināb, is 18 miles from Jammu. Its present population is 3,398.

Lāhore where Ahmad Shāh Durrāni was then halting. Sukh Jīwan was brought in chains before Ahmad Shāh who caused him to be trampled to death. The severity of this punishment is understandable when we remember that Sukh Jīwan revolted against Afghānistān despite repeated warnings, having kept on defying his master for about nine years. Later, he had entered into conspiracy with 'Ālamgīr II to restore nominal Mughul rule in Kashmīr and to seek permission to strike his own coin, and resumed all *jāgīrs* of mansabdārs. 'Ālamgīr had conferred the title of Rājā on him.

Rājā Sukh Jīwan Mal was a Khatrī, born and educated at Kābul. His family traced its origin to Bherā in Khushāb, Punjāb. He took service under Shāh Valī Khān the vazīr of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, and rose to the position of governor of Kashmīr, having once previously been commissioned to realize tribute from Mu'īn-ul-Mulk the sūbadār of the Punjāb. In the beginning of his régime Sukh Jīwan Mal appeared to be a good governor. In fact, he showed great consideration to Muslims. The author of the *Khizāna-i-'Āmira*, Ghulām 'Alī *Āzād* Bilgrāmī, Sukh Jīwan's contemporary, writes about him :

مُشارٌ الیه جوانِ خُوشرو، مُتصف به اوصافِ شائسته، قریبِ اِسلام بُود- جمیع مزاراتِ بزرگان و باغاتِ کشمیر را ترمیم نمود- و هر روز بعد فراغ از دیوان دو صد کس مُسلمین را بروئے خُود الوانِ اطعمه میخوراند- و در هر ماهے دوازدهم و یازدهم طعام تیار پُخته به مردُم تقسیم می نمود- وارد و صادر را چه درویش و چه غیرِ آن، در خورِ حالِ هرکس مراعاتی می کرد- و در هر هفته یکبارہ مشاعرہ مقرر کرده بود- جمیع شُعرائے کشمیر حاضر می شُدند- در آخرِ مجلس شیلانی میکشید- و پنج کس از شُعرائے نامی را که با هر یکے ازینها ده ده کس از مُستعدان کُمکی مُعّین کرده بود امر فرمود که تاریخِ کشمیر از اِبتدای آبادی تا زمانِ اُو تحریر نمایند- سر حلقهٔ آن پنج کس محمد توفیق بُود که توفیق تخلص میکند- و نامِ اصلیؑ اُو لاله جُو است بزبان کشمیر- امروز در موزونان کشمیر نظیر ندارد-

—مطبوعه نولکشور- کانپور - ۱۸۷۱ء- صفحه ۱۱۵

["He was a handsome youth, possessed of good qualities and inclined towards Islam. After finishing court business, he fed two hundred Muslims with a variety of food every day. On the 11th and 12th of every month, he got sacramental food cooked and distributed among the people. He bestowed favours on every visitor to the court whether he was poor or not. Once in every week he held a poetical conversazione. It was attended by all the well-known poets. At the end of it he gave a dinner. He engaged five (seven ?) of the best scholars to complete a history of Kashmīr from the earliest habitation to his own time. Each writer was provided with ten assistants. The head of these historians was Muhammad Taufīq with *Taufīq* as his *nom de plume*, and was known as Lālajū in Kashmīrī. He is a poet unrivalled in Kashmīr today"].

Rājā Sukh Jīwan Mal appears to have been the forerunner of another great Khatrī, His Excellency the late Mahārājā Sir Krishn Prashād Bahādur, Madār-ul-Mahāmm of Hydarābād, Deccan, in his love of letters and culture and refined taste. After his quarrel with Abu'l Hasan Bānde, Sukh Jīwan also replaced Mīr Muqīm by Pandit Mahānand Dar at whose incitement he became an oppressor, and subjected Muslims to considerable hardships, forbade even the call[1] to prayer and imposed various other restrictions upon them. Before his tragic death, he was blinded when he composed the following verses so full of pathos :

چشم از وضع جهاں پوشیدہ بہ   سر بسر احوالِ ان نا دیدہ بہ
هرکہ چُوں من داشت جا بر فرقِ گُل   عاقبت در خاك و خُون غلطیدہ بہ
چند روزے خُود تماشا کردہ ام   زین چمن گُلهائے عبرت چیدہ بہ
گر دهی شیرش' دهد زهرت عوض   زین سیہ مارِ جهاں ترسیدہ بہ
بار اگر چشمِ جهاں بینم دهند   چُوں گدایاں در بدر گردیدہ بہ

هر چند گُفتم نفسِ دنی را   باید نہ کردن نا کردنی را
این نفسِ سرکش نشنید ازمن   تا دید آخر نا دیدنی ر!

En passant it is interesting to observe that Ahmad Shāh Durrānī had, at one time, offered the governorship of Kashmīr to Mughlānī Begam, the governor of Lāhore during 1754-1756.[2] Rājā Sukh Jīwan promised her annual

1. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, folio 308.

2. *Later Mughal History of the Panjab* by Dr. Hari Rām Gupta, Lāhore, pages 144-5.

tribute. This prevented her from accepting the offer of the courtiers of Kashmīr who conspired against Sukh Jīwan. The promised tribute never reached Mughlānī Begam from either side.

The re-assertion of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's sovereignty over Kashmīr is expressed in this couplet :

کشمیر گرفت بارِ دیگر   سُلطانِ احد بزورِ شمشیر
فرمود زبانِ تیغ، تاریخ   او فتح نمود بار کشمیر

Nūr-ud-Dīn Khān Muslih-ud-Daula Bāmizaī was appointed governor in succession to Rājā Sukh Jīwan. He ruled Kashmīr for some time,[1] and endeavoured to restore the exhausted country. The people were, on the whole, happy and prosperous under him. His successor Buland Khān remitted unjust taxes,[2] treated Hindus and Muslims alike.[3] In 1765 Nūr-ud-Dīn Khān Bāmizaī was again appointed governor. Mīr Muqīm Kanṭh and Pandit Kailāsh Dar were his councillors, the latter being responsible for the revenue of the country. Mīr Muqīm induced Nūr-ud-Dīn to demand daily payments of revenue from Pandit Kailāsh Dar who, however, encompassed[4] the death of his antagonist through an accomplice, Hakīm Mīr. When the secret became known, Nūr-ud-Dīn made no attempt to bring the culprit to justice. It was probably due to this neglect that he anticipated orders of his removal. Leaving his nephew Jān Muhammad Khān in his place, Nūr-ud-Dīn proceeded to plead his case at Kābul. Meanwhile, La'l Khān Khatak displaced Jān Muhammad Khān, and began a career of terrorism and oppression. Khurram Khān was dispatched from Kābul to fill Nūr-ud-Dīn's place, but his entry was resisted by La'l Khān Khatak who was defeated, and retired to the fort at Biru situated to the west of Srīnagar, near Paṭan.

Faqīrullāh, Mīr Muqīm Kanṭh's son, who was seeking an opportunity to avenge his father's murder, now made his appearance at Sopōr with the army of Sultān Mahmūd

1. There is a difference of opinion about the duration of his first régime. Lt. Newall (*J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, page 447) states it to be 8 years, the *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan* reduces it to only three months. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl* and Dīwan Kirpā Rām's *Gulzār-i-Kashmīr* give two years.
2. Lt. Newall, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, page 447.
3. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl*, MS., folio 298.
4. The *Gulzār-i-Kashmīr*, page 234, *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl*, folio 298.

Bamba. La'l Khān Khatak opposed him but, on being defeated again, retired to his fort with the loss of an eye. Faqīrullāh, therefore, suddenly found himself in the governor's seat in 1767 A.C. His allies among the Bambas oppressed the people. Kashmīr knew no authority for a period of eleven months. It is indeed strange how Ahmad Shāh Durrānī could allow such a state of affairs. At last, in 1769 A.C., Nūr-ud-Dīn was, for the third time, appointed governor, as no other person was considered capable of enforcing order in the country. Faqīrullāh sought refuge with the ruler of Muzaffarābād after an unsuccessful engagement against Nūr-ud-Dīn near the village of Gaurīpōr (or Gandīpōr, population 212) in Tahsīl Pulwāma. Faqīrullāh was intending further resistance when he was seized with a severe malady due to excessive drinking and died at Shādipōr. Nūr-ud-Dīn ruled for two years, and suppressed the malcontents with a strong hand.

Pandit Kailāsh Dar had induced his patron, Khurram Khān, to try for the sūbadārship of Kashmīr during his stay at Kābul. In this project he, at last, succeeded in 1770 A.C., and relieved Nūr-ud-Dīn of the charge. Khurram Khān showed inability to rule, and when he displayed timidity also, Amīr Muhammad Khān Jawān Sher Qizilbāsh, his commander-in-chief, drove him out, and installed himself as governor. Rather than seeking help from some outside prince in a future contingency, Jawān Sher organized the Hānjīs or boatmen, a sturdy class of people capable of serving his purpose. Amīr Mohammad Khān Jawān Sher built the fort of Sher-gaṛhī,[1] till recently the residence of the Mahārājā Bahādur of Kashmīr, and also the bridge known as Amīrā Kadal. *Kadal* in Kashmīrī means a bridge. The re-construction of a building on the island called Sona Lānk, and the Amīrābād garden are also this governor's memorials.[2] But he committed vandalism in pulling down the royal palaces and other buildings including Akbar's Darshanī Bāgh and the Jharōkah-i-Shāhī on the Ḍal, which the Mughul emperors and their nobles had built.

1. Shergaṛhī is re-named Narsinghgarh by Mahārājā Harī Singh. Amīra Kadal, on re-construction, was called "Pratāp Kadal," but the people continue the old name. The same is the case with Shergaṛhī. It remains Shergaṛhī in popular parlance.

2. Lt. Newall, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, page 448. The *Gulzār-i-Kashmīr*, page 237.

The death of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī on 13th April, 1772, A.C., emboldened Amīr Muhammad Khān Jawān Sher actually to set himself up as an independent ruler. And he was in power for six years. He was cruel both to Hindus and to Muslims, and avenged the murder of Mīr Muqīm by killing Pandit Kailāsh Dar. His rule thenceforth became notorious for oppression and high-handedness, due to his Peshkār or Chief Secretary, Mīr Fāzil Khān. Srīnagar at this time suffered very much owing to a flood in the Jhelum.

At last in 1776 A.C., Tīmūr Shāh, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's son, appointed Hājī Karīmdād Khān Bāmīzai, to the governorship of Kashmīr. The Hājī hailed from Qandahār. He had taken part in the battle of Pānīpat by leading his cavalry. After defeating Amīr Muhammad Khān Jawān Sher, the Hājī sent him in chains to Kābul, where he remained in prison for a considerable time, but was, at last, pardoned by Tīmūr Shāh.

"Amir Khan, a Persian, one of the late governors of Kashmir, erected a fortified palace on the eastern side of the lake" (the Ḍal), wrote George Forster* in 1783. "He used to pass much of his time in this retreat, which was curiously adapted to the enjoyment of the various species of Asiatic luxury; and he is still spoken of in terms of affection and regret; for like them, he was gay, voluptuous, and much addicted to the pleasures of the table. There is not a boatman or his wife that does not speak of this Khan with rapture and ascribe to him a once abundant livelihood. The governor, like many of his predecessors, trusting in the natural strength of his province, and its distance from the capital, rebelled against his master (Timur Shah, the reigning emperor of the Afghans). The force sent against him was small and ill-appointed, and might have been easily repelled by a few resolute men stationed in the passes. But in the hour of need, he was abandoned by the pusillanimous fickle Kashmirians who reconciled their conduct to the Persian, by urging, that if he had remained in Kashmir, he would have converted them all to the faith of Ali and cut them off from the hope of salvation." Amīr Jawān Sher was a Qizilbāsh, born and brought up in Afghānistān.

Hājī Karīmdād began his régime by reducing to subjection Murād Khān, the rājā of Skārdu, from whom he

Journey, Vol. II, pages 15-16.

exacted tribute and demanded hostages. For this achievement, Tīmūr Shāh conferred upon him the title of Shujā'-ul-Mulk. Next, Karīmdād defeated Ranjīt Dev, the rājā of Jammū, who had invaded Kashmīr with an army of 30,000 strong. He further directed his forces against Mahmūd Khān, the chief of Muzaffarābād, who had hampered him in his expedition against Amīr Muhammad Khān Jawān Sher. In this operation, Karīmdād had to suffer considerable chagrin owing to the treachery of Fath Khān, the chief of Kathāī (now in Tahsīl Uṛī), who led Tār Qulī Khān and his army into a close defile, where he despoiled them of all their weapons and equipment. Tār Qulī was at once put to death on his return. In 1195 A.H. (1780 A.C.), Karīmdād Khān himself conducted an army against Mahmūd Khān, but was beaten back by Bahādur Khān, son of Bira Khān Kakar. Next year, he was more fortunate in conquering Kishtwār.

Hājī Karīmdād was rather heartless and killed alike Hindus and Muslims on provocation. His exactions, through Aslam Harkāra[1] his unscrupulous tax-collector, exceeded even those of the notorious I'tīqād Khān, the Mughul sūbadār, and compelled many to leave the country. *Zari-i-Niyāz*, a tax on mansabdārs and jāgīrdārs, was exacted from officials and landlords, *Zar-i-Ashkhās*, another tax, from merchants and bankers, *Zar-i-Hubūb* a tax on grain (*hubūb*, of which the singular is *habb*, means grain) from farmers. Certain Pandits who were concerned in a conspiracy with the Bambas against Karīmdād were exposed to suffocation by smoke. For liberating them Karīmdād realized a large indemnity called *Zar-i-Dūd. Dūd* means smoke. He was advised by Dilārām Qulī to extort *dāgh-shāl*,[2] an anna per rupee on the price of every piece of shawl from the shawl weavers. His good deeds consisted in the repairing of the roof of the Jāmi' Masjid from out of the rents of the mosque waqf, and in visiting the tombs of saints. He avenged the murder of Khwāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn Naqshbandī, the *Sajjāda-nashīn* of the Khānqāh-i-Naqshbandiyya (situated in the Khwāja Bāzār of Srīnagar), by executing Anwar Malik Shāhābādī and his accomplices who had killed the Khwāja. The Khwāja was murdered during the time of Amīr Jawān Sher who was a Shī'a. Karīmdād treated the Shī'as harshly

1. *Harkāra* literally means a messenger or a process-server.
2. The *Dāgh-shāl*, or shawl marking, has also been the name of the State department controlling shawl trade.

and devastated Amīrābād founded by Amīr Jawān Sher, on the Ḍal, near the Nandpōr village in the Mīr Bahrī *pargana*. Under Karīmdād's régime, the country suffered from earthquakes for three months at intervals, and many men were rendered homeless. He died in 1197 A.H. (1783 A.C.), after a term of office of seven years. His son, Āzād Khān, being away on an expedition, his death was kept a secret till the latter's arrival.

Āzād Khān succeeded his father, Hājī Karīmdād Khān, in 1783 A.C. He was "capable and displayed remarkable energy in establishing his authority." "Azad Khan is eighteen years of age," wrote George Forster[1] in 1783. "He has few of the vices of youth. He is not addicted to the pleasures of the harem nor to wine. He does not even smoke the hookah. But he is ferocious and bad tempered." It is for his bad temper and ferociousness that he is called the Nādir Shāh of Kashmīr. He was capricious in that, while he dressed his slaves and followers magnificently, he himself wore very simple clothes. He frequently went out hunting.

Āzād appointed Dilārām Qulī as his Peshkār or Chief Secretary. He employed three thousand Sikhs, and re-organized his army. He turned his attention to extend his influence among the neighbouring chiefs.[2] The rājā of Kishtwār was the first to be made to submit. Rustam Khān of Pūnch, being unable to withstand him, abandoned the city, which was pillaged for a week. But Rustam Khān subsequently appeased him by offering rich presents, and later Rustam's daughter was married to Āzād. Subsequently a son from this marriage was named Fath Jang Khān. The rājā of Rajaurī was also reduced to submission. Āzād Khān tried but failed to make a canal to irrigate the Māyasum plain then outside Srīnagar proper. He commandeered the services of the village-folk of Mar-rāj and Kam-rāj for that purpose, but could not complete the work.

Āzād Khān wished to free himself from his allegiance to Tīmūr Shāh who was occupied with his fourth invasion of India in 1785. Tīmūr, however, dispatched a state notable Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī entitled Kifāyat Khān Nusrat to

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1. *Journey*, pages 30-31.
2. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl*, folios 309-10, and the *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, folio 322.

exact tribute from him. Kifāyat Khān returned with three lakhs of rupees,[1] but his mission was not altogether a success. Tīmūr Shāh then deputed Āzād Khān's elder brothers, Murtazā Khān and Zamān Khān, to chastize Āzād Khān. They were, however, defeated after three days' fighting, and were prevented by famine and cholera from making another attempt. Consequently, Āzād Khān continued his career of independence. Āzād Khān's cousin Pahlwān Khān and others made an unsuccessful attempt upon his life, after which they broke out into rebellion, but were, at last, seized and done to death.

During Āzād Khān's régime, the country suffered from a frightful famine. Even salt could not be had at Rs. 4 per seer. A series of earthquake shocks added to the people's misfortunes. They complained to Tīmūr Shāh earnestly entreating him to act promptly for their relief. Elphinstone puts this event during the interval between Tīmūr's expeditions to Sind in 1786 and against Bahāwal Khān of Bahāwalpur in 1788. Saif-ud-Daula Madad Khān Durrānī and Pāinda Khān Bārakzaī came with fifty thousand horse and foot.[2] From Muzaffarābād one detachment under Pāinda Khān was dispatched by way of Bārāmūla, where he engaged Āzād Khān. Madad Khān Durrānī himself advanced with the other by way of Karnāh, and effected his entry into Srīnagar. Āzād Khān, thereupon, fell back on the Khushīpōr Karēwah adjacent to Zaina-kōṭ and Hākursar Lake, where he was deserted by his chiefs. Reduced to hard straits, he fled to Pūnch. When hemmed in he shot himself to death. He was only 27 years of age then. "Though he grievously oppressed the people, the extravagant mode of life of Azad Khan," says Baron Hügel,[3] caused the money collected from the revenue and taxes to circulate again into the hands of the natives indirectly, who derived also immense profits by the increased exportation of their manufactures."

Saif-ud-Daula Madad Khān Durrānī then ruled for nine months—likewise badly. A Kashmīrī Pandit poignantly put the situation in half the line—

ظُلمِ آزاد را رسید مدد

(Madad out-Heroded Āzād)

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1. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, folio 323.
2. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Khalīl* gives the strength of the punitive army as 4,000 horse and foot, folio 311.
3. *Travels*, page 11.

Before he could restore order and tranquility, he was relieved by Mīr Dād Khān. This nobleman ruled for seven months and imposed unjust taxes. He reduced Mīr Ja'far Khān of Kam-rāj to submission. Mīr Dād died in 1788 A.C.

Juma' Khān Durrānī Halokozaī was the next important governor who held office for four years. The *Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh* of Qāzī Azīz-ud-Dīn, the Muftī-i-A'zam, Kashmīr, notes that Juma' Khān left Kābul on 27th Sha'bān 1202 (1787 A.C.) for Pakhlī, whence he dispatched his nephew in advance. Juma' Khān himself entered Kashmīr in Ramazān. He set Mīr Ja'far Kanṭh free from his prison. Munshī Bhawānī Dās Kāchru, a poet of note, supplied Juma' Khān with a beautiful monogram for his seal :

چو حق تقسیمِ روزِ نیک و بد کرد   محمد جمعہ را مخصوصِ خود کرد

Hasan 'Alī Khān Bamu of Kam-rāj, Rustam 'Alī Khān of Pūnch, Karamullāh Khān of Rajaurī all showed signs of restiveness and were successfully defeated. Juma' Khān's chief sin lies in realizing, through contracts, the dues pertaining to the offices of the Qāzī and the Judge. Under his order the Shī'as were prohibited from observing their "passion week." The parts of the city known as Khānayār* and Rainawārī suffered from a heavy flood caused by the Qāzīzāda Dam, now called Sadd-i-Qāzīzāda or the Suthu, giving way to heavy rush of water. Juma' Khān Halokozaī died of dysentery in 1793, and was buried in the compound of the tomb of Sayyid Qamr-ud-Dīn Khwārizmī (who died in 907 A.H.=1501 A.C. in the precincts of Shergaṛhī). Later, however, his body was removed to Qandahār.

Rahmatullāh held the governorship temporarily till the arrival of Mīr Hazār Khān in 1792 A.C. In Hazār's tenure Tīmūr Shāh passed away on 18th May, 1793, at Kābul when he was preparing to invade India for the sixth time. Zamān Shāh, the next ruler, confirmed Mīr Hazār Khān in his post.

Mīr Hazār Khān, however, set himself up as an independent governor, and imprisoned his father Mīrzā Khān who had been deputed from Kābul to advise him to desist from declaring independence. Mīr Hazār was hard upon the Shī'as and the Hindus and imposed *jizya* on the latter.

*Khāna-yār, literally, means the ward or mahalla of the Khāns.

Ahmad Khān Shahinak-bāshī, the general, and Rahmatullāh Khān were appointed by Zamān Shāh to chastize him. It is apparently to this event that Elphinstone refers when he says that the remaining months of 1793 and part of 1794 were occupied in reducing Kashmīr (page 566). A number of Mīr Hazār's nobles having deserted him, he took sanctuary in the Khanqāh-i-Mu'allā, but was subsequently enticed out and imprisoned. His régime extended over a period of one year and two months.

In 1794 A.C. Rahmatullāh Khān ruled for four months, but was recalled for quarrelling with Ahmad Khān Shahinak-bāshī. Kifāyat Khān succeeded him in 1794. Kifāyat was a generous, well-meaning person. During his brief stay of one year, the Sunnī-Shī'a quarrels were stopped. He suppressed a rebellion of the Bambas in Kam-rāj. He is associated with a garden in Khānayār. A serious quarrel among his nobles, however, led to his dismissal in 1795. Arsalān Khān was next invested with the governorship of Kashmīr. Following the practice of the later sūbadārs under the Mughuls, he sent Amīr Muhammad Khān Jawān Sher to rule in his place. Some of Muhammad Khān's relatives, who were officers of a body of the Jawān Sher tribesmen, rebelled against him, and besieged him in the Shergarhī fort. A compromise being arrived at, Muhammad Khān shared his authority with them. Soon after this, Hāfiz Sher Muhammad Khān Mukhtār-ud-Daula, the son of Shāh Valī Khān, the prime minister of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, having been directed from Kābul, arrived in Kashmīr. He took all the contending parties with him to Kābul. This Mukhtār-ud-Daula subsequently became the prime minister of Zamān Shāh.

'Abdullāh Khān Halokozaī filled the vacant post of governor in 1795 A.C. He ruled the country for about eleven years. For the first three years of his régime, the country was governed by one or other of his brothers who, it seems, performed their duties sincerely and conscientiously. In 1213 A.H. (1798 A.C.) on returning from Kābul, he systematically began to strengthen himself and entertain ambitious designs, apparently when he saw that government in Kābul was changing hands rapidly. He first managed to free the capital from the presence of the chiefs and nobles likely to be inimical to him. Next, he appointed men of humble origin to higher posts. He also enlisted an army of thirty thousand men, and entered into alliance with the

neighbouring chiefs. It was in this connexion that he married the daughter of Fath Khān Bamba, the chief of Muzaffarābād. He ruled the country mildly and justly.

'Abdullāh Khān quarrelled in 1800 A.C. with his Dīwān, Har Dās who was a protégé of Dīwan Nand Rām. Nand Rām was the favourite of Rahmat Khān with the title of "Vafādār Khān" conferred by Zamān Shāh, and was the prime minister at Kābul. Nand Rām rose to be a minister at Kābul in the time of Zamān Shāh and hence gave an occasion to his own people to say.

سیم از معبودٌ، ضرب از نند رام

Nand Rām's position so emboldened the Kashmīrī Pandit as to say, even though secretly, in national pride--

سکّه زد در مُلکِ کابل نند رام   اے مُسلمانان بخوانید رام ! رام !

'Abdullāh Khān's quarrel consequently resulted in his recall, and finally in his imprisonment in the Bālā Hisār at Kābul. Before leaving Kashmīr, he set up his brother, 'Atā Muhammad Khān, in his place and secretly wrote to him as well as to the chief of Muzaffarābād to hold the country for him, and resist the new governor. The vazīr of Kābul, Vafādār Khān, appointed as governor 'Abdullāh Khān's brother, Vakīl Khān, who was then in Kashmīr, and sent Mullā Ahmad Khān to execute his orders. 'Atā Muhammad Khān first killed Vakīl Khān and then defeated and captured Mullā Ahmad Khān.

In 1261 A.H. (1801 A.C.) Zamān Shāh was seized and blinded, and his brother Mahmūd Shāh, ruler of Herāt, was declared king of Afghānistān. These circumstances encouraged the insurgents all the more. Further, 'Abdullāh Khān conspired, and escaped to Kashmīr with Jān Nisār 'Alī Khān, the commandant of Bālā Hisār at Peshāwar whom he presented with a lakh of rupees. He then attended to his affairs in Kashmīr, built a fort in the pargana of Biru, and finally withheld the tribute, thereby proclaiming his independence. G. T. Vigne's reference to the working of copper mines in Kashmīr during 'Abdullāh Khān's time may explain the latter's affluence.

At this stage, Kābul was undergoing a change of rulers. Mahmūd Shāh who deposed Zamān Shāh was himself deposed

by Zamān's brother Shujā'-ul-Mulk.[1] Shujā' in 1806 A.C. dispatched Hāfiz Sher Muhammad Khān Mukhtār-ud-Daula to bring Kashmīr to subjection. Sher Muhammad Khān arrived at Muzaffarābād and pretended negotiations chiefly with the object of taking his adversary unawares. After receiving reinforcements from the neighbouring rājās, he made a sudden attack on 'Abdullāh Khān's army which retreated, but offered battle at the village Doāb-gāh below Sōpōr at the junction of the Pohur and the Jhelum, whence he fled to his fort at Biru. 'Atā Muhammad Khān, son of Hāfiz Sher Muhammad Khān, was ordered to besiege that fort. During this siege, in 1807 A.C., 'Abdullāh Khān died. As Elphinstone says, 'Abdullāh Khān was a man of good talents and great courage. He was liked by both Afghāns and Kashmīrīs. "He is commended for his love of justice and his skill in administrating it, for his liberality, his affable manners, and his princely magnificence. He was also a great encourager of learning and poetry. Perhaps no Durrani has left a character so generally admired" (pp. 595-96). Elphinstone's mission to Kābul arrived at Peshāwar on the 25th of February, 1809, and left Peshāwar on the 14th of June.

In 1809 Kābul was again a scene of strife and struggle between various claimants to the throne. Mahmūd Shāh was set free, whilst Prince Qaisar, Zamān's son, and Prince Kāmrān, Mahmūd's son, waged wars against each other. In these internecine struggles, Hāfiz Sher Muhammad Khān Mukhtār-ud-Daula son of Shāh Valī Khān, vazīr of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, was killed, and Shujā'-ul-Mulk was defeated by 'Azīm Khān and took asylum under Ranjīt Singh.

Hāfiz Sher Muhammad Khān Mukhtār-ud-Daula, before being killed, had left Kashmīr after a sojourn of five months, appointing his son[2] 'Atā Muhammad Khān as his Nā'ib with the sanction of Shāh Shujā.' The year of his installation, *viz.* 1221 A.H. (1806 A.C.), is obtained from the chronogram *Afzāl-i-Rahmānī*.

'Atā Muhammad Khān's excellent régime is like a large oasis in the desert patches of the Afghān sovereignty of

1. Zamān Shāh and Shujā'-ul-Mulk were from the same mother, a lady of the Yūsufzaī tribe.

2. Lt. Newall writes that this governor was the son of the late governor 'Abdullāh Khān on page 452, while on page 450 he calls him brother of the same person.—*J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854.

Kashmīr. The people prospered under him. Considerable advance took place generally. In one year during his rule, one crore of rupees accrued to the treasury owing to the revival of trade. The revenue from other sources also doubled. Many persons came by hidden treasures which they were allowed to keep. Most of the important suits were dealt with personally by him, and in the case of disputed succession, he allocated the share of each claimant. In public and private life, he observed simplicity, and showed due deference to men of learning and piety. His structures at Charār Sharīf are still there.

About 1810 Nidhān Singh Atha,[1] disgusted with Ranjīt Singh, quitted the Punjāb, and entered the service of 'Atā Muhammad Khān.

In 1810 'Atā Muhammad Khān declared his independence because Shāh Shujā' and Shāh Mahmūd in turn sent expeditions against him. 'Atā struck coin in the name of the saint Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī with a very appropriate legend on it which the reader of *Kashīr* must have seen on page 101. Akram Khān, Atā's successor-designate, and Afzal Khān were dispatched by Shāh Shujā'-ul-Mulk to divest him of his authority, and to reduce him to submission. They were severely defeated at Shāhdara,[2] in the Rajaurī Tahsīl. And 'Atā Muhammad returned to his capital in triumph. He now built fortifications at Sopōr, Bārāmūla, at the summit of the Kūh-i-Mārān, and constructed several smaller forts and bastions in other strategic localities from Muzaffarābād onwards. He also laid stores of ammunition against future emergency. Through Dīwān Nand Rām and his own brother Jahāndād Khān, he played the stratagem of inviting Shujā'-ul-Mulk from Talamba, a town 60 miles north-east of Multān, in the Punjāb, on the confluence of the Rāvī and the Chināb. Here Shujā' was halting having been ousted from Afghānistān by Mahmūd Shāh—the second son of Tīmūr Shāh. Shujā' came to Kashmīr with Hasan Khān and Mullā Hidāyatullāh. 'Atā Muhammad confined the ex-king Shujā' in the Kūh-i-Māran (Harīparbat) fort, and dispatched his brother Jahāndād Khān to take possession of the Attock fort.

1. Hügel's *Travels*, page 369.
2. Shāhdara is a village with a population of 773 at the census of 1941.

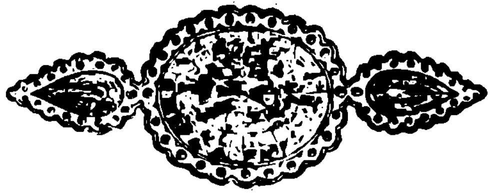
How Ranjīt Singh was interested in Kashmīr.

Fath Khān, the vazīr of Shāh Mahmūd, resolved to punish the governors of Attock and Kashmīr for the assistance they had given to Zamān Shāh and Shāh Shujā'. In this manner, from the proximity of the territories, Fath Khān and Ranjīt Singh were brought into close communication. In 1813 they entered into an agreement. By this agreement it was stipulated that Ranjīt Singh, in consideration of a share of the plunder—a present of eight lakhs—and some prospective advantages, would not only allow Fath Khān a free passage through his territories but furnish him with an auxiliary force of 12,000 Sikhs. "As both parties were adepts in fraud," says Henry Beveridge in *A Comprehensive History of India* (Vol. III, p. 227), "each endeavoured to turn the agreement to his own sole advantage." Fath Khān, having recovered Kashmīr, refused to share the plunder alleging that the Sikhs had not assisted him according to promise. And Ranjīt Singh, by means of an intrigue, made himself master of Attock, and refused to part with it. It appears that, though Fath Khān wanted Ranjīt to observe benevolent neutrality, he did not like Ranjīt's army entering the Valley. Fath Khān, therefore, hurried into Kashmīr ahead of Ranjīt's troops led by Mohkam Chand. But Mohkam too reached by a short cut. Fath Khān refused to reward the Sikhs because they did no fighting. The chief gain to the Sikhs was the securing of the person of Shāh Shujā.'

For the broad details of this affair let us refer to Ranjīt Singh's historian Kanhayyā Lāl, the author of the *Zafar-nāma-i-Ranjīt Singh*,* who writes:—"At this time Fath Khān, who governed the district of Peshāwar on behalf of the sovereign of Afghānistān, sent an envoy with presents to Ranjīt Singh to inform him that 'Atā Muhammad, governor of Kashmīr, had cast off his allegiance to the then ruler of Afghānistān (Mahmūd Shāh), and had been joined by the fugitive Shāh Shujā' who hoped to recover his throne by his aid : but that the governor of Kashmīr might at once be reduced to obedience if the forces of Ranjīt Singh were to co-operate with those of Fath Khān and invade Kashmīr. Accordingly Ranjīt Singh ordered his commander-in-chief Dīwan Mohkam Chand to march at once to Kashmīr ;

*Mr. E. Rehatsek's English translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, November 1897, pages 339-40.

and when the latter reached the frontier, Fath Khān likewise arrived from the direction of Peshāwar. However, when they crossed the Pīr Panjāl they found that all the chiefs and rājās of the mountains had become unfriendly, and being unwilling to meet them had gone out of their way. When the united forces reached Hūrapōr, the first point across the pass in the Kashmīr Valley, they first met with resistance at Ballapōr near Shupiān, but defeated 'Atā Muhammad, who thereupon retreated to the fort of Shergaṛhī which they beleaguered, and took it only after they had occupied Śrīnagar and established an Afghān administration. When the fort of Shergaṛhī was taken, both 'Atā Muhammad and Shāh Shujā' became prisoners, and Fath Khān, who hated them mortally, believed he had them in his grasp, but was disappointed by Mohkam Chand, who took them under his protection." But according to the *Tarīkh Sultānī* pp. 233-35) Fath Khān surrendered Shāh Shujā' to (Mohkam Chand. Kanhayyā Lāl continues: "The Afghān general immediately dispatched a courier to Ranjīt Singh, with a request to order both these exalted prisoners to be given up to him. The question, however, being a knotty one the Mahārājā did not wish to decide it hastily. And whilst Ranjīt was considering what answer to send, a messenger arrived from Talamba with presents from Shāh (or Wafā) Begam, the spouse of Shāh Shujā,' who had taken up her residence in that town. The lady expressed her anxiety and requested the Mahārājā not to surrender Shāh Shujā' to his enemy, Fath Khān, but to receive him at the court of Lāhore, in which case she promised to present Ranjīt Singh with the famous diamond, Kūh or Koh-i-Nūr, which she described as a gem of priceless value, and indeed a "Mountain of Light."



The Kūh-i-Nūr or the "Mountain of Light."

[The diamond Koh-i-Nūr weighing 900 *ratīs*, or 787½ carats, was found in the dominion of Golkanda at a place called Kollur on the Krishna river about 1656, and was presented in an uncut state by Mīr Jumla to Shāh Jahān. When Tavernier handled this diamond in Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr's treasury in 1665, it weighed 319½ *ratīs* or 269 $^{9}/_{16}$ carats, having been reduced to this size by a Venetian

impostor named Hortensio Borgio, it is said, by wasteful grinding instead of cleaning. When in British possession, the Koh-i-Nūr was re-cut at Amsterdam reducing the weight to 106⅛ carats.

The diamond was on the famous peacock throne which Shāh Jahān constructed. When Nādir Shāh after his conquest of Delhī, took possession of the throne, and broke it up, the Koh-i-Nūr could not be found. At last, however, the discovery was made through a woman of the harem of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh that he had concealed it in his turban. Accordingly, Nādir Shāh one day politely off red him brotherhood by the usual ceremony of exchanging turbans on such an occasion, which the emperor could not refuse. Thus the diamond fell into the possession of Nādir Shāh who gave it this name in 1739. When Shāh Zamān, who had obtained it, was a fugitive, he concealed the diamond in the chink of a wall, but Shāh Shujā' who had recovered it, was compelled to give it to Ranjīt Singh or Ranjīt seized it as the price of hospitality. In the end, the Koh-i-Nūr came into the possession of the East India Company in 1849 who presented it to Her Majesty the Queen of England when it adorned the British Crown.

The original setting with models of the stones, as then worn, is in the Jewel House, London. The Koh-i-Nūr is however, in Queen, Elizabeth's crown at present.

The gem was valued at £140,000.

It is on account of the Koh-i-Nūr and other diamonds that the word 'Golconda' has come to be a synonym in the English language for "fabulous wealth," as the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* and Murray's *A New English Dictionary* have it, an illustration being —To the lover of poetry 'Paracelsus' will always be a Golconda.]

"The Mahārājā, delighted with the offer, willingly granted the request of Shāh Begam. Meanwhile a letter arrived from 'Atā Muhammad, who likewise prayed not to be surrendered to Fath Khān. He further desired to place his services entirely at the disposal of the Mahārājā, and offered him the fort of Attock, which was yet held by Jahāndād Khān. the commandant whom he had himself appointed to it. Hereon the Mahārājā sent a very complimentary letter to Dīwan Mohkam Chand thanking him for what he had done, enjoining him to crush Fath Khān altogether if he should offer further resistance, and then to bring Shāh Shujā' to Lāhore with all due honour, to treat 'Atā Muhammad with the greatest consideration, and to make arrangements with him for taking possession of Attock, all of which the Dīwān undertook to effect.

"In due course of time the commander-in-chief, Dīwān Mohkam Chand, arrived with the army in Lāhore, bringing also Shāh Shujā' who met with a friendly reception, and

obtained a provision for his maintenance. Faqīr 'Azīz-ud-Dīn having been dispatched with troops to take possession of Attock, was received with demonstrations of submission by Jahāndād Khān, who at once yielded, and a Sikh garrison having been quartered therein, its works were likewise repaired. The Mahārājā was so pleased with this successful transaction that he made 'Atā Muhammad a present of a lakh of rupees and a dress of honour. Ranjīt Singh now bethought himself of the Koh-i-Nūr, promised by Shāh (or Wafā) Begam spouse of Shāh Shujā,' and desired to obtain possession of it. She had indeed joined her husband, but the "Mountain of Light" was not forthcoming until the supplies were stopped, whereon Shāh Shujā' at last surrendered it. This happy event Ranjīt Singh celebrated with a great banquet.

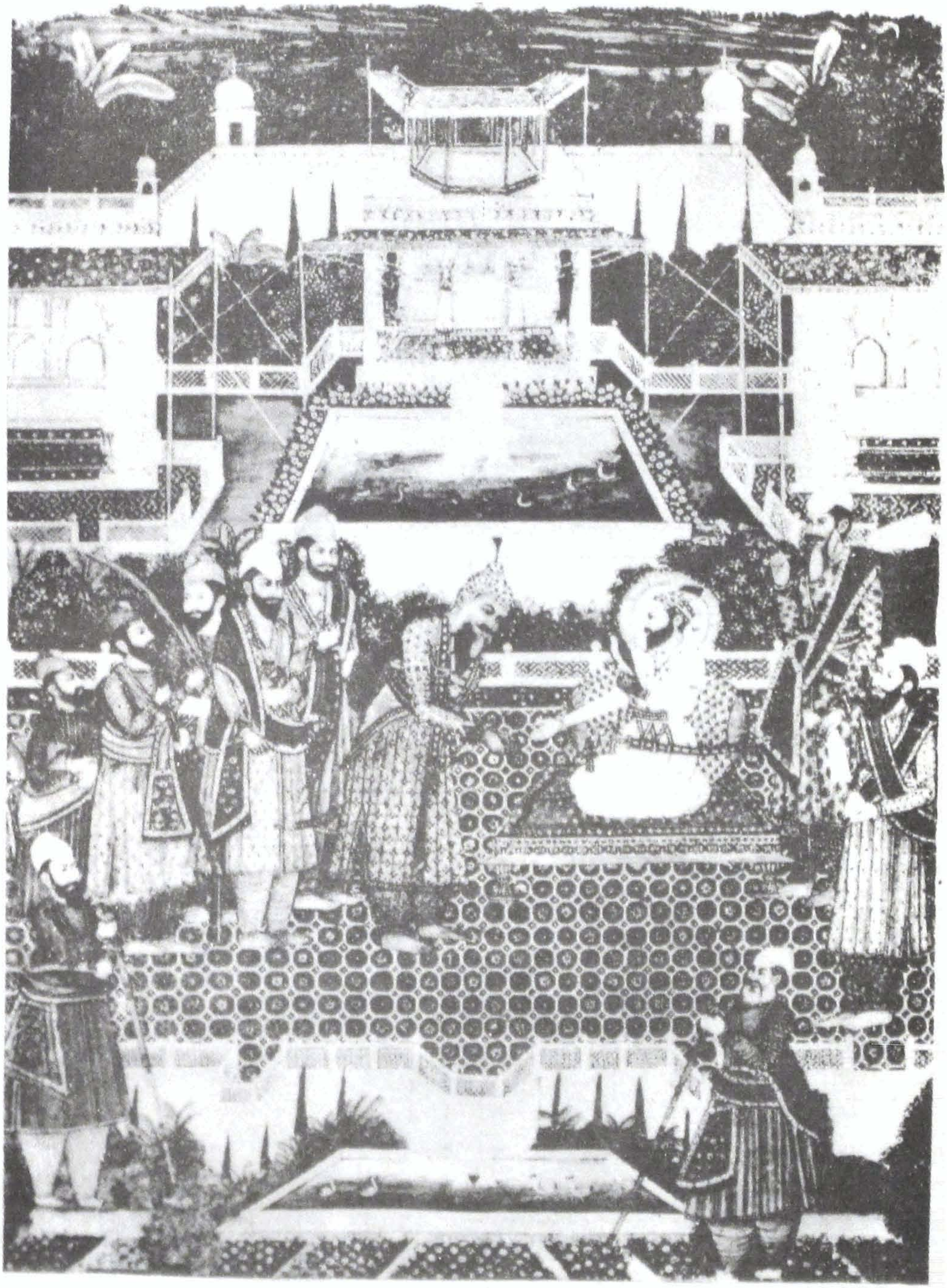
"The carousals of the Mahārājā had not yet come to an end when a courier arrived with the information that Fath Khān was besieging the fort of Attock, and that the garrison, being in great distress for food, expected reinforcements. Accordingly Dīwan Mohkam Chand and Ghāzī Khān were immediately dispatched at the head of numerous troops, and reached Attock by forced marches. The Sikhs found that the whole surrounding population sympathized with the besiegers, but it being the hot season, and almost unbearable to the Afghāns, accustomed to their cold mountain climate, they were defeated in the first engagement, chiefly because they suffered from burning thirst, which many hastened to quench in the river even during the battle. The siege having been abandoned, Mohkam Chand entered the fort without meeting an enemy, and after having abundantly provided the famishing garrison with food, returned with all the booty he had gained to Lāhore, where the Mahārājā overwhelmed him with honours. Having made a vow to perform a pilgrimage to Jwālāmukhī in the lower Himālayas after the prosperous termination of the Afghān campaign, the Mahārājā now hastened to fulfil it. After performing his adorations to the goddess, replenishing her treasury, and spending large sums in alms, the Mahārājā determined to surprise the ruler of Kashmīr, who was his enemy, and enrolling all the mountain chiefs to aid him with their forces, began the march. But it was autumn. The cold weather had set in. On arriving near the Pīr Panjāl Pass, it was found to be blocked up with snow. Therefore Ranjīt Singh marched back to Lāhore. It had

been reported to the Mahārājā that Shāh Shujā' possessed a great deal of jewellery and precious stones, which he might be induced to part with, and messengers were at once sent with offers to purchase them, but he replied that, being a poor exile, he had nothing for sale and had already given away the priceless Koh-i-Nūr. All excuses were, however, of no avail, and he was forcibly deprived of all his precious stones, which dastardly act exasperated and perhaps also frightened him, so that he planned and executed the flight of his harem." The author, however, adds that after his harem had escaped, "Shāh Shujā' was imprisoned, but succeeded in making, during the night, a hole in the wall of the room where he had been confined, and escaping from it walked on foot and in disguise to the British frontier, where he made himself known, and met with a kind reception."

It is a serious blot on Ranjīt's character that he should have behaved in this shabby manner towards Shāh Shujā', whose elder brother Shāh Zamān had appointed him ruler of Lāhore in preference to an Afghān governor. Moreover, Shāh Shujā' was an invited guest, once a ruler, now in distress, under his own wing and shelter and maintenance, and had already robbed him of the "Mountain of Light!"

Vazīr Fath Muhammad Khān Bārakzaī was ruling Kashmīr under orders of Mahmūd Shāh for some months. Fath Muhammad Khān, Dūst Muhammad Khān and Yār Muhammad Khān and 'Azīm Khān and several others were brothers as already noted. Fath Muhammad left his brother Sardār 'Azīm Khān in his place. He himself returned to Kābul. Thence he led a huge army to dispute the possession of Attock, but returned defeated.

In 1813 Sardār Muhammad 'Azīm Khān assumed charge of governorship. He allowed Pandit Sahaj Rām to continue in the post of Dīwān, and at the same time appointed Dīwān Hīra Dās as *Sāhib-i-Kār* or administrator.



Ranjit Singh making obeisance to Zamān Shāh on receiving the rulership of Lāhore.

[By courtesy of the Keeper of Government Records, West Punjāb, Lāhore.]



Sardār Muhammad 'Azim Khān, Governor of Kashmir from 1813 to 1819, who repelled Mahārājā Ranjit Singh's invasion of Kashmir in 1814.

In 1814 Ranjīt Singh invaded Kashmīr with 10,000 Sikhs to realize the second instalment of eight lakhs of rupees which had been promised him by Vazīr Fath Khān. Ranjīt Singh himself stayed at Pūnch, while his army reached the village Salh by unfrequented paths. Another detachment reached Rayār (15 miles from Baḍgām) by way of Tosha Maidān, which is ten miles south-east of Gulmarg, and is one of the most beautiful *marghs* or meadows of Kashmīr. At first a detachment of the Afghān force was repulsed. The town of Shupiān was attacked. But the assault failed. The Sikhs retired to the mountain passes. 'Azīm Khān proved himself equal to the occasion, and confronted the main army. The Sikhs were considerably hampered by adverse conditions caused by heavy rain and intense cold, and Hügel adds, want of supplies. On receiving information that his Hürapōr army had perished to the last man, Ranjīt Singh himself had to flee almost

alone to Maṇḍī on 30th July, 1814, after the complete loss of his baggage, and a great portion of his army. 'Abdullāh Khān pursued him up to the Kotlī pass in the Mīrpur district, and returned with much booty which included Ranjīt Singh's favourite horse, the Lailī.[1] Ranjīt Singh's departure unnerved the Sikh army which retreated after fighting for eight ḍays.

[The historical importance of the Tosha Maidān route[2] is best illustrated by the fact that it was chosen on two occasions for expeditions aiming at the invasion of Kashmīr. Mahmūd of Ghazna, in 1021 A.C., invaded Kashmīr when Abū Raihān al-Bīrūnī accompanied him. Mahmūd failed. Ranjīt too failed in this, his first invasion of Kashmīr. Hiüen Tsang visited Pūnch by the Tosha Maidān route about 633 A.C.]

Let us hear this campaign from Kanhayyā Lāl, the author of the *Zafar-nāma-i-Ranjīt Singh*.[3] "Ranjīt Singh's desire of subjugating Kashmīr having again become dominant, he determined to attack Muhammad 'Azīm, the Afghān governor of the Valley, and went against him in Samat 1871 (A.C. 1814) with numerous rājās of the mountains, accompanied by their forces. He remained for some time at Siālkōt, till he was joined by his allies, and then marched into the mountains where also 'Az Khān, the chief of Rajaurī, came to meet him, paid him homage and tribute. Then Ranjīt Singh went on to Dera Bahrām, *i.e.*, Bahrām Gala, near the Pīr Panjāl Pass, where he encountered a force of the enemy but routed it, whereon it took refuge

1. " The Maharaja let me know that this horse (Laili) had cost him 60 lakhs of rupees and 12,000 soldiers, having been the occasion of several wars. It was the property of Yar Mohammad Khan of Peshawar and Ranjit Singh made the delivery of the animal to him one of the conditions of peace. The cunning Mohammedan, however, who considered this article humiliating to him, evaded it several times by sending another horse under the name of Laili, and it was owing to a plan devised by General Ventura that it was eventually obtained."—Baron Hügel's *Travels*, London, 1185, page 333.

Moorcroft, when he met Ranjīt on 8th May, 1920, at Lāhore, saw such a large body of horses as money alone could not buy. The Mahārājā had obtained from Fath Khān and his brothers of Bukhāra, as presents and by purchase, some of the horses of his stud.—The *Journal of the Panjāb University Historical Society*, April 1933, page 90.

Ranjīt's passion for horses amounts almost to insanity, wrote W. G. Osborn in 1840 (page 91).

2. Dr. Stein's *Ancient Geography of Kashmīr*, page 81.

3. The *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 17, January 1888, page 18, English translation by E. Rehatsek.

in the fort, which was besieged and surrendered. Then he continued his progress to Pūnch, where he halted several days and sent an envoy to Muhammad 'Azīm, requiring him to submit. The latter replied that he was not subject to the Mahārājā, but to the Shāh of Kābul, who had entrusted him with the government of Kashmīr, which he was prepared to defend. Ranjīt Singh now determined immediately to attack him. Crossing the Pīr Panjāl range, Ranjīt marched to Hürapōr, were he found numerous Afghān and Kashmīrī forces collected, and gave them battle. During the fight, so violent a fall of rain took place that it caused an inundation, and, the cold being very intense, disheartened the Punjābīs so much, that they were defeated; three of their high officers being killed, namely, Gurū Singh, Mahesha Singh, and Dāsa Singh. Whilst the battle was yet raging, the treacherous 'Az Khān, who had joined the forces of Ranjīt Singh only on compulsion, informed him that most of the troops left by him at Hürapōr had been slain or captured. This news was false. But it was believed by the Sikhs to be true. And Ranjīt forthwith retreated in great haste to Bhimbar on the frontier of Kashmīr. But on ascertaining that 'Az Khān had made a mendacious statement, he desired immediately to return and subdue Muhammad 'Azīm. The sardārs of his court, however, made strong representations to the contrary, boldly giving him the advice to retreat with his forces to Lāhore which he was ultimately compelled to adopt. They also suggested that in Lāhore preparations might be made for renewing the campaign if necessary, but that meanwhile the Mahārājā ought to send to the Afghān governor of Kashmīr a conciliatory letter, mixed notwithstanding with threats, counselling him to abandon the siege of Hürapōr, and to allow the Sikh garrison to depart. This Ranjīt Singh did, and was in a short time joined by the garrison of Hürapōr, which had capitulated, and brought a friendly reply from Muhammad 'Azīm. The march back to Lāhore now began immediately, but Dīwān Mohkam Chand, who had already fallen sick in Kashmīr, expired on arriving in the capital of the Punjāb. His loss was much deplored by Ranjīt Singh, who appointed his two sons Rām Dyāl and Motī Rām to succeed him as Dīwāns, and put them in charge of various military expeditions."

Colonel D. Ochterlony,* Agent, Governor-General,

**Punjab Government Records*, 1911, Vol. 2, pages 390.

"Loodeana," reports Ranjīt Singh's rout to Mr. J. Adam, Secretary to Government in the Secret, Political and Foreign Department, on 13th of August, 1814, in the following dispatch :—

"I have this instant received intelligence that Runjeet's Army, which had advanced beyond Peer Punjal, had been encountered and defeated with considerable loss by the Nāzim's troops. Runjeet had in consequence ordered their retreat which was conducted so irregularly and in such disorder as to become a disagreeable flight which all his personal exertions could not prevent, and at the date of the letter (28th July), the Kashmerean army and Rohulla Khan, the Poonch Rajah, were pursuing.

"It is probable this, with the distress experienced, will induce Runjeet to abandon his enterprise, and if he succeeds in effecting a decent retreat I am inclined to think he will owe it in some degree to his regular battalions but more to the mismanagement of the enemy opposed to him."

After this victory, 'Azīm Khān naturally called to account those leading Pandits whom he considered solely responsible for inducing Ranjīt Singh to undertake the invasion of Kashmīr. Many Muslims also suffered with the Pandits for their complicity both losing their estates, which were, however, on investigation, afterwards restored. The native soldiery was also dismissed by 'Azīm. At this time, the inhabitants of Kashmīr suffered from a famine, which claimed a heavy toll of human lives.

Shujā'-ul-Mulk, having freed himself from the grip of Vazīr Fath Khān, found himself involved in trouble with Ranjīt Singh, who took from him the Koh-i-Nūr diamond and other precious stones. Afterwards, Shujā'-ul-Mulk betook himself to British territory and resided at Ludhiāna, whence he proceeded to Kishtwār, and made an abortive attempt or two to conquer Kashmīr. At last, after obtaining help from Lord Auckland, he re-captured Kābul and Qandahār, but was assassinated after a brief reign of two years.

'Azīm Khān had entrusted the task of collecting the revenue to three Pandits, namely, Bīrbal Dar, Mīrzā Pandit, and Sukh Rām. The first-named had an amount of one lakh outstanding against him. When called upon to pay it, he addressed 'Azīm Khān impertinently. But the latter

granted him a respite to pay the arrears on Mīrzā Pandit offering himself as surety. Pandit Bīrbal Dar utilized the respite in fleeing from the country. Bīrbal's flight, in mid-winter in 1818-19, across the snow-covered mountains, it is said, was made possible on account of the support of Malik Nāmdār and Malik Kāmdār of Kulgām.[1] The influence of Rājā Dhyān Singh, the brother of Gulāb Singh, procured Bīrbal Dar an easy admittance to Ranjīt Singh's court. Pandit Vasa Kāk, the director of communications, conducted Bīrbal's wife to a place of safety. But those who had aided Bīrbal Dar in his flight were traitorously betrayed by his own son-in-law, Pandit Tilok Chand. Naturally 'Azīm Khān was hard upon them.

Bīrbal's wife, Kud Māl Ded, put an end to her life.[2]

In 1819 A.C. Vazīr Fath Khān, whose eyes had been put out by Shāh Kāmrān (son of Mahmūd and grandson of Tīmūr Shāh) ruler of Herāt, sent for 'Azīm Khān from Kashmīr to assist him in carrying out his ministerial duties and to fight Kāmrān. 'Azīm Khān sent all his property with Sahaj Rām to Kābul. He handed over the governorship to his brother Jabbār Khān and started for Kābul.

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1. *Inside Kashmir*, page 177.

2. In Kashmīr people still speak of Bīrbal's wife having killed herself by swallowing a piece of diamond, some actually assert by licking *almās*. K.B. Miyān Afzal Husain, M.Sc. (Panjab), M.A. (Cantab), Vice-Chancellor, Panjab University, drew my attention to the untenability of this theory. On referring the matter to Dr. S. D. Muzaffar, M.Sc. (Panjāb), Ph.D. (Cambridge), Professor of Chemistry, the Panjab College of Engineering and Technology, Mughulpura, Lāhore, I am grateful to him for an expression of opinion on the matter in his letter dated 5th June, 1942. This opinion is as follows :—" You have asked my opinion whether anyone can die of eating a precious stone. The position regarding this question is, that, medically speaking, none of the precious stones acts as a poison in the same sense as arsenic, oxide or opium, etc. They have nothing in them to upset the various chemical processes going on in the body and especially the blood of a person. But if they are powdered in such a manner that they have sharp edges, then their action is the same as that of swallowing chips of glass with sharp edges, which cut the body tissues, and dig into them causing permanent sores which may lead to internal blood poisoning. It is well known that glass powder acts in this manner, and people have been killed by putting glass powder in their food. Therefore, you are quite right if you assume that the lady in question ate a precious stone which was presumably polished and did not have very sharp edges. But if the same stone was powdered and eaten, it could act as a poison." A well-known scholarly Hakīm of Lāhore also felt doubtful of the truth of dying by swallowing a diamond.

A large portion of Afghān troops was also dispatched to Qandahār to beat Kāmrān.

Jabbār Khān was the last of the Afghān governors. Several of these governors displayed a strange propensity towards persecution and high-handedness, which finally put an end to their rule. Contrary to his predecessors, Jabbār Khān was, however, extremely mild and just, but was ordained to rule for four months only!

It has already been stated how Pandit Bīrbal Dar had gone to Ranjīt Singh's court. When the Pandit heard of 'Azīm Khān's departure for Kābul, he urged Ranjīt Singh to attack Kashmīr. Remembering his previous failure, Ranjīt Singh dreaded the suggested step. At last, Bīrbal Dar held himself responsible for all consequent loss in case of failure. As a guarantee, the Pandit surrendered his son Rāj Kāk Dar, who subsequently held a high administrative post during Sikh rule in Kashmīr, as hostage to the 'Lion of the Punjāb.' The Mahārājā then agreed to follow Bīrbal's advice, knowing that a large part of the Afghān army of Kashmīr was fighting in Qandahār against Shāh Kāmrān of Herāt.

An army of thirty thousand Sikhs led by experienced generals like Sardārs Harī Singh Nalwa, Jawālā Singh, Hukam Singh, Rājā Gulāb Singh and Dīwan Misr Chand accordingly invaded Kashmīr. The main body was led to Thanna, and a detachment was conducted by way of the Darhāl pass. Jabbār Khān arrived with his army at Hürapōr, and also sent a detachment to Pīr Panjāl (Pantsāl) to guard the road. The Afghāns repulsed the invaders, and mastered two guns. But they did not improve their success. The rallied Sikhs again attacked the Afghāns, and, in the words of Captain Cunningham, won an almost bloodless victory. Owing to superiority of numbers on the side of the Sikhs, Jabbār Khān's soldiers lost heart. Their leader himself, however, fought desperately. Jabbār Khān, sustained, it is said, eighteen wounds, and was picked from the battlefield by his adjutant who ordered immediate retreat. It was after many days that Jabbār recovered consciousness. Later on, taking his precious property with him, he started for Kābul by way of Bārāmūla, thus leaving the Sikhs in complete possession of Kashmīr.

The two factors that helped Ranjīt Singh in the conquest of Kashmīr in 1819 were the acquisition by

him of immense booty from the fall of the fort of Multān in 1818, and the withdrawal of almost all the veteran Afghān troops from the Valley to beyond the Indus in the internecine war of Afghānistān. Raw levies left in the Valley were no match against the re-organized Sikh army well provided by the loot of Multān.

Lāhore was illuminated for three days in honour of the event. But strange to say, Ranjīt Singh himself did not enter Kashmīr on account of a superstitious dread.

The version of this victory by the author of the *Zafar-nāma-i-Ranjīt Singh* would bear repetition and is reproduced below: "Information having arrived from Kābul that Fath Khān, the vazīr of Mahmūd Shāh, had fallen into disgrace and been deprived of sight by the Shāhzāda Kāmrān, Governor of Herāt, and that a civil war was raging in Afghānistān, the Mahārājā considered this a good opportunity for conquering both Peshāwar and Kashmīr, the more so as the latter province was now governed by Jabbār Khān, whom Muhammad 'Azīm had left as his Nā'ib, or lieutenant, when he returned to Afghānistān. Ranjīt Singh accordingly marched in the direction of Peshāwar. In a short time he crossed the Rāvī, the Chināb, and the Jhelum. But when he reached the banks of the Indus, he found no boats. Crossing it without any, in an almost miraculous manner, on horseback, with his army, he safely reached the opposite bank, conquered the fort of Khairābād and then the fort of Jahāngīr, whereon Fīrūz Khān, the chief of the Khatak tribe of Afghāns humbly came to pay him homage. When Yār Muhammad, the governor of Peshāwar, heard of the approach of Ranjīt Singh, he forthwith retired to the Yūsufzaī mountains. The Mahārājā took possession of the fort, appointed Jahāndād Khān commandant of it, and departed again after a sojourn of only three days. Whilst encamped near Attock, Ranjīt Singh received the offer of a *nazarāna* of a lakh of rupees from Yār Muhammad, who also promised annually to pay a similar sum on condition of being re-installed governor of Peshāwar, and the Mahārājā consented. Meanwhile news arrived that Yār Muhammad had by the aid of Dūst Muhammad nevertheless attacked Jahāndād Khān, and expelled him from Peshāwar, of which they took possession. The Mahārājā at once dispatched his son, Kharak Singh, with ten thousand men to reduce the two invaders, but the blow aimed at them was avoided by the arrival of the promised

and long delayed *nazarāna*, and a profession of allegiance on the part of Yār Muhammad. Having terminated this affair to his satisfaction, the Mahārājā returned to Lāhore with the money he had obtained. But as his heart was bent on the conquest of Kashmīr he could not rest long.

"The army having been got ready in St. 1876 (A.C. 1819) it happened at the same time that Jabbār Khān, who was at that time Governor of Kashmīr, had not only dismissed but also disgraced and reduced to penury his Dīwān, Pandit Bīrbar by name. On this the latter hastened to Lāhore, breathing vengeance, and urged Ranjīt Singh to subjugate Kashmīr. The Mahārājā consented to the proposal but apprehended that he would be disappointed in the enterprise, as on a former occasion, unless he could obtain the certainty of being supported by all the chiefs of the country. Accordingly the said Dīwān sent letters to the Rājās, inviting them to make profession of loyalty to Ranjīt Singh, and in a short time received satisfactory replies from many. Even 'Az Khān of Bhimbar, who had been an adversary, now promised to support Ranjīt Singh, as well as the chief of Rajaurī and the commandant of Pūnch, wherefore the army at once began its march. Devīchand received orders to hasten to the town of Rajaurī and there to await the arrival of the Mahārājā at the foot of the Himālayas, but meanwhile to carry on intercourse with the mountain chiefs, and to make sure of their allegiance. Ranjīt Singh went from Lāhore first to Amritsar, where he performed his devotions in the temple of Rāmdās, distributed abundant alms among the holy men of that locality, and then quickly marched to Kashmīr. Here he met with a friendly reception, because he was accompanied by the fugitive Dīwān. He nevertheless thought it convenient not to advance further after reaching Bhimbar.

"Having for some time remained in that pleasant town and concentrated his forces, Ranjīt Singh ordered Prince Kharak Singh, with Devīchand for his lieutenant, to advance. They marched with friendly chieftains till they reached the Pīr Panjāl range of the Himālayas, where they encountered the enemy, and an action of several days' duration ensued in which the Sikhs were victorious. Having thus defeated the united Afghān and Kashmīr forces, they continued their journey with the intention of conquering Srīnagar likewise. Samad Khān and Mihrdil Khān, the two principal Afghān officers of Jabbār Khān, the Governor of Kashmīr, anxious to impede the further progress of the

Sikhs, attacked them, but were again routed, and Mihrdil was slain. Jabbār Khan now took refuge in the fort of Shergaṛh. At this Ranjīt Singh's army meeting with no further opposition, at once entered the city of Srīnagar. After having regulated the administration, the Mahārājā intended to attack Jabbār Khān, who had shut himself up in the fort of Shergaṛh, and found that he had evacuated it, but left all his wealth behind, which pleased Ranjīt Singh greatly. Having thus conquered Kashmīr, the Mahārājā appointed Dīwān Devīchand to be Governor of it, spent a couple of weeks at Rajaurī, then took the fort of 'Azīmgarh with its Kashmīrī garrison by a single assault and marched back to Amritsar, where he made large presents to the temple of Rāmdās and distributed alms. Lastly the Mahārājā returned to Lāhore, where he bestowed robes of honour and other rewards upon his officers and troops, ordered general rejoicings to celebrate the victory, and dispensed hospitalities in royal fashion."*

The date of the Sikh conquest of Kashmīr is contained in their war-cry, the letters of which correspond to the Bikramī year 1876 or 1819 A.C.

بولو جی واہ گرُو جی کا خالصہ - بولو جی واہ گرُو جی کی فتح

The end of Muslim rule in the Valley of Kashmīr.

So ends Muslim rule in Kashmīr. It began with the conversion of Riñchana in 1320 A.C. The Shāh Mīrīs, the descendants of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn Shāh Mīr or Shāh Mīrzā, ruled from 1339 A.C. to 1555 A.C. The Chaks succeeded them, and ruled till 1586 when Akbar conquered Kashmīr. The Afghāns came in 1752 A.C., and their rule closed in 1819 A.C. From A.C. 1320 to 1819 it is 499 according to the solar calculation. And from A.H. 720 to 1235, it is 515 according to the lunar computation. Thus Muslim sovereignty continued in Kashmīr for nearly 500 years.

The Afghān who applied the lancet to the eyes of Humāyūn the eldest son of Tīmūr Shāh, and who applied it to those of Zamān Shāh and yet to those of Vazīr Fath Khān applied it also to the relation between Kābul and Kashmīr. Had the Afghān sūbadār followed the

*The *Indian Antiquary*, Volume 17, January 1888, pages 19—21, E. Rehatsek's English translation.

example of the Governor-General of India in his attitude to changes of government in Britain, and been indifferent to changes of Whigs and Tories or Liberals and Conservatives or Unionists and Labourites, he may not have ruined his own line and ruined the relationship between Kābul and Kashmīr. The fights of Qaisar and Kāmrān for power brought about powerlessness to the Durranīs. The stupidity of the Afghān, his greed and his exactions are responsible for this loss to him. His poplar, his palace, his *pulāo* or pilaff, his patronage of the Pandit's ability and the impetus he gave to *pashmīna* (shawl or woollen fabric), and the effect his contact had on Indian dress are all forgotten. But his intolerance and extortion are still on the lips of those whose ancestors suffered at his hands and who, therefore, say:

پرسیدم از خرابیٔ گلشن ز باغبان
افغان کشید و گفت که افغان خراب کرد

The only defence of the Afghān suggested is his quick disposal of state affairs which, after the soft Mughul, looked rather rough and ready.

As Muslim rule closes in Kashmīr, it is appropriate, here, to proceed to discuss the cultural value of the impact of Muslim State and Society in Kashmīr. We shall treat the subject as an exposition of Muslim Polity in Kashmīr. The following three chapters, *viz.* VIII, IX and X will, therefore, deal with that subject under three different heads. The thread of the continuity of political history will be resumed in Chapter XI with 'Kashmīr under the Sikhs.'

Pandit Mohan Lāl Kashmīrī alias *Āghā Hasan Jān.*

A picturesque figure forces itself on our attention here and we digress a little.

Rāmnāth alias Pandit Mohan Lāl, born in 1812 A.C., of an offshoot of the Zutshī's who had migrated to Delhi, was a remarkable man. Mohan's father was Rāi Brahm Nāth whose father Pandit Manī Rām held a high rank at

the Mughul court in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II (1759-1806), the son of 'Ālamgīr II.*

Mohan Lāl was taught Urdu and Persian at home. He joined the English class opened in 1829 at the Persian College at Delhi that was founded in 1792 during Mughul rule. In 1829 this college acquired a large accession of income by the munificent gift of Rs. 1,70,000 from Nawwāb I'timād-ud-Daula, formerly minister at Lucknow, buried in the premises of the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi. The English class later developed into the Delhi English College. Mohan Lāl studied here for three years. In 1831, when about 19, he went to Bukhārā as the Persian interpreter to Sir Alexander Burnes on a salary of Rs. 1,000 per annum. The earliest classmate of Mohan was Shahāmat 'Ālī, later the author of *An Historical Account of the Sikhs and Afghans*, who was Persian Secretary with the Mission of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Claud M. Wade, C.B., to Peshāwar in 1839. Shahāmat 'Alī accompanied Sir Claud in the military expedition on which he was sent to conduct Shāhzāda Tīmūr, the eldest son of Shāh Shujā'-ul-Mulk, with the Sikh auxiliary force, by the Khaibar Pass to Kābul.

Mohan Lāl was probably the first Kashmīrī Pandit to receive English education, and probably the first Indian to educate his daughter in England.

After Central Asia, Mohan Lāl visited Egypt, England, Scotland, Ireland, Belgium and Germany.

Shāh Kāmrān of Herāt was delighted with his Persian. Mīrzā 'Abbās of Īrān created him, at the age of 20, a Knight of the Persian Order of the Lion and Sun. Shāh Shujā'-ul-Mulk, king of Afghānistān, granted him an Order of the Durrānī Empire. Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh presented him with Rs. 500 and a robe of honour. The Mughul Emperor Muhammad Akbar Shāh conferred upon him a *khil'at* with some jewels on a turban which His Majesty tied with his own hands. Mohan Lāl was well received in England and other countries of Europe. Queen Victoria invited him to a royal ball. Frederick William IV of Prussia entertained him at a dinner.

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* *Life and Work of Mohan Lāl Kashmīrī* 1812—1877 by Dr. Hari Rām Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., D. LITT., formerly Lecturer, Forman Christian College, Lahore, now Principal, Vaish Degree College, Bhiwānī, District Hisār, Punjāb. Minerva Book Shop, Anārkalī, Lahore, 1943. The above note is based mostly on this book.

Mohan Lāl published a journal of his tour on his return from Central Asia in 1834. Twelve years later, this work was re-published with the addition of his travels in Europe. At this same time, he published his life of Dūst Muhammad Khān, the Amīr of Kābul, in two volumes. His style of English received a very favourable comment from the editor of the now defunct *Englishman* of Calcutta.

Mohan Lāl retired at 32 on a pension of £1,000 per annum.

Nawwāb Mīrzā 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khān (1833-1884), ruler of the Lohāru State near Delhi, whose pen-name was '*Alāī* calls Mohan Lāl, in a Persian poem, Āghā Hasan Jān. Pandit Jawāhar Lāl Nehrū* says, that 'Mohanlal became a Muslim and in Īrān married a girl of the royal family, hence his title of Mīrzā. Dr. Harī Rām Gupta says that a grandson of Mohan Lāl is Āghā Hydar Hasan of Hydarābād (Deccan) who states that Mohan Lāl kept a diary from 1831 till his death though strangely enough Dr. Gupta omits to mention the fact of Mohan Lāl's conversion to Islam. Mohan Lāl had in all seventeen wives. Wherever he went he managed to take a new wife. In his later days "he was swept away by the love of wine and women."

At Ludhiāna Mohan Lāl built for the Shī'as what is known as Āghā Hasan Jān's *Imāmbāṛa*. Close by it there runs a road bearing his name. Mohan Lāl died in 1877 at the age of 65, and was buried in Delhi in his garden called the Lāl Bāgh, near Āzādpur on the Delhi-Pānīpat road. There is no tomb, but only a platform, said to contain the bodies of Mohan Lāl or Āghā Hasan Jān and his favourite wife Hydarī Begam whom Mohan Lāl obtained by implicating some male members of the Begam's family during the confusion of the Indian Revolt. The platform is in a dilapidated condition. The garden no longer belongs to Mohan Lāl's family.

The fascinating personality of Mohan Lāl gives us "intimate and revealing glimpses of the early days of British rule in North India, of the Punjāb under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, of the British campaigns through Sind and in Afghānistān, of the disasters in Kābul and of the prevailing conditions in Central Asia in the thirties of the nineteenth

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**Jawahar Lal Nehru—An Autobiography*—London, Reprinted January 1941, page 14.

century." Welcoming risk and danger and facing death often enough, Mohan Lāl, in the words of Pandit Jawāhar Lāl Nehrū, " was yet a lover of pleasure and the soft ways of life—a politician and scholar, with something of the poet and the artist in him, which peeps out continually from his *Memoirs* and *Travels*."

Major B. D. Basu,* however, reproduces John William Kaye's following remark: "The Moonshee (Mohan Lāl) seems to have been endowed with a genius for traitor-making the lustre of which remained undimmed to the very end of the war" (*History of the War in Afghanistan*, Vol. I, revised edition, London, 1857, p. 459). The Major adds that the English found in Mohan Lāl "a tool ready at hand to give effect to their nefarious scheme" in creating trouble in Afghānistān.

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* *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, second edition, Calcutta, 1931, p. 819.

IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN POLITICS AND CULTURE IN THE WORLD

DURING THE PERIOD OF MUSLIM RULE IN KASHMĪR FROM 1320 A.C. or 720 A.H. to 1819 A.C. or 1235 A.H.

Date A.C.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1320 1323			Conversion of Rīnchen or Riñcana to Islam at the hands of Bulbul Shāh. Rīnchen becomes Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn—the first Muslim ruler of Kashmīr.
1324	'Usmān I rules in Turkey. Mulūk-ut-Tawā'if (Petty Kings) ruling in Spain 1037—1466. Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Kurt rules at Herāt. Sultān Nāsir rules over Egypt. Edward II rules in England. Robert I rules in Scotland. Charles IV rules in France. Ludwig of Bavaria rules in a part of Germany.	Ghiyas-ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh rules in Delhi. Death of Shaikh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Abū 'Alī Qalandar of 'Irāq at Pānīpat-Karnāl, Punjāb. Death at Delhi of Abu'l Hasan Yamīn-ud-Dīn known as Amīr Khusrav.	Commencement of the Kashmīrī Era which continued till the advent of Mughul rule in the Valley. The First Muslim Mosque in Kashmīr known as the Rīnchen or Rintan Mosque. Death of Rīnchen or Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1325	Ismā'īl of Granada assassinated.	Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh crushed to death under the wooden pavilion on the Jumna at Delhi. Muhammad Tughluq ascends the throne. Death of Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliyā at Delhi. The Jāmi' Masjid at Cambay constructed.	
1326	Pope John XXII issues bull against the practice of magic.	Transfer of Muhammad Tughluq's capital from Delhi to Devagirī, re-named Daulatābād. Death of Shaikh Najm-ud-Dīn Hasanī Sijzī (or Sijistānī) known as Mīr Hasan Dihlavī or the Sa'dī of India at Daulatābād in the Deccan.	Death of Bulbul Shāb in 727 A.H. Chaos in Kashmīr.
1328	Ibn Taimiyya, the forerunner of Wahhābism dies in captivity at Damascus. Invention of gunpowder.		
1330		Introduction of token currency in India.	

1332	Walī-ud-Dīn 'Abdur Rahmān ibn Khaldūn born in Tunis on 1st Ramazān, 732 A.H.		
1333	Public medico-botanical garden at Venice.	Abū 'Abdullāh ibn Battūtah, the traveller, visits India.	
1334	Death of Shaikh Safīy-ud-Dīn (of Ardabīl) after whom the Safavī dynasty of Īrān is named.	Sayyid Jalāl-ud-Dīn Ahsan Shāh rules as independent Sultān of Madura. Muslims seized Anegundi, the old capital of the principality that afterwards expanded into the kingdom of Vijayanagar.	
1335	Ashikaga Shogunate begins in Japan.		Birth of Lalla 'Ārifa, in 735 A.H. (approximate).
1336	Tīmūr (signifying in Turkish 'Iron') born at Kash or Shahr-i-Sabz (the Green City) in Transoxiana.	Foundation of the Vijayanagar empire in the south, also of the city of Vijayanagar.	
1337	Giotto, the artist of Florence, Italy, died.	Muhammad Tughluq sends an army to invade China but meets with a serious disaster.	
1339	*The Nuzhat-ul-Qulūb* of Hamdullāh Mustaufī (740 A.H.)		Accession of Shāh Mīr. Suicide of Koṭā Rānī.
1342	Death of the poet Khwājū of Kirmān. Abu'l Fidā becomes Prince of Hamah in Syria.	Ibn Battūtah leaves the service of Muhammad Tughluq and proceeds to China.	Death of Shāh Mīr. Accession of Sultān Jamshīd.

Date.	*The World excluding India.*	*India excluding Kashmīr.*	*Kashmīr*
1343			Accession of Sultān 'Alā'-ud-Dīn.
1344	Cities of southern and south-western Germany form the Swabian League.	Muhammad Tughluq receives the diploma of investiture from the Khalīfa of Egypt, Al Hākim III. Poet Badr-ud-Dīn known as Badr-i-Chāch from his native city of Chāch (Shāsh) or Tāshqand goes on a mission from Delhi to Daulatābād.	Death of Sultān Jamshīd on his deposition in 745 A.H.
1345	Abuil Fidā, the author of the geographical work *Taqwīm-ul-Buldān* and the Universal History *Ta'rīkh-i-Mukhtasar*, dies. First apothecary shop in London.		
1346	The Turks take the Morea. Cannon used at the Battle of Crecy.		
1347	Calais taken by Edward III of England. Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, founded. William Ockham or Occam, the English critic of Catholicism, died.	Zafar Khān Bahman Shāh founds the Bahmanī kingdom of the Deccan.	
1348	Terrible pestilence in London. Board of Health and Quarantine established at Venice.	Muhammad Tughluq besieges Girnār near Junagadh in Kāthiāwār.	

1349	Order of the Garter instituted in England.	Capture of Girnār near Junāgaṛh by Muhammad Tughluq.	Severe famine in Kashmīr, due to untimely rain. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's generous measures save people from starvation.
1351	The Statute of Labourers regulating prices and wages passed in England.	Death of Muhammad Tughluq and accession of Fīrūz Tughluq.	The poet Amritdatta flourishes.
1352	Corpus Christie College, Cambridge, founded.	Ilyās Shāh unites the two Bengāl principalities.	
1354			Death of Ṣultān 'Alā'-ud-Dīn. Accession of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn.
1355		Fīrūz Tughluq cuts a canal from the Sutlaj to Jhajjar and later another canal from the Jumna to Hānsī-Hisār. Free hospitals for the poor by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq. Death of Ziyā-ud-Dīn Barnī, the author of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, which is a complement of the *Tabaqāt i-Nāsirī*, in 758 A.H. Ibn Battūtah finishes his *Travels* on 13th December, 1355.	
1359			Kashmīr starts on a career of foreign conquests, namely, those of the Punjāb, Sind, Kābul, Qandahār and Tibet.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1360	Treaty of Bretigny between England and France.	Accession of Fakhr-ud-Dīn Mubārak in Madura.	
1361	The Turks enter Thrace and take Adrianople.	Capture of Kāngṛa or Nagarkōṭ by Sultān Fīrūz Shāh of Delhī.	Udakpati, the Rāja of Nagarkōṭ (Kāngṛa), submits to Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn after his marauding expedition round Delhī.
1364	'Allāma Taqīy-ud-Dīn Maqrīzī born at Cairo. Murād I of Turkey defeats King of Hungary and Poland and Princes of Bosnia, Servia, and Wallachia on the banks of the river Maritza in Turkey flowing into the Ægean Sea.		
1367	Tīmūr assumed the title of the Great Khān.	Completion of the great mosque at Gulbarga.	
1368	Ibn-Yamīn, the poet, dies. The Mongol (Yuan) dynasty of China fell and the Ming dynasty succeeded and continued till 1644.		
1370	Gregory XI proscribed Wycliffe's doctrines. John of Arderne, an English surgeon, writes a surgical treatise.		
1372		'Alā'-ud-Dīn Sikandar Shāh rules as the last Sultān of Madura.	The first visit of Shāh Hamadān. Mīr Muhammad born to Shāh Hamadān.

			Madrasahs established throughout the Valley for the teaching of the Qur'ān and the imparting of Muslim learning.
1373			Death of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn in 775 A.H.
1374	Petrarch, the Italian poet, died.		Accession of Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn.
1377	Rome again the seat of the Pope on the return of Pope Gregory XI.	Extinction of the Muslim dynasty in Madura by Bukka I of Vijayanagar. Atala Masjid of Jaunpur commenced.	Birth of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn, the patron-saint of Kashmīr in 779 A.H. at Kaimūh village in the Advīn Pargana. Kaimūh is two miles to the west of Bijbihāra, which is 28 miles to the south-east of Srīnagar.
1378	The Great Schism. Urban VI in Rome, Clement VII at Avignon.	Ibn Battūtah dies.	
1379	Ibn Khaldūn, the Arab historian, proceeds from Spain to Tunis to collect material for his *History*.		The second visit of Shāh Hamadān.
1380	First invasion of Īrān by Tīmūr.	Kabīr, the Muslim poet and mystic, born at Benāres.	
1381	Poll-tax imposed: Peasant's Revolt in England. Wat Tyler murdered in the presence of King Richard II of England.		Flood in Kashmīr.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1383	Moscow burnt.		The third visit of Shāh Hamadān.
1384	Second invasion of Īrān by Tīmūr. Ibn Khaldūn appointed Chief Judge at Cairo to administer justice according to the Mālikī Law. Death of Shāh Shujā‘ of Īrān, the patron of Hāfiz, the poet. Death of Wycliffe.		Death of Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī or Shāh Hamadān in 786 A.H. at Khatlān in Turkistān. He had already introduced industries, spread Islam by his persuasiveness in Kashmīr, and given impetus to Muslim learning in the Valley, himself having lived by sewing caps.
1387	Tīmūr's first entry into Shīrāz. The legendary interview between Tīmūr and the poet Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn *Hāfiz*.		
1388	Khwāja Bahā-ud-Dīn Naqshband, founder of the Naqshbandī order of Dervishes, born in 718 A.H. = 1318 A.C., dies.	Death of Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq of Delhī.	
1389	Death of Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn *Hāfiz* of Shīrāz.		Accession of Sultān Sikandar in 791 A.H.
1392	Third and last invasion of Īrān by Tīmūr.	Dilāwar Khān, governor of Mālwa.	
1393	Tīmūr occupies Baghdād.		Visit in 796 A.H. of Mīr Muhammad Hamadānī, son of Shāh Hamadān.

1394	Tīmūr returns to 'Irāq.	Malik Sarwar Khwāja Jahān founds the Sharqī dynasty of Jaunpur.	
1395	Tīmūr's invasion of Russia goes as far as Moscow.	Convocation of Buddhist priests in Ceylon.	Sikandar's invasion of North-West India. Erection of the Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā or the *Chilla-khāna* of Shāh Hamadān by Sultān Sikandar in 798 A.H.
1397	Tīmūr confers the kingdom of Khurāsān on his son Shāh Rukh. Pīr Muhammad, son of Amīr Tīmūr captures Uch.	Muzaffar Shāh founds the kingdom of Gujrāt.	
1398	John Huss, Rector of the University of Prague, preaches Wycliffism.	Invasion of India by Tīmūr: Sack of Delhī.	Sikandar proceeds to Bārāmūla to meet Tīmūr. The meeting, however, does not take place. Jāmi' Masjid of Srīnagar commenced by Sultān Sikandar. Persecution of Hindus in Kashmīr by Malik Sūhabhaṭṭa, prime minister or Regent during the minority of Sultān Sikandar. Abolition of *suttee* in Kashmīr. Establishment of the great college opposite to the Jāmi' Masjid, Srīnagar.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1399	Tīmūr lays the foundation-stone of his magnificent Jāmi' Masjid at Samarqand.		
1400	Tīmūr captures Aleppo and Damascus. Ibn Khaldūn accompanies the ruler of Egypt to Syria on a campaign against Tīmūr. Ibn Khaldūn is taken prisoner but soon released. Chaucer dies.		
1401	Persecution of Lollards who were burnt alive in England. Sack of Baghdād by Tīmūr.	Husain 'Amīd Shāh Dā'ūd, commonly known as Dilāwar Khān, founds the Ghūrī dynasty of Mālwa.	Birth of Prince Shāh-rukh or Shāhī Khān, afterwards Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, in 804 A.H. Completion of the great Jāmi' Masjid of Srīnagar by Sultān Sikandar.
1402	Tīmūr writes a letter to Charles VI of France on 1st August 1402 on receipt of a letter from the latter through a Franciscan friar named François Ssathru stating		

that Tīmūr was glad that King Charles was giving a severe hiding to their common enemy Sultān Bāyazīd against whom Sigismond of Hungary was fighting and to whose help Charles had sent an army (805 A.H.).

This letter is preserved in Les Archives Nationales, Paris.

Tīmūr captures the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazīd called Yildirum (the Thunderbolt) after the Battle of Ankara or Angora.

1403 Sultān Bāyazīd dies in captivity.

1404-1447 The Mosque of Gauhar Shād Āghā wife of Shāh Rukh, the son of Tīmūr, builds the noblest mosque in Central Asia (Mashhad) the crowning architectural achievement of the Mongols.

Alp Khān, known as Hushang Shāh Ghūrī of Mālwa, ascends the throne on the death of Dilāwar Khān and builds Shādīābād (The City of Joy) known as Māndū.

The Chinese eunuch Tcheng Hono visits Ceylon for the purpose of removing the tooth-relic but is plundered.

1405 Death of Tīmūr at the age of 71 (lunar years) after 36 years' reign.

1406 Ibn Khaldūn dies at the age of 78 on 26th Ramazān, 808 A.H., at Cairo.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir.*
1407	France laid under an interdict by the Pope.	Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī builds an Observatory near Daulatābād.	
1408		Atala Masjid of Jaunpur completed.	
1411		Rāmānanda the great Vaishnava reformer.	
1413			Death of Sultān Sikandar in 816 A.H. Accession of Sultān 'Alī Shāh
1414	The poet Mullā 'Abdur Rahmān Nūr-ud-Dīn *Jāmī* born in Jām (near Herāt) in Khurāsān.	Khizr Khān ascends the throne of Delhī and founds the Sayyid dynasty.	
1415	John Huss burnt alive for preaching Wycliffism. Wood engraving introduced into the West.		
1416			Death of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn (Sūhabhaṭṭa).
1417	End of the Great Schism. Martin V, Pope.	The Assamese conquer North Eastern Bengāl.	'Alī Kadal over the Jhelum built by Sultān 'Alī Shāh.
1420	Pope Martin V preaches a crusade against the followers of John Huss of Prague.	Kabīr died.	Death of Sultān 'Alī Shāh in 823 A.H. Accession of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn (Baḍ Shāh).
1422		Death of Khwāja Banda Nawāz Gīsū Darāz said to have been born in 1321.	Baḍ Shāh's visit to the Çarada Temple.

1424	The *Zafar-nāma* of Sharaf-ud-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī.	Ahmad Shāh of Gujrāt builds the Jāmi' Masjid at Ahmadābād which town is later formally founded in 1431.	Kashmīr acquires fame in arts and crafts. The Royal University of Nau Shahr founded during his reign. Punjāb and Tibet re-conquered.
1425	Insane Asylum at Saragossa, Spain.		
1426	University of Louvain, Belgium, founded.		Zaina Kadal bridge over the Jhelum built by the Sultān.
1427	Jalāl-ud-Dīn Dawwānī, the author of the *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī*, born in the village of Dawwān in the province of Fars in Īrān.	Ahmadnagar founded by Ahmad I of Gujrāt. Jām Sikandar rules in Sind.	The poet Uttā Soma flourishes under the patronage of Baḍ Shāh.
1429	Siege of Orleans raised by Joan of Arc.	Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī transfers his capital from Gulbarga to Bīdar.	"Sona Lank" built by Baḍ Shāh in the Ḍal lake (approximate).
1431	Joan of Arc burnt at Rouen, France. Renaissance architecture. Francois Villon, robber, assassin, vagabond and lyrical poet of France, born.	Ahmadābād founded.	
1432		Sultān Hushang Shāh of Mālwa dies at Māndū and Ghaznī Khān ascends the throne at Māndū.	
1433		Rānā Kumbha ascends the throne of Chitor.	
1435		Chānd Mīnār in Daulatābād citadel constructed.	

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1436	Francisco Ximines (1436-1517), a Spanish statesman and Cardinal who, after being Queen Isabella's confessor, became Archbishop of Toledo, Provisional Regent of Castile and Cardinal and Inquisitor-General in 1507, and printed the Complutensian Polyglot Bible.	Mahmūd ascends the throne of Māndū, and founds the Khaljī dynasty of Mālwa.	
1438			Death in 842 A.H. of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī, the Patron Saint of Kashmīr.
1439	William Byngham erects "God's House" at Cambridge for the training of grammar school masters.		Zaina-nagar or Nau Shahr founded by Bad Shāh, near Srīnagar.
1442	'Allāma Maqrīzī dies.		
1443		'Abdur Razzāq of Herāt arrives at Vijayanagar as the ambassador of Sultān Shāh Rukh of Samarqand.	The Zaina Lānk Palace built in the Wulur Lake by Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.
1444	The truce of Tours.		The Tomb and Mosque of Sayyid Muhammad Madanī, a foreign envoy, were built in Srīnagar in 848 A.H.

1445	Discovery of Cape Verde by the Portuguese. Jalāl-ud-Dīn-as-Suyūtī, the author of the *Ta'rīkh-ul-Khulafā*, born at Suyūt in Upper Egypt.	Kūshk Mahall—the seven-storeyed palace—ordered to be built at Chanderī near Lalitpur (U.P.)	*Mahābhārata* translated into Persian by Mullā Ahmad Kashmīrī under the orders of Baḍ Shāh (approximate). Death of Shaikh Bahā-ud-Dīn Ganj Bakhsh in Srīnagar in 849 A.H.
1446	First printed books—Coster in Haarlem.	Mosque and Tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khattrī at Sarkhej, near Ahmadābād, commenced by Muhammad Shāh of Gujrāt, and finished five years later by Qutb-ud-Dīn.	Jonarājā, the poet and historian, flourishes under Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.
1450	The whole of Normandy passed over to the French. Cardinal Cusanus suggests timing the pulse and weighing blood and urine. University of Barcelona in Spain founded.	Buhlūl Lodī ascends the throne of Delhī and founds the Lodī dynasty, the first Afghān empire. Kabīr, a *Khalīfa* of Shaikh Taqī Suhrawardī and later of Shaikh Bhīka Chishtī and the pupil of Rāmānand in Hindī poetry and Hindu mysticism, flourishes.	Death of Mīr Muhammad Hamadānī at Khatlān in Turkistān.
1452			Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's Dogrā Queen of Jammu—his second wife—died in 856 A.H., having given birth to four sons, one of whom died early. Bahrām fights his father Bad Shāh in 856 A.H.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1453	Constantinople taken by the Turks under Muhammad II, which ended the Eastern Roman Empire. It was re-named Istanboul. University of Glasgow founded.		
1454	Death of Sharaf-ud-Dīn 'Alī of Yazd.	The Jāmi' Masjid of Māṇḍū commenced by Hushang Shāh was completed by Mahmūd Khaljī.	
1455	War of the Roses.		Death of Çriyabhaṭṭa, the Superintendent of the Courts of Justice of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.
1456	Greece subjected to the Turks.		
1457	The first newspaper in the world was printed in Nuremberg (Bavaria, Germany).		
1458		The Jāmi' Masjid of Jaunpur built.	
1459		Accession of Sultān Mahmūd Begarha to the throne of Gujrāt.	Death of the historian Pandit Jonarāja.
1460			Famine in Kashmīr. Sopōr bridge over the Jhelam built by Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.

1461	Ottomans take Trebizond. Edward IV deposes Henry VI (England).	Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn known as Nanda of Sind routs the army of Shāh Beg of Qandahār.	
1464			Construction of the Zaina-dab in Nau Shahr, near Srīnagar.
1465	Casablanca, a seaport on its Atlantic coast and second town of Morocco, founded by the Portuguese on the site of the ancient Anfā which they destroyed was the meeting place of the late President Roosevelt of U. S. A. and Premier Winston Churchill of England in 1943.		Firearms first introduced into Kashmīr.
1466			Death of Baḍ Shāh's Queen Baihaqī Begam. Conflagration at Sopōr.
1467	The Venetians and the Florentines at war, for six weeks the respective armies were within walking distance of each other.		
1468	Īrān conquered by Turkomāns.	Rānā Kūmbha of Chitor is stabbed to death by his son Uda.	
1469		Bābā Nānak, the founder of Sikhism, born at Talwandī re-named, according to a statement, by Ranjīt Singh as Nankāna Sāhib, now in the Shaikhūpur district of the West Punjāb.	Crops spoilt by excessive rain. Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn took active measures for counteracting famine.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1470			Death of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn in 874 A.H. Accession of Sultān Haidar Shāh in 874 A.H.
1471	Printing introduced by Caxton into England. Michael Angelo born.		Death of Ādam Khān, eldest son of Baḍ Shāh, in a fight with Mughuls at Jammu in 1472 A.C.
1472		Madrasa (or college) of Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān at Bīdar, Deccan.	Accession of Sultān Hasan Shāh in 877 A.H.
1473	The Polish astronomer, Nicolaus Koppernigk or Copernicus, born at Thorn in Poland.		
1474			
1475	Edward IV of England invades France.	Khondmīr, the historian, born at Herāt.	
1476	Jāmi's *Nafahāt'l Uns* (Breaths of Fellowship) written.	Buhlūl Lodi annexes Jaunpur.	Encouragement of music by Hasan Shāh.
1477			Prince Muhammad Shāh born in 882 A.H.
1479	First edition of Avicenna printed.		Sultān Hasan Shāh builds the bridge over the Jhelum at Naurūzpōr near Pāmpar.

1480	Ivan III, Grand Duke of Moscow, throws off the Mongol allegiance. Inquisition established in Spain. Dancing in Italy.		Great fire destroys half of Srīnagar including the Jāmi' Masjid and the Khanqāh-i-Mu'allā. Sultān Hasan Shāh re-builds the Mosque and the Khānqāh.
1481	Death of Sultān Muhammad II of Turkey while preparing for the conquest of Italy. Bāyazīd II, Turkish Sultān (to 1512).	Execution of Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān.	
1483	Richad III deposes Edward V of England. The *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā* by Maulānā Jāmī composed in his 70th year. Raphael born. Use made of the compass and the Sextant. Cervante's *Don Quixote* Part I written. Martin Luther born in November.	Zahīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Bābur born in Farghāna, Russian Turkistān now called Kirghīzia.	Expedition to conquer Baltistān and Ladākh dispatched by the Minister Sayyid Hasan Baihaqī in the reign of Sultān Hasan Shāh in 888 A.H.
1484	The *Lailā-wa-Mujnūn* composed by Maulānā Jāmī.		Death of Sultān Hasan Shāh in 889 A.H. Muhammad Shāh a child. Sayyid Muhammad Amīn *Awaisī*, the poet, is killed in a skirmish in 889 A.H., and is buried near Bulbul Lānkar.
1485	Richard III slain at Bosworth Field in England.	Nimai who became Chaitanya (or Awakened) the founder of Vaishnavism born at Nudea (Navādvīp), Bengāl.	

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1486	Diaz goes round the Cape of Good Hope.	The Mahākālī gateway of the Narnāla Fort, near Akot in District Akola, Berar, Central Provinces, was erected by Shihāb-ud-Dīn Mahmūd Shāh.	Fath Shāh ascends the throne of Kashmīr in 892 A.H.
1487 } 1527 }	The *Tazkira-tush-Shu'arā'* (Memoirs of Poets) written by Amīr Daulat Shāh Samarqandī (1487). The *Bahāristān* (Spring Land) of Jāmī composed (1487).		Arrival of Shaikh or Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī in Kashmīr. Chaks converted to Shī'ism.
1490 } 1512 }	The *Majālisu'n Nafā'is* of Mīr 'Alī Shīr *Nawā'ī* written (1490).	Rise of the Ahmadnagar, Bījāpur, Golkanda, Bīdar and Berār kingdoms.	
1491 } 1492 }	Fall of Granada. The termination of the struggle of 800 years between the Moors and Christians of Spain is cele- brated throughout Christendom. Henry VII of England rang the bells of old St. Paul in London in joy.	The great Oriya poet, Dīn Krishna Dās, author of the *Rassakalola* flourished about this time.	
1492	Discovery of America by Columbus, who sees tobacco smoked for the first time in Antilles or the West Indies. Death of Mullā Nūr-ud-Dīn 'Abdur Rahmān *Jāmī* at Herāt. Three months after the fall of Granada, the Jews are offered		

	the alternative of conversion or exile, and about 150,000 leave the country for different parts of Europe and the Ottoman Empire.		
1493	Appearance of syphilis in Europe.		Muhammad Shāh becomes Sultān second time in 898 A.H. at the age of 16. Birth of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm in 900 A.H.
1494	Aberdeen University founded. Death of Amīr Daulat Shāh of Samarqand, the author of the *Tazkiratush Shu'arā'* or *Memoirs of Poets*. The *Akhlāq-i-Muhsinī* by Husain-i-Kāshifi, the 'Preacher.'	The *Bābur-nāma* begins.	
1496	Charles VIII of France invades Italy.		
1497	Passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope discovered by Vasco da Gama, who left Lisbon on 8th July 1497. Jesus College, Cambridge, founded.		

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1498	Insurrection of Perkin Warbeck finally quelled in England.	Vasco da Gama, whose pilot from the east coast of Africa to the west coast of Southern India, was an Arab, landed at Calicut on 20th May, 1498. A Moorish Muslim merchant from Tangier (or Tunis) introduced da Gama to the Zamorin's court, and acted as an intermediary between the Portuguese, who knew no Indian language, and the people of Malabār who knew no Western language.	
1499 } 1502 }	Muslims persecuted and finally expelled from Spain after the alternative of conversion or exile had been offered to them.		
1499	Switzerland becomes an independent republic. Maps of the world. Ismā'īl Safavī founds the Safavī Dynasty of Īrān after expelling the Turkomāns. Shī'ism established in Īrān during Safavī rule.	Budhan, a Brāhman of Kutain (near Lucknow), asserted that Hinduism and Islam were both equally acceptable to God, if acted upon with sincerity.	Mīrzā Haidar Dughlāt born at Tāshqand, Turkistān, Central Asia. Earthquake in Kashmīr.

	The Island of St. Helena discovered by the Portuguese.		
1500		Rise of Burmese literature.	
1502, 1514, 1524	Peasants' Wars in Germany.		
1502	Cardinal Ximines de Cisneros (1436-1517) burnt the Muslim Library of Granada in the Square of Sivaramla, Spain.	Mahmūd Langāh rules Multān.	
1503	Jalāl-ud-Dīn Dawānī, the author of the *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī*, died.	Sikandar Lodī fixes his capital at Āgra.	
1504	Bābur expelled by Shaibānī Khān from Farghāna. Bābur conquers Kābul.	Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpurī, born in 1443, announces his claim to the office of the Mahdī. Later, his death.	
	Bābur's mother Qutlugh Nigār Khānam dies.	Death of Qāsim Barīd at Bīdar.	
	Husain Wā'iz Kāshifī, author of the *Anwār-i-Suhailī* (Lights of Canopus) dies.	Earthquake in India and Īrān.	Sultān Fath Shāh builds Fath Kadal (bridge) over the Jhelum. Pandit Çrīvara sanskritizes Mullā 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī's *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā* during the reign of Sultān Muhammad Shāh.
1505	Christ College at Cambridge founded.		Fath Shāh regains the throne of Kashmīr in 911 A.H.

Date	The World excluding India.	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1506		Portuguese arrive at Colombo. Portuguese defeated at Chaul by Egyptians and the ruler of Gujrāt.	
1507		Albuquerque at Goa.	
1509	Accession of Henry VIII of England.	The Jāmi' Masjid at Chāmpānīr completed by Sultān Mahmūd Begarha. Defeat of Egyptians and the ruler of Gujrāt by Almeida.	
1509-27		Rānā Sāngā reigns at Chitor.	
1510		The Portuguese under Noronha, a nephew of Albuquerque, capture Goa Fort from Mīr 'Alī.	
1512	Sultān Salīm of Turkey, who rules to 1520, becomes Khalīfa.		
1513	Macchiavelli, suspected of treason, leaves Florence and composes *The Prince*, which he dedicates to Lorenzo de Medici in the hope of employment.	Albuquerque's attempt on Aden.	Death of Sultān Fath Shāh's chief minister, Mūsā Rīna or Raina.

1514			Muhammad Shāh regains throne third time in 920 A.H. Bābūr visits the tomb of Shāh Hamadān in 920 A.H. at Khatlān in Turkistān, after 134 lunar years of Shāh Hamadān's death. Sultān Fath Shāh third and last time regains throne in 921 A.H.
1515			Muhammad Shāh fourth time ruler of Kashmīr in 922 A.H
1516	Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (Nowhere) published in Latin. Corpus College, Oxford, founded.	Soares' attempt on Aden.	
1517	Sultān Salīm of Turkey annexes Egypt. He also takes Aleppo. Luther propounds his theses at Wittenberg. He also translates the Bible.	Ibrāhīm Lodī ascends the throne.	
1518		Kabīr dies at the age of 60 at Maghar (in the District of Bastī) about 15 miles from Gorakhpur, United Provinces, the shrine being in charge of Muslim Kabīr-panthīs having been built by Bijlī Khān, adevotee of Kabīr.	

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1519	The poet Bābā Fughānī of Shīrāz dies.		
	Magellan's expedition started to sail round the world.		Death of Fath Shāh in exile in 925 A.H., but his dead body is brought to Kashmīr for burial.
	Cortez from Spain conquers Mexico City.		
1520	Sultān Sulaimān the Magnificent (to 1566) ruled from Baghdād to Hungary.	Battle of Rāichūr (Deccan).	Sikandar Shāh, son of Fath Shāh, revolts against Muhammad Shāh.
	Height of Ottoman Power, 1520–1566.		
	Death of Raphael.		
	Ignatius Loyola wounded at Pampeluna.		
1521	Luther ex-communicated by the Diet at Worms.	Shāh Beg Arghūn conquers Sind.	Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* born.
	Magellan discovers the Philippines.		
1522	Gulbadan Begam, the authoress of the *Humāyūn-nāma*, born at Kābul.		
1523		Khondmīr's *Habīb-us-Siyar* written.	
1526	Turks occupy Buda.	Bābūr wins the battle of Pānīpat, and founds the Mughul Empire	Shaikh or Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī dies.

		of India, and enters Āgra on May 10, 1526. Fall of the Bahmanī Kingdom of the Deccan. Barā Sonā Masjid (Great Golden Mosque) at Gaur, Bengal, completed by Nusrat Shāh.	
1527	War with the Pope. Germans storm Rome. Death of Macchiavelli.	Chaitanya died at the age of 42. Invasion of Ava by the Shāns.	
1528			Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh I rules in 934 A.H.
1529	Sulaimān of Turkey besieged Vienna. Sweating sickness spreads over Europe. The State Bank of Naples, Italy, the oldest Bank, established.	The *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī* written by Bābūr. The *Bābur-nāma* ends. Battle of Ghāgra. Conquest of Bengāl.	Sultān Nādir Shāh, better known as Nāzuk Shāh, rules for the first time, in 935 A.H.
1530	Persecution of Protestants begins in France. Henry VIII of England begins quarrelling with the Papacy.	Bābūr dies in his 48th year on December 26, 1530, and Humāyūn ascends the throne. Krisnadeva of Vijayanagar dies. Bahādur Shāh annexes Mālwā. Bakshu, a singer, flourishes at the court of Bahādur Shāh. Goa becomes the Portuguese headquarters.	Sultān Muhammad Shāh ascends the throne fifth time in 936 A.H. and continues for seven years.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr.*
1531	The Royal Printing Press established in France.		Mīrzā Haidar Ḍūghlāt invades first Ladākh, then Kashmīr, and then Tibet Proper on behalf of Sultān Sa'īd Khān.
1532	Robert Stephens prints his Latin Bible.		
1533	Montaigne, the first of European essayists, born in France.		
1534	The Pope's authority in England abolished. Jesuit Order founded.	Bassein ceded to the Portuguese.	Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt returns to Ladākh from his expedition against Tibet Proper.
1535	Sir Thomas More beheaded in England.	Second sack of Chitor. Sher Khān Sūr defeats Humāyūn at Chaunsa.	
1536	Henry VIII of England executes his Queen Anne Boleyn, on a charge of infidelity. The Inquisition is introduced by the Portuguese Church. Wales is united to England in matters of law. The first Poor Law forbids begging in England.		

1537		Bahādur of Gujrāt is drowned at Diu.	Death of Sultān Muhammad Shāh in 943 A.H. Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn II rules.
1538	Death of Al-Mutawakkil, the last of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs.		Sultān Ismā'īl Shāh I succeeded Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn II in 944 A.H.
1539	The Society of Jesus founded. Dissolution of the greater monasteries in England. The 'Ardabīl Mosque Carpet woven at Kāshān, Īrān.	Bābā Nānak dies at Kartārpur, now known as Dera Bābā Nānak, District Gurdāspur, West Punjāb. A Khatrī, Lehna by name, becomes a devoted disciple of Gurū Nānak, and is called Gurū Angad, improves the Gurmukhī script and compiles the first memoirs of Gurū Nānak in that script. Extinction of the Pegū Kingdom. Sher Shāh Sūr captures Rohtāsgarh Fort in Bihār.	Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh II succeeds Sultān Ismā'īl Shāh I in 945 A.H. Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt becomes an adherent of Humāyūn.
1540	Cromwell, Lord Essex, beheaded. Portuguese settle at Macao in China, 38 miles from Hong-Kong. St. Francis Xavier preaches Christianity in Japan.	Battle of the Ganges; flight of Humāyūn.	Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt conquers Kashmīr on the invitation of a faction of Kashmīrī nobles, and acts as Humāyūn's governor but sets up Nāzuk Shāh as the Sultān of Kashmīr in 946 A.H.
1541		Marriage of Humāyūn and Hamīda Bānu Begam.	The *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* ends with the year 948 A.H. = 1541 A.C.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1542	Queen Catherine Howard beheaded by Henry VIII of England. Portuguese reach Japan.	Akbar born at Amarkot. Sher Khān Sūr ascends the throne. Francis Xavier lands at Goa.	
1543	Death of Copernicus. The first Protestant is burnt in Spain.	Sher Shāh Sūr builds the fortress of Rohtās (in the Jhelum district of the Punjāb) to hold Gakhars in check.	
1544	Beginning of the Sharīfs of Morocco. Humāyūn at the court of Shāh Tahmāsap Safavī.	Dādu, poet and reformer, born in Ahmadābād (Gujrāt) preaches against idol worship.	Death of Kājī Chak in 951 A.H.
1545	The Council of Trent (to 1563) assembled to put the Church in order.	Death of Sher Shāh Sūr. Islām (Salīm) Shāh Sūr reigns.	Naghz Beg revives shawl-weaving in Kashmīr (approximate).
1546	Death of Martin Luther. Trinity College, Cambridge, founded by Henry VIII.	Salīmgarh at Delhī first built by Salīm Shāh Sūr. Circumcision of Akbar.	
1547	Cervantes born. Death of Henry VIII of England.	Tulsī Dās commences his *Rāmāyaṇa*. Chānd Sultāna of Ahmadnagar born.	Use of tea introduced by Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt (approximate). Mīrzā Haidar invades Kishtwār during the time of its ruler, Rājā Rāi Singh.
1548	Rebellion in Peru. Jena University founded in Germany.		

1549	First Jesuit mission arrived in South America.	The *Malik-i-Maidān* gun cast at Bījāpur.	
1551	Anatomical theatres at Paris and Montpellier.	Prince Hindāl killed in a skirmish.	Mirzā Haidar Dūghlāt killed at Khānpur on the Mughul road to Srinagar. Sultān Ismā'īl Shāh II, ascends the throne in 958 A.H.
1552	Somerset beheaded in England.	Saint Francis Xavier dies.	
1553	Rabelais, the writer, died. Death of Edward VI of England. Michael Servitus burnt for 'the crime of honest thought.'	Death of Islām (Salīm) Shāh Sūr.	Severe earthquake.
1554	Queen Mary of England persecutes the Protestants. Russia annexes Astrakhan. First tobacco seeds arrive in France form Brazil.		Sultān Habīb Shāh, the last of the line of Shāh Mīr, is crowned in 961 A.H. Habba Kadal (bridge) over the Jhelum built by Sultān Habīb Shāh. Shāh Mīrīs close their rule with the dethronement of Sultān Habīb Shāh in 962 A.H.
1555	Diet of Augsburg.	Defeat of Sikandar Sūr at Sirhind. Humāyūn resumes sway. Portuguese war in Ceylon.	Ghāzī Chak, the first ruler of the Chak line, ascends the throne in 962 A.H.
1555-56	Ridley, Latimer and Cranmer burnt in England.		Khwāja Habībullāh Nau Shahrī, poet, born.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1556	Death of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits.	Humāyūn dies. Akbar succeeds to the throne. Defeat of Hemu at Pānīpat.	
1557			Ārām Kashmīrī wrote his history called the *Tuhfat-us-Sādāt* for Sayyid Mubārak Bukhārī, the head of the powerful order of the Bukhārī Sayyids of Gujarāt, Western India.
1558	Tobacco brought from America for the first time.		
1560-62		Subjugation of Jaunpur, Mālwā, and Khāndesh by Akbar.	
1560	Tobacco plant introduced into Holland from France. England adopts the smoking habit.	Dismissal of Bairam Khān by Akbar. Akbar grants religious freedom throughout his empire. Inquisition established by the Portuguese at Goa.	
1561	Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, born. The Merchant Taylors School founded in London.		
1562	Witchcraft made a capital offence in England.	Marriage of Akbar to Jaipur princess. Tān Sain, musician and singer, brought to Akbar's court.	'Allāmah 'Abdul Hakīm, the future pupil of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, born at Siālkot, Punjāb (approximate).

1563	End of the Council of Trent and the reform of the Catholic Church.		Husain Shāh Chak rules.
1564	Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Shakespeare born. Galileo born. Calvin dies.	Abolition of the *Jizya* by Akbar. Conquest of Gondwāna by Akbar.	
1565	*Parker's Advertisements* for the repression of Puritanism in England issued by the archbishop.	Battle of Talikota: Vijayanagar empire destroyed. Decline of Portuguese trade at Goa.	
1566	Death of Sulaimān the Magnificent of Turkey. The Royal Exchange founded by Gresham in London.	Āgra Fort commenced by Akbar on the site of an older one, constructed by Salīm Shāh Sūr, the son of Sher Shāh Sūr.	
1567	Revolt of the Netherlands. Rugby School founded. Church of England founded.	Faizī presented at Akbar's court. Fall of Chitor. Akbar re-builds the Dargāh of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī (b. 1143 A.C., *d.* 1233 A.C.) at Ajmer and issues the first *farmān* for its upkeep by assigning certain villages.	
1568	Mary Stuart, mother of James I of England, escapes from Scotland to England.		

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1569		Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) born. Orders given for building Fathpur Sīkrī.	
1570	Arabia is reduced by Sinān Pāshā for the Sultān of Turkey who is prayed for in Mecca. Re-construction of the Ka'ba by Sultān Salim II. The Pope excommunicates Queen Elizabeth of England.	Humāyūn's tomb at Delhī completed. Muhammad Qāsim Hindu Shāh Firishta, the historian, born. Jodhpur was conferred by Akbar on Rāi Singh of Bīkāner. Prince Murād, second son of Akbar, born at Sīkrī.	Abdication of Sultān Husain Shāh Chak in 978 A.H. 'Alī Shāh Chak ascends the throne. A great famine. Embassy from Akbar to the court of Sultān 'Alī Shāh Chak.
1571	Cyprus taken by Turkey from the Venetians. Birth of Kepler, the German astrologer, the pupil of Tycho Brahe the Dane (1546—1601), who was the first in Europe to have attempted to measure the distance between the earth and the sun.	Shaikh Salīm Chishtī dies.	
1572	Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The revolt of the Dutch from Spain.	Tulsī Dās' *Rāmāyaṇa* completed.	First invasion of Kishtwār by 'Alī Shāh Chak. Ya'qūb Khān Chak, grandson of 'Alī Shāh, married to Shankar Devī (later called Fath Khātūn) daughter of Bahādur Singh.

1573	Nobunaga ends the Ashikaga Shogunate in Japan.		
1574		Amardās, the third Sikh Gurū, died and was succeeded by his son-in-law Gurū Rām Dās who enjoyed Akbar's patronage. Gurū Rām Dās founded the city of Amritsar and constructed the temple of Har-mandir in the centre of the large tank.	Second invasion of Kishtwār by 'Alī Shāh Chak.
		Abu'l Fazl introduced at Akbar's court. 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī presented at the court of Akbar.	
1575	The use of tobacco forbidden in the churches of Spanish America.	Gulbadan Begam and Salīma Sultāna *Makhfī* proceed to the Hajj.	Sultān Nāzuk Shāh or Nādir Shāh's sons Haidar and Salīm attempt an invasion of Kashmīr to recover the throne for the Shāh Mīrīs. Death of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm in 984 A.H.
1576	The head Lāma of the chief monastery of Lhassa is made Grand Lāma of Tibet.	Dā'ūd Khān Kararānī, the last ruler of Bengāl, subjugated by Akbar.	Famine due to untimely snowfall.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1577	Ivan IV (the Terrible) took the title of Tsar of Russia.	Comet. Gurū Rām Dās obtains a grant of the site of the Pool at Chak, supposed to have been the favourite resort of Gurū Nānak, from the Emperor Akbar on payment of Rs. 700 *Akbarī* to the Zamīndārs of Tung who owned the land. The place was known as Rāmdāspur or Gurū kā Chak.—*The Transformation of Sikhism* by Sir Gokul Chand Nārang, 1912, page 25. But the *Tawārīkh-i-Khālsa* says it was a *jāgīr* conferred by Akbar on the Gurū.	
1579	North's Translation of Plutarch's *Lives*.	Akbar's Debates on religion (1578-1579). Thomas Stevens, first Englishman, in India.	Death of 'Alī Shāh Chak in 987 A.H. Yūsuf Shāh Chak. Sayyid Mubārak Baihaqī. Lohur Shāh Chak.
1580	Portugal united to Spain by conquest on the death of Henry I of Portugal.	Formation of the 12 Sūbahs (provinces) by Akbar.	Yūsuf Shāh Chak again ascends the throne in 988 A.H.
	Montaigne the French essayist's first two books of essays appear.	Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh *Ma'ānī* (*b.* 1550, *d.* 1611), who begins to rule Golkunda, is possibly the first literary writer of Urdu.	

1581	The first arrival of tobacco in Turkey and Poland (approximate).	Birth at Gujrāt, in the West Punjāb, of Shāh Daulah, whose *Chūhās* (or dwarf-headed mendicants) roam about the Punjāb. Gurū Arjun Dev compiles the Ādī Granth (1581—1606). Amritsar, called Chak under Muslim rule, becomes the Holy City of the Sikhs when the fourth Gurū Rām Dās dug a large *talāo* or tank, and called it Amrita Sara. It was called by the Hindus Rāmdāspura—Baron Charles Hügel's *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab*, 1845, page 391. First Jesuit Mission at the court of Akbar.	
1582	Death of Nobunaga of Japan. Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages.	Dīn-i-Ilāhī proclaimed by Akbar.	
1583	Galileo discovers the principle of the pendulum. Edinburgh University founded. Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to Virginia.		Habba Khātūn, queen of Yūsuf Shāh Chak, builds the bridge over the Jhelum at Pānda-chhuk.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1584		Akbar establishes the Ilāhī era. Death of Daswanth, the artist.	
1585		Arrangements for the conquest of Kashmīr by Akbar.	Murder of Qāzī-'l-Qūzāt Sayyid Mūsā by Ya'qūb Shāh Chak. Deputation of Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* and Bābā Dā'ūd *Khākī* to the court of Akbar for intervention to save the Sunnīs. Yūsuf Shāh goes over to Bhagwāndās. Ya'qūb Shāh succeeds his father for a few months. End of Chak rule after 31 years by the annexation of Kashmīr to the Mughul empire by Akbar on 1st Zīqa'd, 994 A.H. or 4th October, 1586.
1586	Babington (England) Plot. Battle of Zutphen in Holland.		
1587	Shāh 'Abbās the Great of Īrān begins at the age of seventeen his reign of 42 years (1587—1629), during which he develops the material resources of the country, extends his rule along the Persian Gulf and the Afghān Frontier, recovers territory from the Turks and maintains religious toleration.		

1588	Defeat of the Spanish Armada by England. Death of the Īrānian poet, Muhtasham Kāshānī. Dr. Timothy Bright invents shorthand.	Murtazā Nizām of Ahmadnagar succeeded by his son Mīran Husain.	Death of Ya'qūb Shāh Chak at Kishtwār, in exile.
1589	The Academy of Kieve, the first educational institution, founded in Russia.	Death of Todar Mal and Bhagwān Dās.	First visit of Akbar to Kashmīr. Faizī accompanies Akbar and composes the *Qasīda* on Kashmīr. Also 'Urfī Shīrāzī.
1590	Isfahān made the capital of Īrān.	Second Jesuit Mission at the court of Akbar.	
1591	Queen Elizabeth founds Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland.	Conquest of Sind by Akbar. Chār Mīnār built at Hydarābād (Deccan). The poet 'Urfī Shīrāzī dies in India in 919 A.H.	Death of Sayyid Mubārak Khān Baihaqī, ex-Pādshāh of Kashmīr in 999 A.H. or 1591 A.C.
1592	Falkland Isles discovered by Davis. The remains of Pompeii discovered. Francis Bacon's *The Praise of Knowledge*. Comenius, the educator, born. The Portuguese build a fort at Mombasa. Montaigne, the French essayist, died.		Second visit of Akbar. Nizām-ud-Dīn, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, accompanies Akbar.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1593		Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* ends. Shaikh Mubārak dies.	
1594	Tintoretto, the Venetian artist, dies.	Subjugation of Qandahār and Balūchistān by Akbar.	Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* dies. Akbar asks Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī to re-write the *Bahr-ul-Asmār* of Mullā Ahmad Shāhābādī's translation of the *Rājataranginī*.
1595	Drake and Hawkins lead the last expedition to the West Indies.	Chānd Bībī successfully defends Ahmadnagar against the Mughuls. Faizī dies. Badāyūnī's *History* ends.	
1596	The British capture Cadiz from the Spaniards. The French philosopher, René Descartes, born at La Haye, Touraine, France.	Annexation of Berār. Publication of Abu'l Fazl's *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*.	Famine in Kashmīr. The wall around the Hari-parbat. Fort built ostensibly as a relief measure.
1597	Bodley bequeaths his library to Oxford University. Francis Bacon's *Essays* (1597—1623).		Third visit of Akbar. Laying of foundation of Nāgar-nagar fort on the Harī-parbat.
1598	Philip III banished the still remaining Moors from Spain. Irreparable damage to the country in agriculture and industry on account of Moors' banishment.		

1598	**Death of Hideyoshi of Japan.** **Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam) arrested for debt.** **The first Jewish synagogue in Amsterdam, Holland.**		
1599	**The Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow established.** Velazquez, the Spanish painter, born.	**Capture of Ahmadnagar.**	**Death of Prince Murād in India.**
1600	Iyeyasu founds the Tokugawa Shogunate in Japan.	Capture of 'Aligarh. Occupation of Burhānpur. English East India Company formed. Anārkali's tomb built by Jahāngir in Lāhore.	**Rebellion of Prince Salīm in India.**
1601	Shintoism revived in Japan.	The *Akbar-nāmah* of Abu'l Fazl ends with the account of Akbar's fortieth year of reign.	
1602	Shakespeare's *Hamlet.* Harvey becomes M.D. at Padua.	Murder of Abu'l Fazl. Gulbadan Begam dies. Dutch East India Company formed.	

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1603	Death of Queen Elizabeth. Accession of James I of England.	Murder of Chānd Bībī. Khwāja Muhammad Bāqī Billāh Bīrang dies at the age of 41, at Dilhī in 1012 A. H.	Akbar and Salīm reconciled by Salīma Begam. Famine due to untimely rains. Grain imported from the Punjāb by Akbar's order.
1604	At the Hampton Court Conference, James I of England agrees to the revision of the Bible.	The Sultān of Ahmadnagar grants Poona to Mālojī, the grandfather of Shivājī, in 1604. Tobacco introduced into the Mughul empire having just been brought by Portuguese traders at Bījāpur.	Cholera raged for 40 days. Death of Prince Dānyāl in India. Prince Salīm arrested at Āgra.
1605	Bacon's *Advancement of Learning.* Cervantes' *Don Quixote* Part I. James I of England renews his earnest appeal to Sultān Ahmad of Turkey for the release of Sir Thomas Sherley languishing in prison in Istanboul for three years. Gunpowder plot to frighten James I.	Nyaung Ram Meng, king of Burmā, died. Jahāngīr succeeds to the throne on the death of Akbar. 'Abdullāh Muhammad bin Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Umar al-Makkī al-Āsafī Ulūgh Khānī, generally known as Hājī ad-Dabīr, wrote *The Arabic History of Gujarāt*, Western India.	Akbar's death. Jahāngīr's rule begins.
1606	Virginia Company founded by the English.	Gurū Arjun disappears in the Rāvī having offended Jahāngīr by his assistance to Prince Khusrav.	

			Death in Srīnagar of the poet, *Mazharī*, who wrote in Persian (approximate).
1608	Milton born. Saint François de Sales publishes his *Vie Dévote*.		
1609	Independence of Holland. Microscope invented.	Hawkins at Āgra.	
1609	Logarithms invented. Shakespeare's *Sonnets* published without his sanction.	Mullā Wajhī, the author of the *Sab Ras*, who wrote, in twelve days, his *masnavī* entitled *Qutb-i-Mushtarī*, the love-story of Sultān Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh of Golkunda and a girl of Bengāl.	
1610	Final expulsion of the Moors from Spain.		
161	Baronets first created in England.	Death of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, ruler of Golkunda, probably the first literary writer of Urdu, as already noted in the events of 1580.	Jahāngīr marries Nūr Jahān in Hindustān. Death of Muhammad Husain Kashmīrī *Zarrīn Qalam* (The Golden Pen), Akbar's court calligraphist.
1612	Danish East India Company founded.		Stone basin of the Vēr-nāg Spring built by Jahāngīr.
1613	Prohibition of tobacco in Russia.	British Factory established at Sūrat by permission of Jahāngīr. Death of the poet *Nazīrī*.	

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1614	The City of New York, U.S.A., was sold to Dutch settlers for about 24 dollars by Manhattan Indians. Raleigh's *History of the World.* The Addled Parliament of England.	-	
1615	Cervantes' *Don Quixote* Part II. appears.	Sir Thomas Roe's embassy from James I to the Mughuls. Udaipur conquered by Prince Khurram, afterwards Shāh Jahān.	Birth of Mullā Muhsin *Fānī* (approximate). Akhun Rahnumā Kashmīrī revives carpet-weaving on his return from the Hajj *via* Central Asia.
1616	Shakespeare and Cervantes die. The *Ta'rīkh-i-'Ālam Ārā-i-'Abbāsī* composed by Sikandar Munshī. Smoking introduced into Switzerland.	Bubonic plague breaks out in parts of Northern India. The poet *Zuhūrī* of Turshīz (situated to the west of Mashhad and the north of Turbat-i-Hydarī, in Khurāsān) dies in an affray in the Deccan.	
1617		The Dutch commenced trade in India near Sūrat, and established a factory at Ahmadābād.	Raī's-ul-Mulk Malik Haidar Chādura writes his *History of Kashmīr.*
1618	The Thirty Years' War begins between the Evangelic Union under the Elector Palatine and the Catholic League under the Duke of Bavaria.		Dilāwar Khān, Governor of Kashmīr.

1619			Jahāngīr visits Kashmīr. Laying out of the Shālāmār Bāgh. Jahāngīr's inscription at Ver-nāg. Prince Khurram leaves Kashmīr to command the Imperial Forces against Malik Ambar of Ahmadnagar. Fire in Srīnagar. Jāmi' Masjid re-built second time.
1620	Bacon's *Novum Organum* declares experience the starting point and induction the true method of knowledge. First Negro slaves landed at Jamestown in Virginia by a Dutch ship.		Kishtwār annexed by Dilāwar Khān. Kāngṛa annexed to the Mughul empire.
1621			Nūr Jahān's mother, 'Ismat Begam, dies.
1622	The poet and theologian, Bahā-ud-Dīn Āmulī, dies. *The London Weekly News* published.	Rebellion of Prince Khurram. Death of Prince Khusrav.	I'timād-ud-Daulah dies. Prince Khusrav dies. Nūr Jahān's Patthar or Nau or Shāhī Masjid built in Srīnagar under the supervision of Malik Haidar of Chāḍura.
1623	The Dutch massacre English traders at Amboyana in Malaya.		
1624	War between England and Spain.	Tulsī Dās dies at Benāres.	Rūp Bhawānī, Kashmīrī poetess, is born.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1625	Charles I of England reigns.	Dutch factory at Chinsura, Bengāl.	Jahāngīr leaves Kashmīr for Lāhore.
1626	Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam) died. Madame de Sèvignè, the queen of letter-writers, born.	Ghawwāsī of Golkunda writes, in the Dakkanī Urdu, the first work of fiction entitled *Saif-ul-Mulūk Shahzāda Misr and Badī'-ul-Jamāl Shahzādī Hasīn*; the second work of fiction, the *Tūtī-nāma*, being written in 1639, both *masnavīs*. Prince Parvīz dies. Death of Malik Ambar. 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-Khānān dies at Delhi.	
1627	Death of Hakīm Sharaf-ud-Dīn Hasan *Shifāī*, court-physician of Shāh 'Abbās the Great, and a well-known poet.	Shāh Jahān succeeds Jahāngīr. Sivājī born. Ibrāhīm Rauza built at Bījāpur. Death of the poet *Tālib* Amulī.	Jahāngīr orders the construction of the cascade at Vērnāg. Jahāngīr leaves Lāhore for Kashmīr in March 1627. Jahāngīr dies at Bhimbar in October 1627, on his way back from Kashmīr.
1628	The English *Petition of Right.*	The tomb of Jahāngīr at Shāhdara built by Shāh Jahān.	Enthronement of Shāh Jahān.
1630	Gustavus-Adolphus of Sweden invades Germany.	Rājā Hirde Shāh, the Gond ruler, makes Rāmnagar (near Mandla, Central Provinces), his capital and builds his palace.	The author of the *Dabistān* meets Āzar Kaiwān in Kashmīr. Mullā Tāhir *Ghanī*, the great poet of Kashmīr, was born (approximate).

		Death of Mumtāz Mahall at Burhānpur on the Tāptī, Central Provinces.	Dāra Shukūh's bridge over the Jhelum at Bijbihārā. Shāh Jahān visits the Valley.
1631		Building of the Tāj Mahall begun.	Chashma-i-Shāhī Garden laid out.
1632	Gustavus-Adolphus killed at the battle of Lützen, in Saxony, Germany. The philosopher, Spinoza, born.	Huglī taken from the Portuguese.	
1634	Cardinal Richelieu founds the Acadèmie Francaise. Wallenstein, German soldier and statesman, is murdered. Lully, the musician, born.	Zīnat-un-Nisā' Begam born at Aurangābād (Deccan).	Nashāt Bāgh laid out. Nasīm Bāgh laid out.
1635		First consignment of pepper sent from Cochin by the English to England.	Bridge on the Jhelum at Pāmpōr.
1638	Japan closed to Christianity and the West until 1865. The Turks defeat the Īrānians and take the city of Baghdād.	Building of the Lāl Qala' of Delhī commenced by Shāh Jahān. The Assamese invaded Bengāl but were repulsed by Islām Khān. Zīb-un-Nisā' Begam born at Daulatābād, Deccan.	
1639		The Rāvī Canal completed. Jahān Ārā completes the *Mūnis-ul-Arwāh*, the life of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī of Ajmer.	The author of the *Dabistān* meets Sūfī Mullā Ismā'īl Isfahānī in Kashmīr.

Date	The World including India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
		The Safīnat-ul-Auliyā of Prince Dārā Shukūh in 1049 A. H.	
1640	Charles I of England summons the Long Parliament.	Death of the poet, Jalāl *Asīr*. The English occupy Huglī.	The Achabal Spring Garden laid out. Bāgh-i-Ilāhī laid out near Bachhapōr which is further up Nasīm.
1641	The first attempt at Parliamentary reporting was made.	Hakīm 'Ilm-ud-Dīn of Chiniōt, who became Nawwāb Wazīr Khān and ruler of Lāhore in the time of Shāh Jahān, completed the Wazīr Khān's Masjid at Lāhore in 1051 A.H.=1641 A.C. Gurū Hargobind, who was the first Sikh Gurū to enter upon a military career, dies.	
1642	Galileo died. Newton born.	*The Sakīnat-ul-Auliyā* of Prince Dārā Shukuh in 1052 A. H.	
1643	Barometer invented. Lewis XIV of France began his reign of 72 years.	Tāj Mahall completed.	Mullā Muhsin *Fānī* at Mashhad in Īrān (probable).
1644	Ming Empire succumbs to the rebel Li. Wu San-Kwei opens China to the Manchūs. The Manchūs establish themselves in China by ending the Ming dynasty.		

1645			Nūr Jahān dies. Mullā Muhsin *Fānī* composes the *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* (probable). Prince Dārā Shukūh writes his *Risālah-i-Haqq-numā* in 1646 while in Kashmīr.
1647	Death of the poet, *Qudsī* of Mashhad, in Īrān.		
1648	Milton's *Letter on Education.* The first newspaper advertisement appeared.	Transfer of the capital from Āgra to Delhī (Shāhjahānābād). Lāl Qala' of Delhī completed. Jāmi' Masjid of Jahān Rāi *or* Ārā Begam, at Āgra, completed. Completion of new Delhī and the Jamuna Canal.	
1649	Air Pump invented. Cromwell Protector (till 1658). Execution of Charles I of England.	The Jāmi' Masjid at Delhī built. Nādir-uz-Zamān Hāmid Lāhorī, the engineer-builder of the Tāj Mahall, dies. Maunucci, the Venetian physician, arrives at Āgra.	Hammām (bath) and Masjid for his tutor, Akhūn Mullā Shāh, built by Dārā Shukūh at Srīnagar.
1650	Death of the French philosopher, René Descartes, at Stockholm, Sweden, where he had gone on invitation from Queen Christina of Swden.		
1651	The English acquire St. Helena. Hobbes' *Leviathen*	English factory at Huglī founded.	Death of Abū Tālib *Kalīm*, the poet.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1654		*The Majma'-ul-Bahrain* of Prince Dārā Shukūh.	The author of the *Dabistān* is attacked by a disease.
1655	China checks the advance of Russia south of the Amur.		
1656	The philosopher, Spinoza, was summoned before the elders of the synagogue on a charge of heresy and excommunicated. Muhammad Kiuprili, Grand Vazīr of Turkey under Muhammad IV (1648—87).	Gōl Gumbaz built at Bījāpur.	
1657	Cinchona, [after the name of the Peruvian Viceroy of Spain, Del Chinchon, about 1640 A.C.], first introduced into Calcutta during the malaria epidemic of 1657. Cromwell founds the Durham University which is suppressed at the Restoration and revived in 1837. The first shipping paper was published.	Aurangābād in the Deccan named as such.	
1658	Cromwell died.	Aurangzīb deposes Shāh Jahān and himself ascends the throne.	

1659	The French dramatist Molière's first masterpiece.	Sivājī murders Afzal Khān. Bernier arrives in India.	'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm of Siālkōt, the pupil of Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, dies.
1660	Royal Society of England founded. Daniel Defoe born.	Dārā Shukūh executed.	Severe earthquake.
1661	Ahmad Kiuprili succeeds his father as Grand Vazir of Turkey. Turks invade Transylvania. K'ang Hsi commences reign in China.		
1662	Descartes' *L'Homme*, his first treatise on physiology, published. Death of Pascal, French writer.	Acquisition of Bombay by the English from Portugal.	
1663	First hospital in American colonies (Long Island, New York). Milton finishes his *Paradise Lost*.	Mīr Jumla dies before reaching Dacca.	
1664	New York captured by the English. French East India Company established.	Sivājī loots Sūrat.	
1665	The Great Plague in England. Newton announces the Law of Gravitation.	Sivājī surrenders to Aurangzīb. Tavernier in India.	Aurangzīb visits Kashmīr. Bernier comes to the Valley in the service of Nawwāb Dānishmand Khān.
1666	The *Raskol* (Great Schism) in the Russian Church.		Naukadal (new bridge) over the Jhelum built.
1668	England, Holland and Sweden form the Triple Alliance.	Walī Dakhanī, the Chaucer of Urdu poetry, born at Aurangābād, Deccan.	Mullā Tāhir *Ghanī*, the great poet of Kashmīr, dies

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1669	The Turks captured Crete from the Venetians after 20 years' war.	Jāt rebellion near Mathurā.	
1670	The poet Mīrzā 'Alī Muhammad *Sā'ib* (born at Tabrīz) dies at Isfahān.	Princess Raushan Rāi Begam commonly known as Raushan Ārā dies.	Safā Kadal (bridge) over the Jhelum built.
			Lachhman Dās, known as Banda Bairāgī, born at the village Golad (Menḍhar Tahsīl, Pūnch State, Kashmīr).
		Buddha Singh, son of Bahār Mal, and great-great grandfather of Ranjīt Singh, adopts the Sikh religion	
1671	Milton's *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes.*		Mullā Muhsin *Fānī*, the well-known philosopher-poet of Kashmīr, and the author of the *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* dies.
1672	Peter I, called the Great, born in Moscow on May 30th.	Satnāmī insurrection in Mewāt.	
1673	Death of Molière, the French dramatist.		
	St. Helena was recovered from the Dutch by Captain Munden and was granted to the East India Company by Charles II.		

1674	Death of Milton. New Amsterdam finally becomes British and is re-named New York, U.S.A.	The Jāmī' or Shāhī Masjid, Lāhore, built by Aurangzīb. Sivājī enthroned as independent rājā. Pondicherry founded by François Martin.	
1675	The Royal Observatory at Greenwich. Dryden's *Aurangzebe* produced.	Sikh Gurū Tegh Bahādur killed by a Sikh.	Fire in Srīnagar. The Jāmī' Masjid re-built third time.
1676	Death of the Turkish Grand Vazīr, Ahmad Kiuprilī. Mustāfā Kiuprilī, his brother, succeeds in the office.		
1676	Leibnitz, the philosopher, visits Spinoza.	Gurū Govind Singh born.	
1679	Habeas Corpus Act in England.	Aurangzīb attacks Bījāpur. Re-imposition of the *jizya*.	
1680	Mullā Muhsin *Faiz*, poet, philosopher, and theologian of Kāshān, dies.	Death of Sivājī. Qāzī Mahmūd *Bahrī*, one of the earliest poets of Urdu, born in Gogī village in the Deccan (approximate).	
1682	The Rye House Plot. Peter the Great of Russia (to January 1725).	Sir John Child, Governor of Bombay.	Continuous rain for one month spoils crops.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1683	The last Turkish attack on Vienna defeated by John III of Ploand.		Farrukh Siyar born of his Kashmīrī mother.
1684	Bishop George Berkeley born.		
1685	Bach and Handel, the musicians, were born.	Aurangzīb drives out the English from Bengāl.	
	John Locke's *Two Treatises on Government*.	Fall of Bījāpur.	Sunnīs and Shī'as quarrel.
		Fall of Golkunda.	
1686		Pondicherry was established by the French.	Khwāja 'Abdur Rahīm Shaikhmān who died in Srīnagar in 1786 was born in Tāshqand.
1687	Newton's *Principia* published.	Bombay was constituted a presidency, and made supreme over all the East India Company's establishments in India.	
	Deposition of Muhammad IV and accession of Sulaimān II of Turkey.		
1688	Revolution in England.		
	Flight of James II.		
	William of Orange enters London in December.	Execution of Rājā Sambhājī.	
		Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān *Ārzū* born.	
1689	Treaty of Nerchinsk between Russia and China.	Shāh 'Abdul Latīf of Bhīt (Hydarābād, Sind), whose poetry is a classic of the Sindi language, was born in 1689, and died in 1752.	

1690	Presbyterianism established in the national Church of Scotland. Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding* published.	Establishment of Fort William at Calcutta. Embassy from Istanboul arrives at the court of Aurangzīb.	Hifzullāh Khān hands over charge to Muzaffar Khān as Sūbadār of Kashmīr.
1693	Locke's *Thoughts on Education.* The printing press in New York.	Job Charnock dies.	
1694	Bank of England incorporated. Voltaire born. First modern Universitv of Halle founded in Germany.		
1695	Henry Purcell, the musician, died. Death of La Fontaine, the greatest French poet of the 17th century.	Gurū Gobind Singh founds the Khālsa (from the Persian word *Khālisa*) i.e., chosen or *elect* of God.	
1696	English "Assassination Plot" discovered.	Shāh Daulah of Gujrāt (Punjāb) dies at the age of 115. The Jāmi' Masjid of Sira, Tumkur district of Mysore State, was made of hewn stone.	
1697	George Sale, the first English translator of the Qur'ān, born.	Sayyid Mīrān Hāshimī, a court-poet of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpur, died.	
1698	New English East India Company (General Society) incorporated.	Mughuls besiege Satārā.	Khwāja Nūr-ud-Dīn Ishbarī or Ashawarī Kashmīrī brought the sacred hair of the Prophet from Bijāpur. This led to the construction of the Ziyārat (shrine) at Hazrat-bal. Srīnagar.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1699	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge founded.	Shams-ud-Dīn Mīrzā Jān-i-Jānān *Mazhar*, poet of Delhī, born.	
1701	War of the Spanish Succession.		
1703	Leningrad founded by Peter I, and called St. Petersburg, renamed Petrograd in August 1914, and given its present name on January 26, 1924.		
1704		Hassan-ul-Hind Mīr Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī *Āzād* Bilgrāmī, a well-known author, born.	
1705	Moscow University founded by Peter the Great.		
1706		Death of Walī-ullāh *Walī* Dakhanī (1118 A.H.) at Ahmadābād.	
1707	Russia takes Kamaskatka. Fielding born.	Death of Aurangzīb at Ahmadnagar.	Jalāl Khān, Sūbadār of Kashmīr.
1708	Influenza in Europe. Permanent Union of the two English East India Companies.	Gurū Govind Singh who had gone to the Deccan on the invitation and in the service of Aurangzīb died at Nānded, Deccan, of wounds inflicted by two Pathāns whose father was killed by the Gurū. Sāhū Rājā of Satārā.	

1709	Russian prisoners first sent to Siberia.	Death of Prince Kām Bakhsh.	
1710		Anglo-Arabic College, Delhī, founded by Nawwāb Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Fīrūz Jang, Father of Āsaf Jāh I, the founder of the Āsaf Jāhī dynasty of the Deccan.	
1711	Pope's *Essay on Criticism*. Addison and Steele edit the *Spectator*. David Hume, English philosopher, born. Death of Boileau, the French critic. The Father of Russian science as well as the Founder of Russian Literature, Michael Lomonosov, born in the village Denisovka, now Lomonosov, Archangel Gubernia. His death occurred on April 15, 1765.		Madrasa Sayyid Mansūr established.
1713	Peace of Utrecht. Frederick the Great of Prussia born.		Accession of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1714	Accession of the House of Hanover in England on the death of Queen Anne. Tripoli becomes independent of Istanboul.	Bālāji Vishwānāth Peshwā.	
1715	The Morea re-taken by the Turks. Death of Louis the Fourteenth of France.	Bandā Bairāgī put to death.	
1718	The Battle of Cape Passero in Sicily. Voltaire's tragedy *(Œdipe.)*	Mīrzā Muhammad Rafī' *Saudā*, Urdu poet, born at Delhī.	
1719	Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe.* The Westminster Hospital founded.	Khwāja Mīr *Dard*, poet of Delhī, born.	Murder of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar.
1720	The Duke of Savoy becomes king of Sardinia. Muhammad bin 'Abdul Wahhāb born in Najd.	Nizām-ul-Mulk becomes Prime Minister of Delhī. Muhammad Mīr *Sūz*, poet of Delhī, born.	Accession of Emperor Muhammad Shāh. Rūp Bhawānī, Kashmīrī poetess, dies 1720.
1721	Peter the Great declared Emperor of Russia.	Death of the poet *Bedil* in 1133 A.H. The Delhī Mughul ruler re-took Ajmer from the Rāthor Rājpūts who had seized it in 1719.	
1722	The Safavī dynasty of Īrān collapses. Famine in Isfahān. Ostend East India Company set up.	The Shahīdganj Mosque, Lāhore, erected.	

1723	Adam Smith, English Economist born.		
1724	The South Sea Bubble. German Philosopher, Kant, born at Königsburg in Prussia. Compulsory education of both sexes in Saxony.	Āsaf Jāh Nizām-ul-Mulk established in the Deccan. Muhammad Taqī *Mīr*, poet, born.	Famine due to excessive rain.
1725	Expulsion of Christians from Japan. Behring, a Dane, discovers the Behring Straits. Death of Peter the Great of Russia.		
1726		Dūst Muhammad Khān Bārakzaī, an officer of the guard in the service of Aurangzīb, after thirty years' labour, made himself independent in Mālwa, and founded the State of Bhopāl, died.	
1728	Oliver Goldsmith born.		
1729	Nādir Qulī aids the deposed Shāh of Īrān and defeats the Afghāns.		
1730	Field Marshall Alexander Surovorov, a Russian soldier, strategist and tactician, born on November 24.		

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1731	The first French newspaper *Gazette de France* published in Paris.		
1732	Nādir deposes Tahmāsp, the Shāh of Īrān, on the ground of incompetence and sets up his infant son, 'Abbās III.	Hājī Muhammad Muhsin, the great philanthropist, born at Huglī, near Calcutta, Bengāl. 'Allāmah Sayyid Murtazā Bilgrāmī, known in Arabia and Egypt as Zubaidī (on account of his long residence in Zubaid, Yemen) born in 1145 A.H.	Earthquake and Flood.
1733	Death at Birstal (near Leeds) of Dr. Joseph Priestely who discovered oxygen.		
1734	George Sale's *English Translation of the Qur'ān* appeared. Shaikh 'Alī *Hazīn* born in 1692 at Isfahān leaves for India.	Dumas, Governor of Pondicherry.	Mīrzā Muhtasham Khān *Fidā*, poet, born. Khwāja Muhammad A'zam *Mustaghnī* Kaul (?) Didamarī wrote his *Wāqi'āt-i-Kashmīr* or his History of Kashmīr called also the *Ta'rīkh-i- A'zamī* in Persian.
1735	End of the war between Turkey and Nādir Shāh of Īrān.		
1736	Ch'ien Lung becomes Chinese Emperor.	Mīr Hasan, poet, born in Delhī (approximate).	
1736-7	Nādir proclaimed Shāh of Īrān, and lays the foundations of Bushire (now having a population of 18,000) on the Persian Gulf.	The Persian Translation of the Qur'ān by Shāh Walīullāh of Delhī (1737-8 A.C.)	

1738	Nādir Shāh captures Qandahār and Kābul.	Nādir Shāh's sack of Delhī.	Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm of Kashmīr arrives at Shāhjahānābād (Delhī)
1739	Beginnings of the Methodist Movement in England.	Bālāji Rāo Peshwā.	
1740	'Abdul Wahhāb of Najd commences his Puritan Movement. Nādir Shāh conquers Bukhārā and Khīvā. Leipzig acquires fame as the literary capital of Germany. Voltaire's *Mahomet*.	Anwar-ud-Dīn, Nawwāb of Karnātic. Sa'ādat Khān Nawwāb Vazīr of Oudh. 'Alī Vardī Khān Nawwāb of Bengāl. *Nazīr* Akbarābādī born.	
1741	Linnaeus' botanical garden at Upsala, Sweden. *An historical and critical account of the Theatres of Europe* by M. Riccobon of the Italian Theatres at Paris.	Husain Dūst Khān known as Chandā Sāhib captured by the Marathas. Nānā Farnavīs born at Satārā.	
1745	Jacobite Revolt in England. Field Marshall Mikhail Kutusov of Russia, who defeated Napoleon in 1812, was born on September 16th.	Rise of the Rohillas. Wars of the Karnātic begin. Begam Samrū born.	10,000 houses swept away by flood.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1746	The Swiss educator, Pestalozzi, born.	Mīrzā Muhammad, subsequently known as Sirāj-ud-Daula, was married at Murshidābād, Bengāl.	
	Francisco Goya, the Spanish painter, born.	Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz of Delhi born in 1139 A. H.	
	Princeton University, U. S. A., founded.	Haibat Jang, father of Sirāj-ud-Daula, killed by an Afghān.	Death of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh of Delhī.
1747	On the assassination of Nādir, his cavalry-general, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, founds the kingdom of modern Afghānistān.		Accession of the Emperor Ahmad Shāh of Delhī.
1748	Excavation of Pompeii begins. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.	Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's first invasion of the Punjāb.	
		Death of Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsaf Jāh.	
1749	Goethe born.	Insurrection of the Wahhābīs.	
	A.G. Werner, the geologist, born.	Anwar-ud-Dīn killed by Chandā Sāhib at Ambūr.	Mīr 'Abdullāh Baihaqī, a scholar and poet, born in 1163 A.H.
		Shāh Rafī'-ud-Dīn of Delhī died at the age of 70 in 1163 A. H.	
1750	Voltaire leaves for Berlin on the invitation of Frederick the Great of Prussia.	Muzaffar Jang succeeds Nāsir Jang.	
		Tārābāi stirs up rising against the Peshwā.	

		Ghulām Hamadānī *Mus-hafī*, poet of Delhī, born at Amroha, U.P.	
1751	The Pennsylvania Hospital founded at Philadelphia, U.S.A.	Salābat Jang succeeds Muzaffar Jang. The Sunehrī (golden) Masjid of Delhī built by Farīd Khān. Clive's defence of Arcot.	
1752	Madame Frances D'Arblay, better known as Fanny Burney, English novelist and diarist, born.	Abu'l Fath, Tīpū Sultān, born of Haidar 'Alī and Fātima on Saturday. Named Tīpū after the Saint Tīpū Mastān Valī. 'Alī Vardī Khān cedes Orissa and pays *chauth* for Bengāl to the Marathās. Chandā Sāhib killed by Tanjoreans.	Ahmad Shāh Durrānī conquers Kashmīr. End of Mughul rule in the Valley. Famine due to excessive rain.
1754	Recall of Dupleix to France. King's College (later, Columbia University) founded at New York, U.S.A.	Ghāzī-ud-Dīn deposes the Emperor Ahmad Shāh. Accession of Alamgīr II. Nawāb Shujā'-ud-Daulah becomes ruler of Oudh.	Sukh Jīwan Mal, Sūbadār of Kashmīr, a patron of literary men.
1755	Kant's *Theory of the Heavens*. Moscow State University founded on the initiative of the Russian scientist, Michæl Lomonosov, whose name it bears.	Sa'ādat Yār Khān *Rangīn*, Urdu poet, born.	

Date	*The World excluding Indi*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1756	Mozart, the musician, born.	Supposed year of the so-called Black Hole of Calcutta. Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān *Ārzu* died.	
1756-63	Seven Years' War between Austria and Prussia and their respective Allies.		
1757	Pitt's ministry formed in England.	The Battle of Plassey. Conquest of India by the British begins under Clive.	'Abdul Wahhāb *Shā'iq* begins his versified history of Kashmīr (approximate).
1758	Noah Webster, the lexicographer, born.	Ahmad Shāh Durrānī sacks Delhī.	
1759	Canada lost. Battle of Quebec.	Ghāzī-ud-Dīn murders 'Ālamgīr II. Forde captures Masulipatam.	
1759-1806	The British Museum in London and the world's biggest library established in 1759.	Shāh 'Ālam is titular king of Delhī.	
1760	George III of England. Voltaire's *Tancréde*.	Salābat Jang, hemmed in at Udayagirī, cedes large territory to Marathas. Battle of Wandiwāsh	
1761	First Treaty between Turkey and Prussia. Resignation of Pitt.	Capture of Bussy. English take Poudicherry. Defeat of the Marathas at Pānipat by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī.	

1761	Rousseau's famous novel, *La Nouvelle Heloise*, wherein he illustrates the superiority of feeling to intellect. J.G. Lehman, a German miner, and one of the founders of the Science of Geology, appointed Professor of Chemistry and Director of Imperial Museum, St. Petersburg (Leningrad).	Mīr Qāsim becomes Nawwāb of Bengāl. Nizām 'Alī imprisoned Salābat Jang and invested himself with the Sūbadārship of the Deccan.	
1762		The Shahīdganj Mosque, Lāhore, seized by Sikhs. Death of Shāh Walīullāh, divine of Delhī, born in 1159 A. H.	
1762-63	War between England and Spain. The Spaniards and the French invade Portugal which is saved by the English. Peace of Paris. Canada ceded to England.	Haidar 'Alī becomes the ruler of Mysore. Massacre of Patna.	Sukh Jīwan Mal, governor of Kashmīr, blinded and dismissed.
1763	Special professional training required of all German teachers.		
1764	Rousseau's *Emile*. Expulsion of Jesuits from France.	Battle of Buxar. Shāh Ālam accepts English protection. Sikhs besiege Lāhore and compel Kābulī Mal, the governor of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, to make over the town and fortress to them.	Khwāja Muhammad A'zam Didamarī, the historian, dies.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1765	The Stamp Act in England.	Clive obtains the *Dīvanī* of Bengāl, Bihār and Orissa from the Mughul Emperor. Death of Mīr Ja'far. Najm-ud-Daula succeeded his father Mīr Ja'far as Nawwāb of Bengāl.	
1766		Saif-ud-Daula succeeded his brother Najm-ud-Daula as Nawwāb of Bengāl.	
1769	Napoleon Bonaparte born. Steam Engine. The Infant School movement begins in France. William Smith, called "Strata" Smith, the father of English Geology, born.	Hydarābād, the capital of Sind before the advent of British rule, was founded by Ghulām Shāh Kalhora in 1768 on the old Neran-Kot, and named after his *pīr* Sayyid Haidar 'Alī Shāh.	
1770	Beethoven born. Hegel born. Wordsworth born.	Famine in Bengāl. Mubārak-ud-Daula, the third son of Mīr Ja'far, became Nawwāb of Bengāl.	Flood.
1771	John Hunter's treatise on the teeth published. Anquetil du Perron publishes in French the works of Zoroaster.	Shāh 'Ālam goes to Delhi with the Marathas.	Amīr Sher Jawān, governor of Kashmīr.

1772	First Partition of Poland.	Warren Hastings governor of Bengāl. George Hodley publishes the first grammar of Urdu or Hindustānī. 'Usmān Marwandī of Īrān known as Qalandar Lāl Shāh Bāz died in Sehwān (Sind).	Shergarhī, the royal palace of Srīnagar, constructed and named after the Governor Amīr Sher Jawān.
1773	Medical Society of London founded. Jesuit order suppressed by Clement XIV.		Death of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. Accession of his son Tīmūr Shāh who removes the capital from Qandahār to Kābul. Amīrā Kadal (bridge) over the Jhelum river constructed and named after the Nāzim, Amīr Sher Jawān.
		Suppression of the Rohillas. The Regulating Act passed.	
1774	Suicide of Clive in England. Death of Oliver Goldsmith.	Warren Hastings becomes governor-general of India. Rohilla war. Bogle's mission to Tibet. Rām Mohan Roy born at Rādhānagar in the District of Huglī, Bengāl.	Khwāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn Naqshbandī killed.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmir
1775	Jane Austen born. Immanuel Kant reads a German translation of the works of David Hume.	Shujā'-ud-Daula becomes Nawwāb Vazīr of Oudh. Case of the Begams of Oudh. Bahādur Shāh II, *Zafar*, born. Nand Kumar was arrested under a warrant of the Supreme Court at the suit of Mohan Prashād on a charge of forgery and was tried by Sir Elijah Impey, convicted and sentenced to be hanged.	
1776	American War. Declaration of Independence by the United States. The first volume of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* appears. Death of David Hume.	Lord Pigot, who had been governor of Madras, was arrested and imprisoned at St. Thomas Mount where he died in the following year. Treaty of Purandhar. Mahān Singh, father of Ranjīt Singh, married	Hājī Karīmdād Khān governor of Kashmīr under Afghān rule.
1778	Herbart (German educator) born. Deaths of Chatham, Linnaeus, Rousseau, and Voltaire.	First Vernacular work printed in India, Halhead's Bengālī grammar.	
1779	First Iron Bridge in England.	Death of Shaikh 'Alī *Hazīn* at Benāres.	

1780	The twelfth Earl of Derby founded the famous Derby race at Epsom in England. End of the reign of Maria Theresa.	Ranjīt Singh born to Mahān Singh. First Indian newspaper in English, Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*, appears. Warren Hastings' duel with Francis.	
1781	Lutf 'Alī Beg *Āzar*, author of the *Ātash-kadah*, dies. Pestalozzi's *Leonard and Gertrude* published.	The Calcutta Madrasa founded by Warren Hastings. Death of Mīrzā Muhammad Rafī' *Sauda*. Death of the poet Mīrzā Jān-i-Jānān *Mazhar* of Delhī. Chet Singh, rājā of Benāres, deposed.	
1782	Independence of the U. S. A. recognized by England. Legislative Independence of Ireland granted. Froöbel (German educator) born.	Death of Sultān Haidar 'Alī of Mysore. Abu'l Fath Tīpū Sultān (named after the saint Tīpū Mastān Valī) becomes Sultān of Mysore. Treaty of Sālbaī.	Fire in Srinagar. Mīrzā Muhtasham Khān *Fidā*, poet, dies.
1783	Peace of Versailles between England and France. Sunday Schools founded. The steamboat invented.	Fox's India Bill. Warren Hastings censured by Directors.	Cholera. Hāji Karīmdād Khān, the governor, dies.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1784	First United States ship to China. Cavendish discovers hydrogen.	Pitt's India Act. The Bengāl Asiatic Society established by Sir William Jones. Resignation of Warren Hastings. Mīr Hasan writes the *masnavī Sihr-ul-Bayān* (1199 A. H.). Death of Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī.	Earthquake.
1785	Cartwright's power-loom. Webster's *Speller*. Cowper's *The Task*. John Walter adds to the eight morning papers of London by the issue of the *Daily Annual Register* which, three years later, became *The Times*.	Death of Khwāja Mīr *Dard*, Urdu poet, at Delhī, at the age of 66, in 1199 A.H. Mīr Ghulām 'Alī *Āzād* Bilgrāmī, born in 1704, died. *The Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirīn*, in four Volumes, is the history of India, written in Persian in 1780—85 A.C., by Sayyid Ghulām Husain Tabātabāī, a noble of Patna, who resided with his father at the Court of the Nawwābs of Bengāl.	Āzād Khān, Karīm-dād Khān's son and successor, as Sūbadār, visits the Parī Mahall.
1786	Weber, the musician, born.	Building of the *Gōl-ghar*, a hundred foot dome-shaped structure on the banks of the Ganges, at Patna, for storing grain in times of scarcity. This old granary was	Mīr Dād Khān, Sūbadār of Kashmīr.

		used in June 1943 for storing rice and other grain on account of prevailing scarcity. Lord Cornwallis, governor-general of India.	
1787	The American Constitutional Convention met at Philadelphia, U. S. A.	Sayyid Ahmad Brelvī born in Safar 1201 A.H.=1786 A.C.	Khwāja 'Abdur Rahīm Shaikhmān Naqshbandī of Tāshqand died in Srīnagar and is buried in Mahalla Sayyidwārī of the city in Jamādī II, 1200 A.H.
1788	War between Germany and Turkey. First Federal Congress of the United States at New York. Schopenhauer born. Byron born.	Trial of Warren Hastings begins in England. *The Riyāz-us-Salātīn*, a history of Bengāl, written by Ghūlam Husain *Salīm* at Malda in 1788.	
1789	The French Revolution commences with the destruction of the Bastille. The French Constituent Assembly met for the first time. George Washington, President of the U.S.A. Uranium (the metallic element of a hard white metal) essential to the construction of the atomic bomb used against the two cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan in the World War II, discovered in 1789 but not isolated until 1840.	Ghulām Qādir Rohilla blinds Shāh 'Ālam. Scindhia masters Delhī and curbs the Sikhs. Shaikh Ibrāhīm *Zauq*, poet, born at Delhī. Muftī Sadr-ud-Dīn Khān, Sadr-us-Sudūr, born at Delhī.	Sir William Jones draws the attention of Orientalists to Mullā Muhsin Fānī's *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1791	Dr. Guillotin invents the guillotine. Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. Muhammad bin 'Alī bin Sanūsī born at Algiers, Africa. Death of 'Abdul Wahhāb, founder of the Wahābī Movement.	The Urdu Translation of the Qur'ān by Shāh 'Abdul Qādir of Delhī, chronogramatically entitled *Mūzih-i-Qur'ān*, completed.	Parmānand, Kashmīrī poet, born at Maṭan.
1792	France became a Republic. Shelley born.	Permanent Settlement of Bengāl. Siege of Seringapatam. Mīr Taqī *Mīr*, Urdu poet, born.	Zamān Shāh Durrānī ascends the throne as the ruler of Kābul. Mahārājā Gulāb Singh born.
1793	The Second Partition of Poland. Louis XVI beheaded. Hegel graduates from Tübingen. Cotton gin invented.	Sir John Shore governor-general. Mīrzā Abū Tālib Khān, of Oudh and Bengal, begins his travels in England, Europe, Asia, Africa, 1793-6, after which he wrote his book of travels in Persian.	
		Babar 'Alī Khān (Mubārak-ud-Daula II) succeeded his father as Nawwāb of Bengāl, and reigned till his death in 1810.	

1794	The Reign of Terror in France. National Normal School in France.	Death of Mādhava Rāo Sindhia. Mr. Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Benāres, endows the Sanskrit College at Benāres for teaching Hindu law and literature. Nawwāb Asghar 'Alī Khān *Nasīm*, poet, born.	
1795	Bonaparte goes to Italy as commander-in-chief. The Third Partition of Poland. Keats born. Carlyle born.	Acquittal of Warren Hastings. The commercial enterprise of Sir John Shore to capture a free market in Nepāl by means of the embassy of Maulavī 'Abdul Qādir, son of Wāsil 'Alī Khān, Qāzī-u'l-Quzāt of Warren Hastings.	
1796	Bonaparte's successful campaigns in Italy. England takes Ceylon. Āghā Muhammad founds the Qājār dynasty of Īrān. Teherān made the capital of Īrān.	Mīrzā Asadullāh Khān, *Ghālib*, poet, born at Āgra. Gilchrist's *Urdu Grammar*.	'Abdullāh Khān Aikozaī, Sūbadār of Kashmīr.
1797	Comte born. Destruction of the Republic of Venice. Reign of Fath 'Alī Shāh Qājār of Īrān begins.	Death of Āsaf-ud-Daula of Oudh. Ranjīt Singh poisons his mother on account of her misconduct.	

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1798	Battle of the Nile between England and France. Rebellion in Ireland. Kant's *Anthropology* suggested the possibility of the animal origin of man. Monitorial System established. Samuel Butler becomes Headmaster of Shrewsbury.	Marquis Wellesley, governor-general of India. Alarm of the Afghān invasion under Zamān Shāh. Tīpū's mission to Mauritius.	Kashmīr shawls become fashionable in Paris, France.
1799	Bonaparte becomes First Consul. Cigars take the place of snuff. Napoleonic wars disseminate them throughout Europe.	Conquest of Mysore. Death of Tīpū. Re-establishment of the Hindu Dynasty in Mysore. Ranjīt Singh becomes master of Lāhore by receiving the title of Rājā from Zamān Shāh.	
1800	Proposed invasion of India by the Emperors Paul and Napoleon. Malcolm's Embassy to Īrān. Lord Macaulay born. Public Examination Statute at Oxford. The oldest public structure in Washington, executive mansion of the Presidency of the U.S.A., the White House, standing in a park of 18 acres, was made ready for its occupants.	Death of Nānā Farnavīs. Rise of Jaswant Rāo Holkar, Amīr Khān and of Ranjīt Singh. Fort William College founded by the Marquess Wellesley at Calcutta for the training of British civil servants in the languages, law, history and customs of India. Mūmin Khān *Mūmin*, poet, born at Delhī.	'Allāmah Tafazzul Husain Kashmīrī, Prime Minister of Oudh, dies. Mrs. Bhawānī Dās Kāchrū, Kashmīrī poetess, comes to note.

1801	Union of Great Britain with Ireland. George Bradshaw, English printer and publisher of Maps and Time Tables, born. India Office Library, which contains some 2,50,000 printed books and thousands of manuscripts principally relating to the East, founded by the East India Company.	The state of the Nawwābs of Karnātik was annexed to British India for their sympathy for Tīpū Sultān. Rise of the Bārakzaīs in Afghānistān. Mīr Amman Dihlavī writes the *Bāgh-u-Bahār*.	Quarrel between Shi'ās and Sunnīs in Srīnagar.
1802	Peace of Amiens (with England, Spain and Holland) signed by the French. Victor Hugo, French writer, born.	Ranjīt Singh acquires Amritsar. Kharak Singh born to Ranjīt Singh. Treaty of Bassien. The *Daryā-i-Latāfat* (Ocean of Eloquence), first Urdu Grammar, written by Inshā'ullāh Khān *Inshā'* and Mīrzā Muhammad Hasan *Qatīl*. Mīr Babar 'Alī *Anīs*, poet, born at Faizābād, United Provinces. Sharī'atullāh of Farīdpur, Bengāl, the founder of the Farāizī movement of Eastern Bengāl, performs the Hajj. The Farāizī Movement was partly religious and partly agrarian.	

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1803	France declares war against England.	The translation of the Qur'ān by Shāh 'Abdul Qādir finished.	Earthquake.
	Emerson born.	Mīrzā Salāmat Alī *Dabīr*, poet, born at Delhī.	
		The *Dastūr-ul-Fasāhat* (Urdu grammar) by Ahmad 'Alī *Yaktā* (1218 A.H.)	
		War with Holkar.	
1804	France made an Empire; Napoleon proclaimed emperor and crowned by the Pope.		
	Francis II assumes the title of Francis I, Emperor of Austria.		
	Hawthorne born.		
	Benjamin Disraeli, the future Earl of Beaconsfield, born.		
	Birth of Ludwig Feuerbach, a German philosopher, the author of *Essence of Christianity*—proving that the domination of religion over man had come to an end.		
	Nudael Glinka, founder of the Russian National School of Music, born on June 1st. He died on 15th February, 1857.		

1805	Nelson's victory and death at Trafalgar.	Failure of Lord Lake at Bharatpur. Cornwallis dies. Qāzī Sanāullāh Pānīpatī, the *Khalīfa* of Mīrzā Mazhar Jān-i-Jān and the *Pīr* of Sir Sayyid Ahmad's father, died at Sarhind.	
1806	Napoleon overhauls the educational system of France. Prussia overthrown at Jena. Francis of Austria drops the title of the Holy Roman Emperor. John Stuart Mill born in London.	Akbar II is titular king of Delhī. The Vellore Mutiny. Hājī Muhammad Muhsin of Huglī, Bengāl, draws up the will by which he dedicates his entire property to charity creating the Muhsin Fund.	'Atā Muhammad Khān, Sūbadār of Kashmīr.
1807	Scheme of Indian invasion by Emperors Alexander and Napoleon. Longfellow, poet, born. Louis Agassiz, the father of Natural Science in America, born.	Lord Minto, governor-general. Ranjīt Singh begins building the fortress of Govindgarh at Amritsar, apparently for the protection of pilgrims, but really for military purposes	Death of Mīr 'Abdullāh Baihaqī, a Kashmīrī poet. Death of Muftī Muhammad Sadr-ud Dīn *Wafāī*, the author of the *Masnavī*, *Tuhfat-ul-Ushshāq*, Persian MS.
1808	Commencement of the Peninsular War. Goethe's *Faust*, Part I. Poet Mīrzā Habībullāh *Qāānī* born at Shīrāz.	British Missions to Kābul, the Punjāb, and Sind.	Bārāmūla bridge over the Jhelum river built by 'Atā Muhammad Khān.

Date	The World excluding India	India excluding Kashmīr	Kashmīr
1809	Tennyson born. Abraham Lincoln born. Charles Darwin born. Edgar Allen Poe born. Gogol, the Russian writer, born. Mendelssohn, the musician, born. W. E. Gladstone born. Dalton's atomic theory. Divorce of the Emperor and Empress Josephine decreed by the French Senate. Edward Fitzgerald, translator of the *Rubāiyāt* or *Quatrains of 'Umar Khayyām*, was born as Edward Purcell, but his father who had married a Miss Fitzgerald, assumed in 1818 the name of his wife's family.	Govindgarh fortress at Amritsar put into the best state of defence by Ranjīt Singh. Treaty of Amritsar between the British and Ranjīt Singh. "Amritsar is a larger city than Lahore. The wealth of the whole Punjab seems collected in it and the great merchants have made it their abode."—Hügel's *Travels*, page 391. Shāh Shujā' expelled from Afghānistān. He enters India. The *Prem Sāgar* of Lallūjī Lāl appears, having been written in 1803.	First English translation of Muhsin *Fānī's Dabistān*, published at Calcutta under the name of Francis Gladwin. German translation of the *Dabistān* by Dalberg.
1810	Independence established by Chili. Berlin University founded. Cavour born.	Mīr Taqī *Mīr*, poet, dies.	Nidhān Singh Atha disgusted with Ranjīt Singh quits the Punjab and enters the service of 'Atā Muhammad Khān.
1811	Independence established by Paraguay. Muhammad 'Alī Pāshā of Egypt destroys Mamlūks. Thackeray born.	Rise of the Pindāris.	Mīr 'Abdullāh Baihaqī, a great scholar and poet, dies in 1226 A.H.

	Vissarion Belincky, Russian revolutionary democrat, educationist, philosopher, and founder of the Russian School of Literary Criticism, born in Swaborg, Finland, on June 13th.		
1812	War between England and America commenced. Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. Charles Dickens born. Birth of Alfred Krupp, the founder of the Krupp's Works at Essen, North West Germany.	Hājī Muhammad Muhsin of Huglī dies.	'Atā Muhammad Khān fortifies the Pīr Pantsāl route against Sikh invasion.
1813	Commencement of the German War of Independence. The Order of Iron Cross instituted.	Ranjīt Singh obtains the Kuh-i-Nūr diamond from Shāh Shujā'. East India Company loses trade monopoly. The Pīr Pagāro or Pagwāro *gaddī* was established in Sind. The seventh successor, Sayyid Sibghatullāh, was hanged on 20th March, 1943.	Muhammad 'Azīm Khān, governor of Kashmīr. Famine.
1814	Stephenson's Locomotive. Charles Reade, writer, born. The Great Ukranian Poet, Taras Shevehenks Shevchenko, born in March.	The Gurkha War. Shāh 'Abdul Qādir of Delhī, born in 1167 A. H.=1753 A.C., died at the age of 63 in 1230 A.H.	Ranjīt Singh's attempt to get Kashmīr fails.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
1815	Napoleon abolishes Slave Trade. Napoleon defeated at Waterloo. Napoleon arrives at St. Helena tc remain for life. The Congress of Vienna. Bismarck born. Davy invents the Safety Lamp for coal miners.	Vaikrama Singh, the King of Ceylon, was deposed by the British, and Ceylon became a dependency of the British Crown.	Gaṅgā Prashād's *Samsār māyā Mohajal Sukh-Dokh-Charita*, a work in Kashmīrī poetry.
1816	Hegel finishes his *Logic.* The Stethoscope invented. Independence established by Buenos Ayres and other Provinces in South America.	Hindu College of Calcutta established by David Hare (a watchmaker of Calcutta) and Rām Mohan Roy. This same college is now the Presidency College of Calcutta.	
1817	Introduction of the Modern Printing Press into Īrān. Hegel's *Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences.* Karl Marx, the author of *Capital,* born in Trier (Treves), Germany on May 5. Brevet Major Sylvanus Thayer took over the superintendency of the United Military Academy	Sayyid Inshā'ullāh Khān *Inshā'* dies. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān born at Delhī. For diffusion of useful elementary knowledge, the Calcutta School Book Society was founded.	

at West Point (situated some 50 miles up the Hudson River from New York City, U. S. A.) and "developed it from a secondary school to an excellent technical college."

1818 Muhammad 'Alī Pāshā of Egypt, under orders from the Sultān of Turkey, recovers the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medīna from the Wahhābīs, and destroys Darāya, the old capital of Najd, before Ar Riyāz, which is ten miles from the ruins of the old town.

Ivan Turgeniev, the Russian writer, born.

The first Bengālī newspaper entitled the *Samāchār Darpana* appeared in Serāmpore under the editorship of John Clark Marshman.

Ajmer is handed over to the British by Sindhia of Gwāliār.

Mill's *History of British India*.

Jog Nārāin Ghossāl founds an English school in Benāres.

First cotton mills in India.

The city of Ahmadābād is ceded to the British Government.

A body of officers and citizens start performing the functions of the Municipality at Ahmadābād, which is finally inaugurated in 1834.

The Last Marātha war—Bājī Rāo II deposed.

The *Calcutta Journal* founded by Mr. Buckingham.

Death of Warren Hastings in England.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmīr*	*Kashmīr*
		The Diocese of Calcutta inaugurated. Swāmījī Mahārāj, founder of the Rādhāswāmī Sat-sang and Dayāl Bāgh, born at Āgra, United Provinces. Ajmer handed over to the British by Mahārājā Sindhia of Gwāliār.	
1819	Fath 'Alī Shāh Qājār continues his rule over Īrān till he dies in 1834. The First Factory Act passed in England through the efforts of Robert Owen. Queen Victoria born. Ruskin born. Manchester Massacre and Disorders in England. George III of England dies next year (*i.e.* 1820). University of St. Petersburg founded by Alexander I of Russia. Steamship crosses the Atlantic. Electro-magnetism.	Ranjīt Singh takes Multān. Capitulation of Asīrgarh. Deposition of Rāo of Kutch. British expedition to the Persian Gulf. Mountstuart Elphinstone, governor of Bombay. Bahāism in India. A terrible earthquake separated the Run of Kutch from the peninsula of India and a large portion of dry land was filled with water. A British battalion, while fighting the Marathas, accidentally discovers the caves of Ajanta in the Hydarābād State of the Deccan.	Kashmīr taken by Ranjīt Singh and annexed to the Punjāb. Dīwān Motī Rām, first Sikh governor of Kashmīr. Cholera.

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